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THE
PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY

The Century Social Science Series

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY

BY

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TO

ROSCOE POUND

DEAN OF THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

PRINCE OF LAW TEACHERS

AND

BUILDER OF SOCIOLOGICAL JURISPRUDENCE

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

PREFACE

After a cataclysm which has destroyed in battle seven and a half million men and set civilization back at least a life time the world ought to be interested in the scientific study of human relations. Sociology was young what time the World War was incubating, but — it is a satisfaction to recall — her unregarded voice was ever lifted in protest against the dance toward the abyss. Nowhere in Europe was she so contemned as in Germany, where her few champions in the Universities were utterly browbeaten by the arrogant professors of *Staatswissenschaften.*

Sociologists follow the methods of Science but they are by no means content to seek Knowledge for her own sake. They are not ashamed to avow an over-mastering purpose and that is — *to better human relations.* They confess that they are studying how to lessen the confusion, strife and mutual destruction among men and to promote harmony and team work. A quaint idea — but after watching civilized humanity tear at its vitals for four and a quarter years one wonders if there may not be something in it!

The sociologists have been taken in by none of the evil doctrines which have brought the world to its present desperate plight. On the other hand, they listen with patience to those who really have at heart the amelioration of man's lot, but they accept no panacea. They do not pin their hopes of social progress to putting "God" in the Constitution, Sabbath protection, prohibition, collective bargaining, single tax on land values, syndicalism, public ownership, or guild socialism. Knowing that humanity must advance along many roads they keep their program broad.

This book I am offering has been a slow growth. Seventeen years have elapsed since I laid out the chapter scheme and began collecting material for it. It contains *a system* of sociology, i.e., the parts are fitted to one another and taken together they are intended to cover the field; but I do not put it forward as *the* system. While it is that organization of knowledge about society which helps me the most, no doubt other equally valid systems are

possible. True systems will, of course, not contradict one another, but they may differ in perspective. Sociologists equally sound may differ as to which truths deserve the foreground and which should be relegated to the background. A system is a way of making some aspect of reality *intelligible,* and we differ as to how to present social reality so as to make it intelligible for the most people. In time sociology will discover, as the older sciences have done, the best perspective for exhibiting its results. Then the systems of sociologists will come into closer agreement.

This book aims to light up the major problems of society at the stage of development which has been reached in about a third of the human race. It is, of course, a pleasure to understand human relations just as it is a pleasure to understand the motions of the planets even though we cannot influence them. But this book is furthermore intended to help people arrive at wise decisions as to social policies. The will of enlightened man is so bent on directing, or, at least, influencing, the course of society, moreover the possibilities of social amelioration are so tempting, that the chief object in explaining society is to help people determine the best thing to do.

While the emotions supply much of the driving force behind social betterment, and while moral indignation and moral enthusiasm are among the more powerful beneficent emotions, I have given as little characterization as possible to the conduct or conditions I describe. I have sought to explain rather than to praise or blame; so that in my description of the most sinister and detestable social phenomena I preserve an objectivity which I hope the reader will not mistake for indifference.

I wish to acknowledge my debt to Miss Sidney Horsley (now Mrs. Olin Ingraham) for valuable aid in gathering materials for this volume.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.

Madison, Wisconsin, April, 1920.

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PART I

THE SOCIAL POPULATION

CHAPTER I

THE MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION

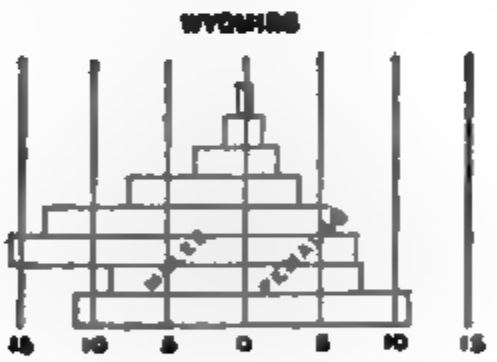
CHAP. I

THE traits and tendencies of society are in no small degree determined by its human composition. It is therefore necessary to consider, first of all, how the make up of the population varies in respect to age, sex, nativity, marital condition and mental capacity.

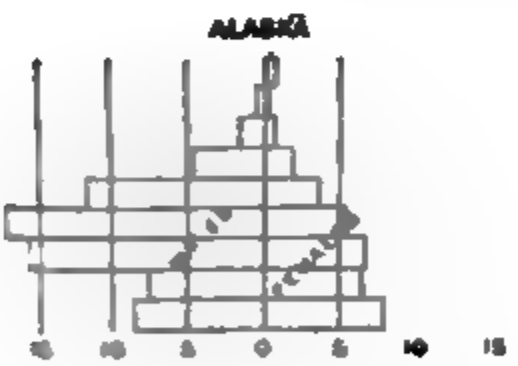
SEX

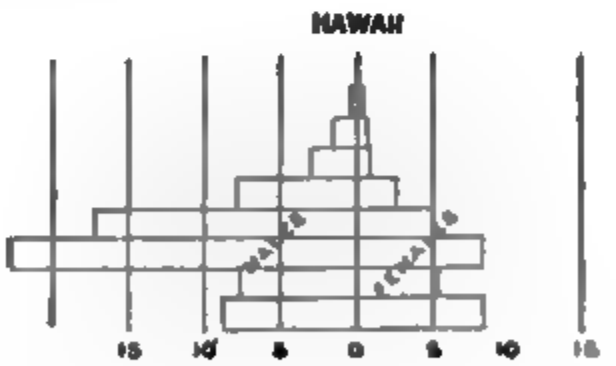
Settling the Country Produces Some Dissociation of the Sexes

In old countries the sexes are rather evenly distributed but in the process of settling a new country the sexes become in some degree dissociated. Thus in the United States west of the Missouri River there are about three men for every two women. In mining and cattle raising states like Nevada, Montana and Wyoming the ratio is near two to one.



In Alaska and Hawaii the disproportion is even greater.



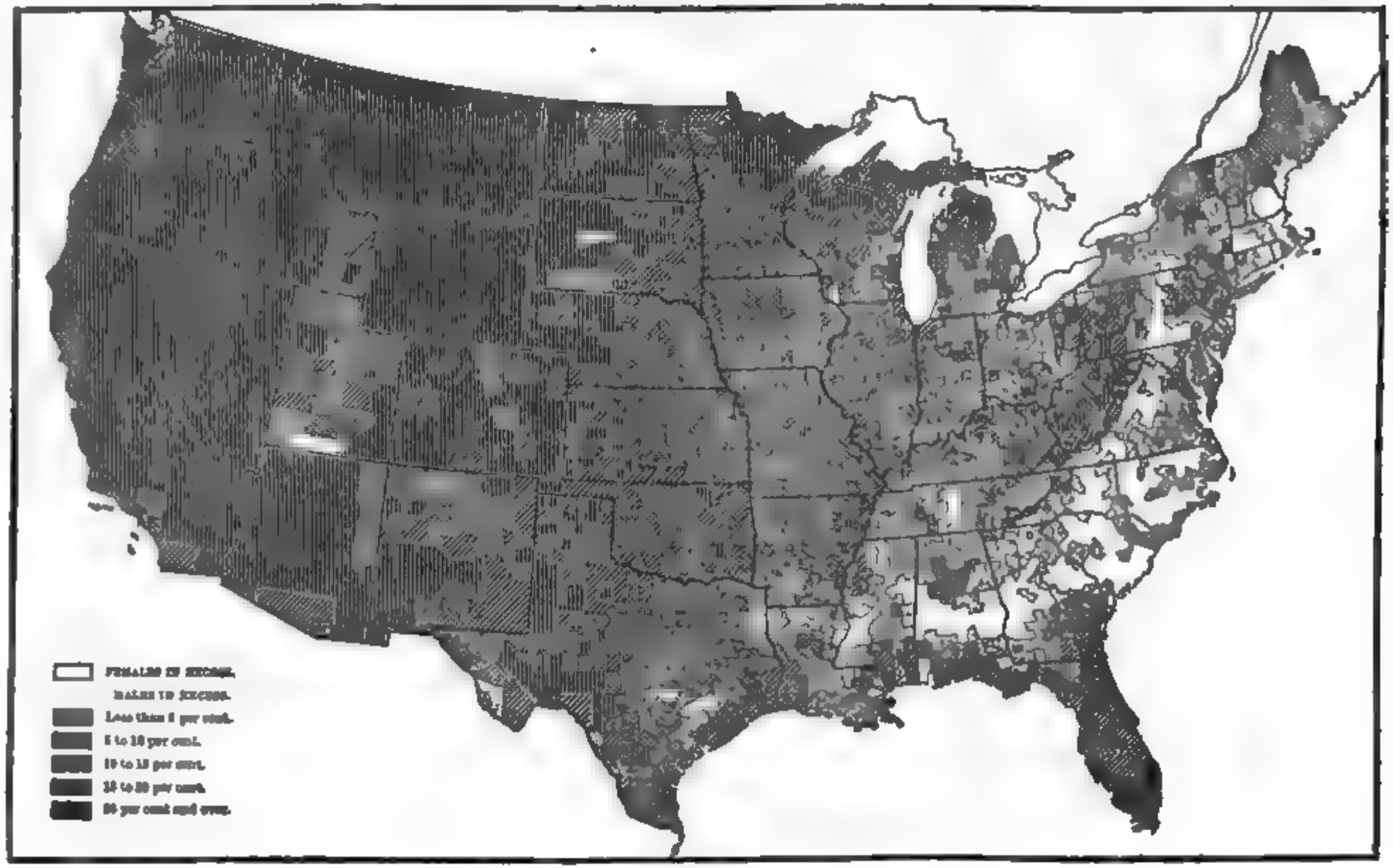


In general the population agrapple with rude Nature will be strongly male, altho it makes a difference whether the attack is on

PROPORTION OF MALES TO FEMALES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTIES: 1910.

Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910.

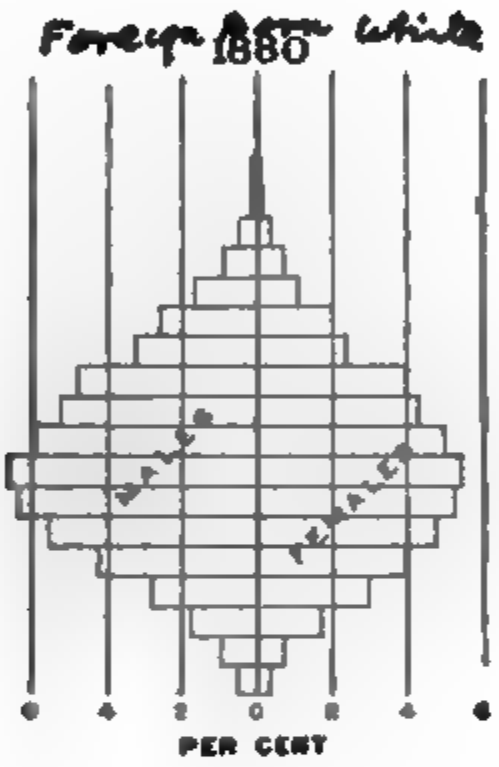
Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.



forests and minerals or on the soil. Agriculture is more hospitable to women than lumbering and mining.

Men Migrate Farther than Women

Less hedged about than women, men are readier to break home ties and try their fortune in a strange land. In our earlier foreign immigration males were to females as three is to two; but in the new immigration, coming for high wages rather than land, they were three to one. Districts which have lost by emigration have more women than men. South Carolina shows 25 women to 24



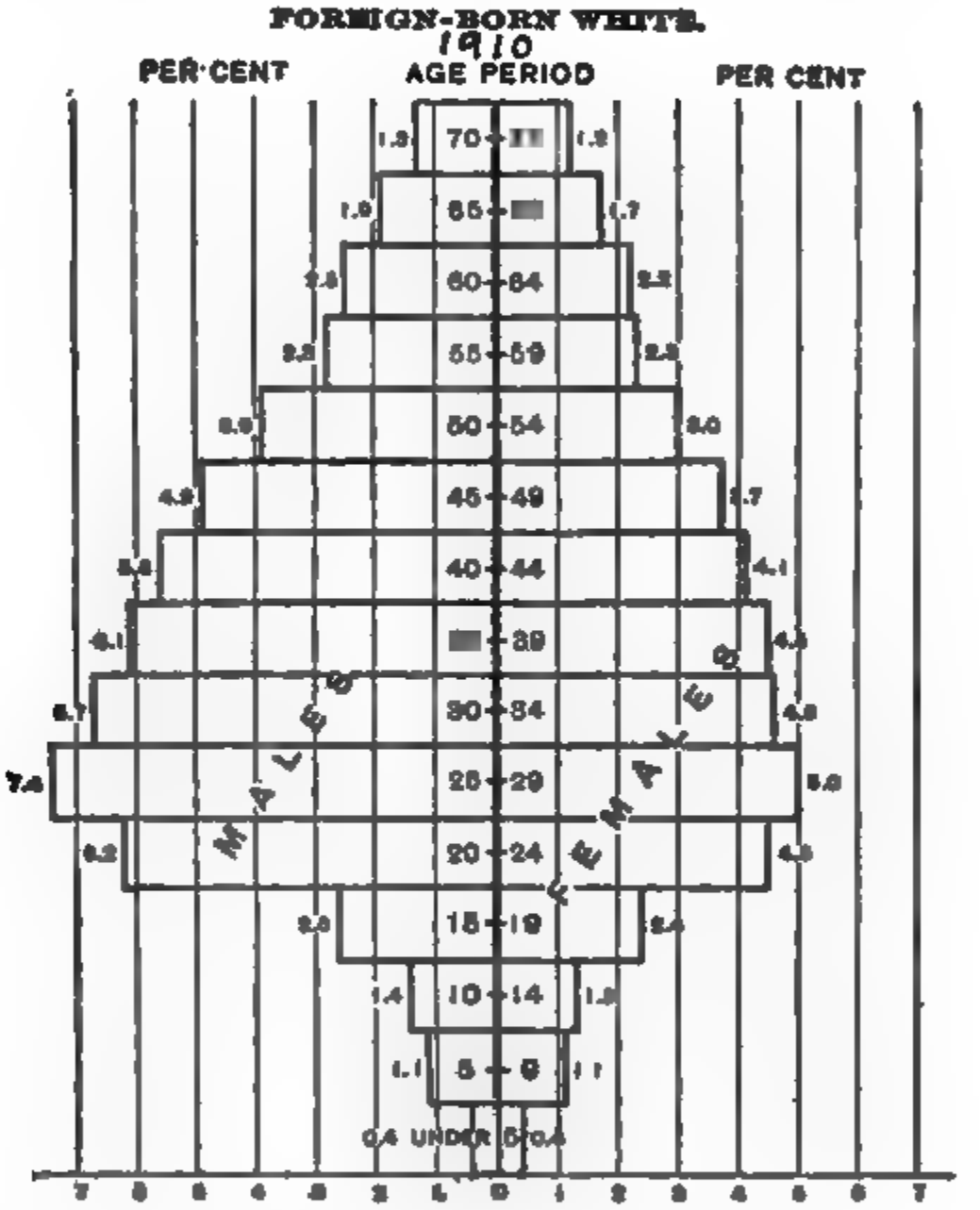
men, Massachusetts 20 women to 19 men and, for the native stock, 11 women to 10 men.

Cities are magnets as well as new regions and cities with their offer of security and the opportunity of self-support lure more women than the rude frontier. Hence, men preponderate in the flow to new regions, while women often outnumber men in the currents to the cities.

Commercial Cities Attract More Men, Residence Cities More Women

Cities, however, differ greatly in their attraction for women. Commercial cities abound most in opportunities for men. Very naturally Minneapolis has 115 men to 100 women; Portland, Oregon, 150; Seattle, 153; San Francisco, 144. No wonder such cities are marked by energy, daring and prompt decision! Because of their demand for personal or domestic service, residence cities show an excess of women. Washington, Richmond, Cambridge and Nashville have from 113 to 116 women for every

CHAP. I hundred men. Manufacturing cities lure now men, now women, according to the character of their industry. Metallurgical cities like Bridgeport, Birmingham, Pittsburgh and Detroit draw more men; while textile cities like Lowell, Fall River and Paterson draw more women. All this is not to suggest that comparative



Love equalizes the sexes in number when Work does not

economic opportunity dominates the sex composition of any community. The numerical inequalities between the sexes in different cities are but a residue which has not been overcome by sex attraction. Cupid abhors "he" towns and "she" towns, so that automatically an excess of men sets up a demand for women, and *vice versa*.

We have no means of knowing what traits a female community

The Male Community Always In Flux

would develop, but we do know that the male community has a character of its own. In case it is too remote or rude to attract home-making women — e.g., in the Far North or on the rim of civilization — its population is a continual flux, for the men tire of a womanless life and presently return to "God's country" to marry and "settle down." Such a community becomes the theatre of a ruthless greed, for its denizens treat it not as *home,* but as merely a place for making money. Since they do not think of it as their children's country, they butcher the land, waste its resources and maltreat the indigenous population. No one cares for the future of the country. Each is in haste to gather the spoil and return home. This is why,

"There runs no law of God nor man to the north of Fifty Three."

Recklessness of the Male Community

In the male community law is weak, public opinion scarcely exists, and each does what is right in his own eyes, save in so far as he is checked by respect for the other man's weapon. Life — one's own as well as another's — is held cheap and is staked on slight issues. Suicide is frequent since often "nobody cares." The daredevil spirit prevails. Men resort gleefully to a saloon which calls itself "The Bucket of Blood." Few pay any attention to religion. It used to be said in the Northwest, "No Sunday west of Bismarck, and west of Miles City no God." Every one thinks of making his "pile" and getting away. There will be time enough then to look after his soul.

Women Make Homes and the Home Favors Stability and a Sense of Responsibility

With the coming of women, homes and children, the temper of the community changes. The sense of responsibility for his dependents makes the man slower in risking his own life or in taking that of another. A new-born appreciation of security causes brawl and duel to be stamped out. Men begin to lay deep foundations for law and morality when they expect to rear their children in the community. Intemperance ceases to be a joke after the women teach their men folk to look upon it as deliberate self-poisoning. The adventuress, queen of the male community, is disowned and becomes the "fallen" woman as wives and mothers make their influence felt. From women, who love security and abhor the wanton creation of risk, emanates a sentiment against the furious gambling by which the male community relieves its ennui. Unable to use the saloon for sociability and recognizing in this demoralizing male resort its deadliest enemy, the home

CHAP. I

attacks the saloon and prunes away its worst features. In the wake of women come schools, churches and shops to help them make homes which will attract more than the bar room.

Chivalry Springs up Quickly when Men Greatly Outnumber Women

The economic law that the value of anything is inversely in proportion to the supply seems to hold true of the sexes. Old societies with an excess of women are ungallant. Men keep their seats before standing women in public conveyances, oppose co-education, bar women from the professions and tolerate human hyænas who prey on defenseless women. On the other hand, in societies like our Mountain commonwealths, which suffer from a dearth of women, men pay chivalrous homage to women, raise the age of consent, let them hold property, give them the ballot, grant them facile divorce, open to them all doors of educational opportunity, admit them to a share in the management of churches and societies and make them jurors, school directors and trustees of charitable institutions.

AGE

Much Can be Read from the Age Composition of a Population

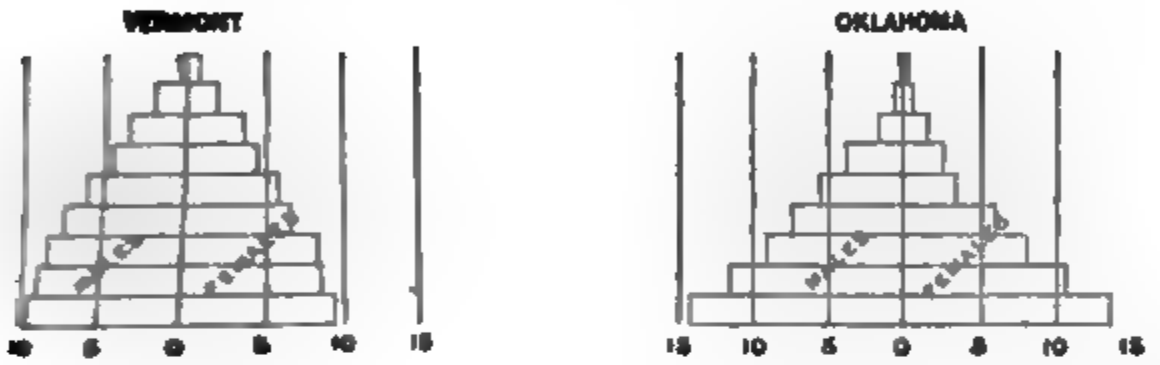
The age make-up of a population is significant. A heavy proportion of young, if it does not mean a short average term of life, indicates rapid increase. Of extremely prolific peoples, such as Russians and Bulgarians, near two-fifths will be under the age of fifteen. A people moderate in fecundity and skillful in saving child life will have a third under fifteen. A stationary people like the French will have only a fourth in this age group.[1]

A structure like that of the native whites of Oklahoma in 1900 indicates that people have confidence in the future and are multi-

[1] Thirty years ago I found the streets of the old German towns fairly swarming with children. From the ruins of a thousand-year-old castle of Henry the Fowler near the Harz I counted 28 children and 4 old women weeding turnips in a single field. What a contrast to the French provinces! This blind fecundity was encouraged by the Kaiser and the military caste as a great prop of their design of world conquest. His maxim that woman's existence should be bounded by the four K's (*Kinder, Küche, Kleider, Kirche,* i.e., children, kitchen, clothes and church) perfectly expresses the militarist and capitalist attitude toward proletarian increase. It is no great hardship for the wealthy, with servants to care for their children, to have large families, but the poor, many of whom are forced into misery or even die untimely owing to excessive prolificacy, have to be hounded or wheedled to produce enough "cannon-fodder." So the clergy preached that God sends children and He will provide for them, and the professors taught that the Germans are the one "noble" race, while the French are degenerate and the Slavs "incapable of culture"!

ing freely. But that of Vermont for the same year shows by narrowness toward the bottom that the economic outlook is not ght and married people are cautious.

Rapid shrinkage up thru the early age groups signifies exces- e mortality among the young. The figure for the negroes in lo shows clearly that the bulk of them were poor hands at bring-

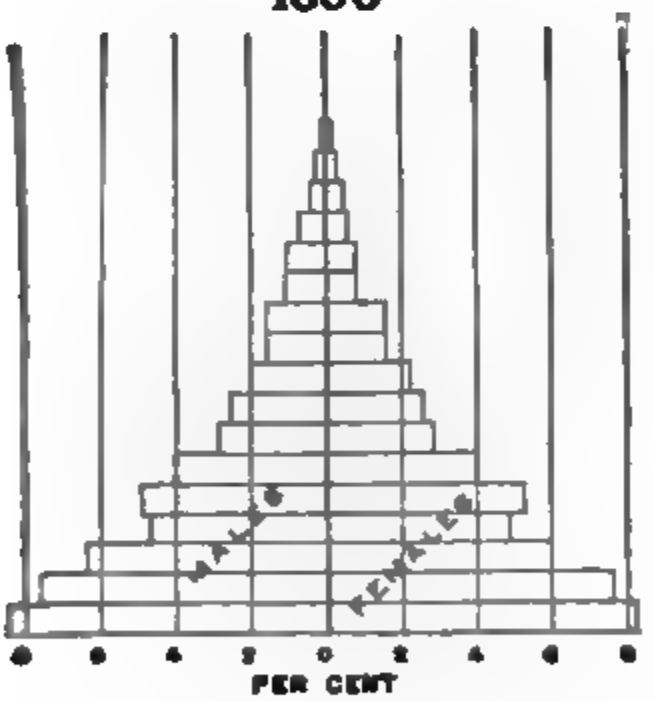


up their children. The steep sides of the figure for negroes in o may mean that birth control has just come among them, or many negro women are infertile owing to the ravages of real disease. The latter is undoubtedly true.

The Light on Negro Fertility

negroes

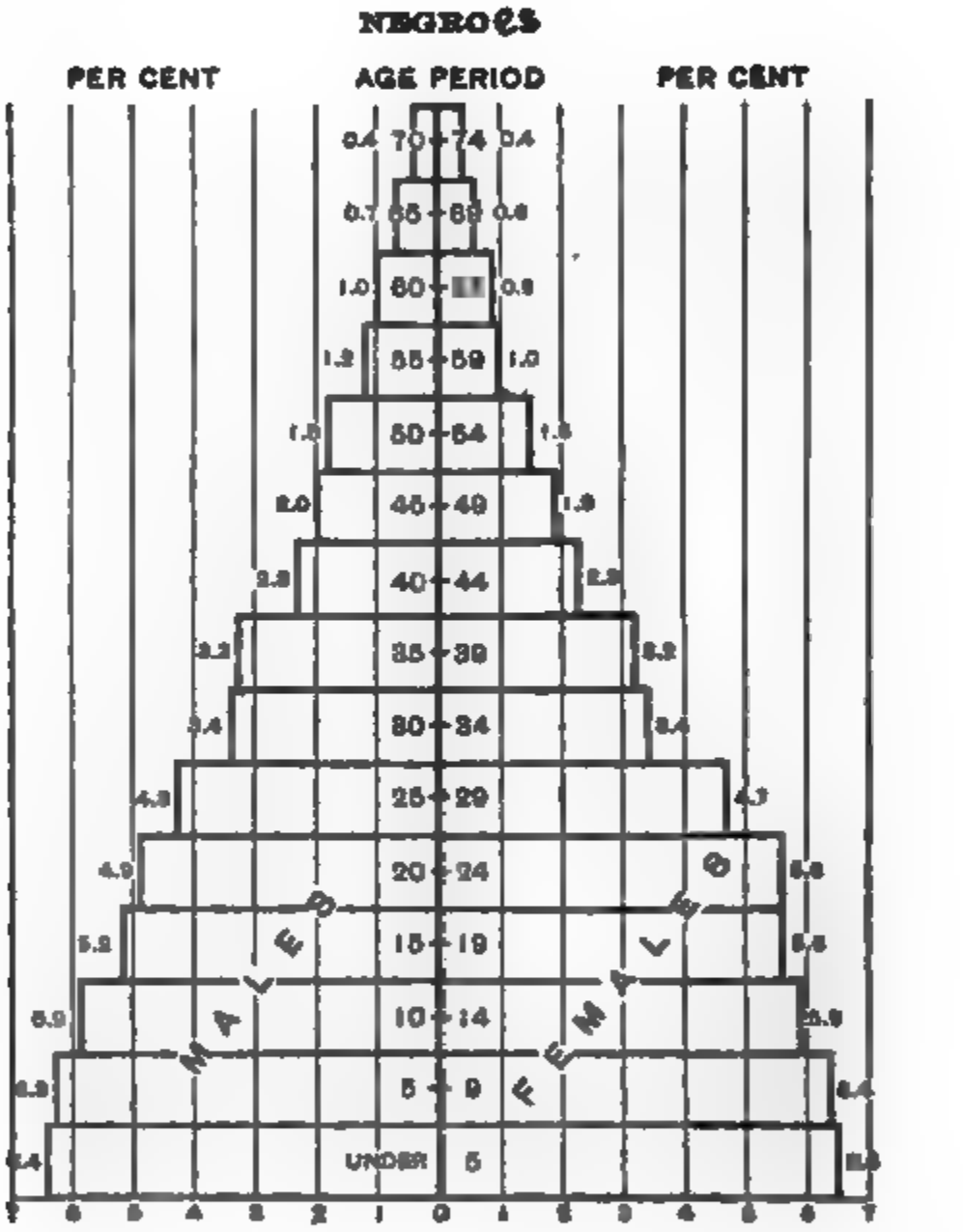
1880



In general about a fifth of the population will have reached the e of 45 years. Ireland, however, has a fourth in this age group ing to the heavy emigration of young men and women. France ws near 29 per cent. above 45 years because her children ups are not well filled. Where, as in Brazil, Ceylon and Cuba,

Significance of the Proportion of Children and of Aged

CHAP. I only a seventh or an eighth of the population reaches middle age, the masses are ignorant of hygiene and do not know how to attain a normal term of life. Comparison of the population for native whites of native parentage in the United States 1890 and 1910 suggests that in the intervening twenty years great strides had been made in overcoming disease and improving hygiene.



Males Predominate in an Economic Immigration

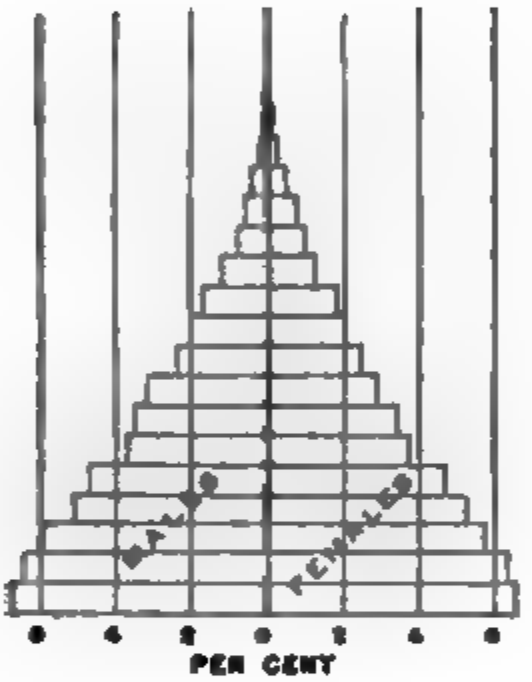
Flight from religious, racial, or political persecution abstracts in due proportion from all the age groups. But a migration prompted by economic motives withdraws those in the earlier productive years who are least burdened by dependents. Comparison of the figures of the foreign-born in the U. S. 1880 and 1910 suggests that in the intervening thirty years immigration had become more economic in motive. The structure of the negroes

of Delaware, Mississippi and Nebraska in 1900 exhibits the age distribution of normal, emigrant and immigrant communities.

The concave sides of the figure for Mississippi show that she has lost not a few of her young adult negroes, while the small proportion of children in Nebraska shows that the negro element there is largely of recent immigration.

In a people losing by an economic migration the ratio of dependents to supporters becomes unfavorable, while a people absorbing such a migration gains in industrial and military potentiality.

NATIVE WHITE OF NATIVE PARENTAGE
1890



The Psyche of a Community Reflects Its Age Composition

Age composition may reflect itself very clearly in the collective spirit. The community with a large proportion in the early productive years, e.g., young and rapidly growing settlements and towns, displays unusual fluidity, energy, initiative and adaptability. On the other hand, an excess of young children and of the elderly lessens venturesomeness and makes for pessimism, timidity, and want of prompt decision.

How the Age of the Dominant Element Colors Politics and Business

Communities in which there is a large number of young voters are less swayed in their political choices by partisanship and prejudice, more critical of party management, less governed by feelings from the past and more hospitable to progressive ideas. A community dominated commercially by men from 20 to 45 years of age will reflect t money-making spirit and will sympathize with every form of timate enterprise and individual initiative. If,

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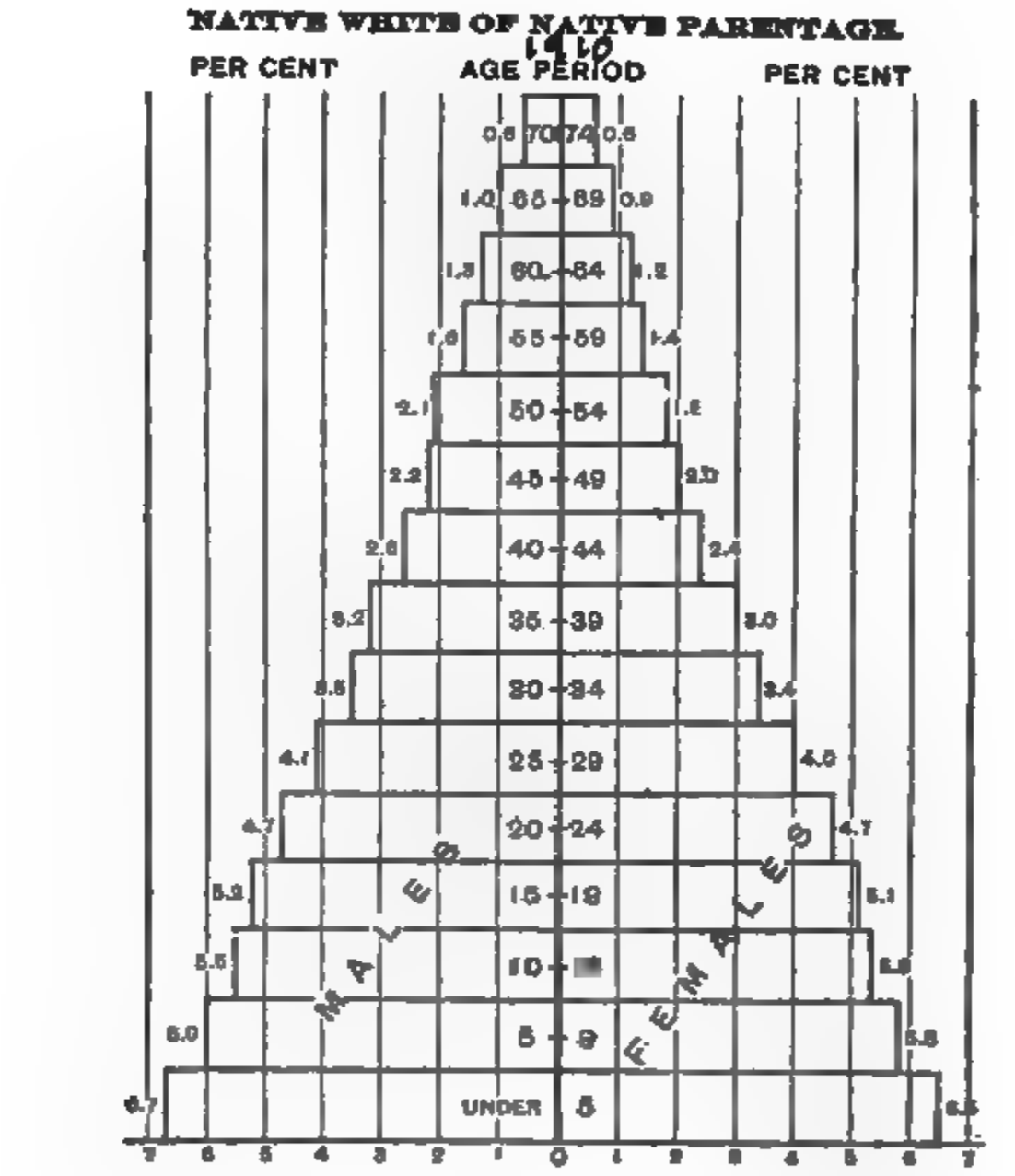
Money Makers versus Money Keepers

on the other hand, men above 45 constitute the tone-giving element, the money-keeping or business-keeping spirit will get the upper hand of the money-making spirit. The community will sympathize with the demand for stability and security, for safety



of investments and freedom from business disturbance, rather than with the demand of the enterprising individual for a free hand and a square deal.

NATIVITY [2]

The Quality of Immigrant Streams

A stream of immigrants may be *representative*, *sub-representative* or *super-representative* of the people from which it comes.

[2] At the outbreak of the World War a third of the American people were of foreign parentage, while the foreign born numbered between

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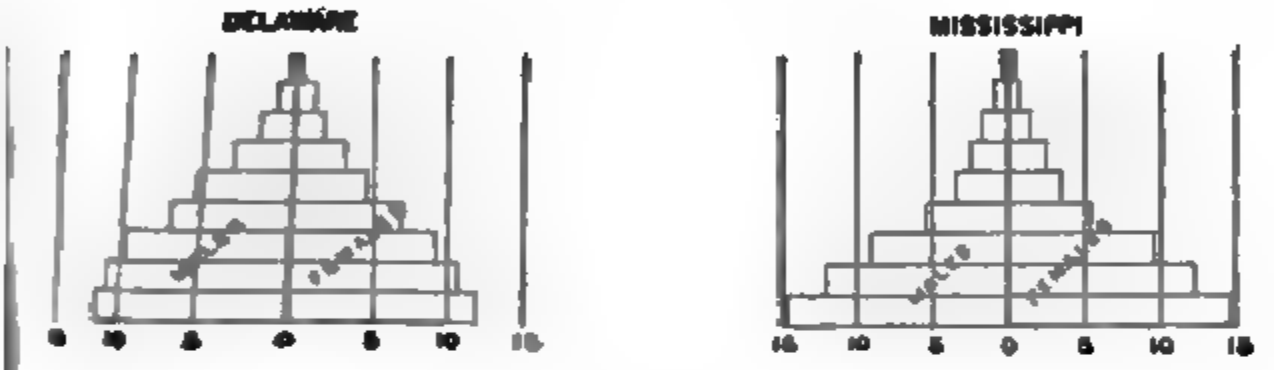
Religious or political oppression is likely to start up a current of *super-representative* migrants because it is chiefly the superior who refuse to conform to the will of the powerful. The English Puritans, Quakers and Catholics, the Scotch Covenanters, the French Huguenots, the German sectaries who settled Pennsylvania and the refugee German liberals of 1848 were among the *super-representative* elements which came to America. Discrimination against a people or a race generally causes a *representa-*

Non-conformists are Superior



tive outflow, e.g., the Scotch Irish and the Scotch Highlanders of Colonial days as well as the streams of Armenians, Syrians and Russian Hebrews which have come to us latterly.

Pioneers Excel in Venturesomeness

Subdners of the wilderness generally surpass in energy and venturesomeness their kinsmen who stay where they were born. It is the trout rather than the carp that find their way out of the pool into the swift water. The American pioneering breed had rare courage and initiative and the European immigrants who came to settle in the Great West may well have topped the average of their people in these traits. Those who follow the lure of high wages in a foreign labor market will *sub-represent* their people in ability. The educated, the propertied, the established, the well-connected, having prospects at home, have no motive to sub-

Job-seekers Sub-represent

sixteen and seventeen millions — certainly the largest body of strangers any people has ever engulfed. Never before did the old American element constitute so small a proportion of the people.

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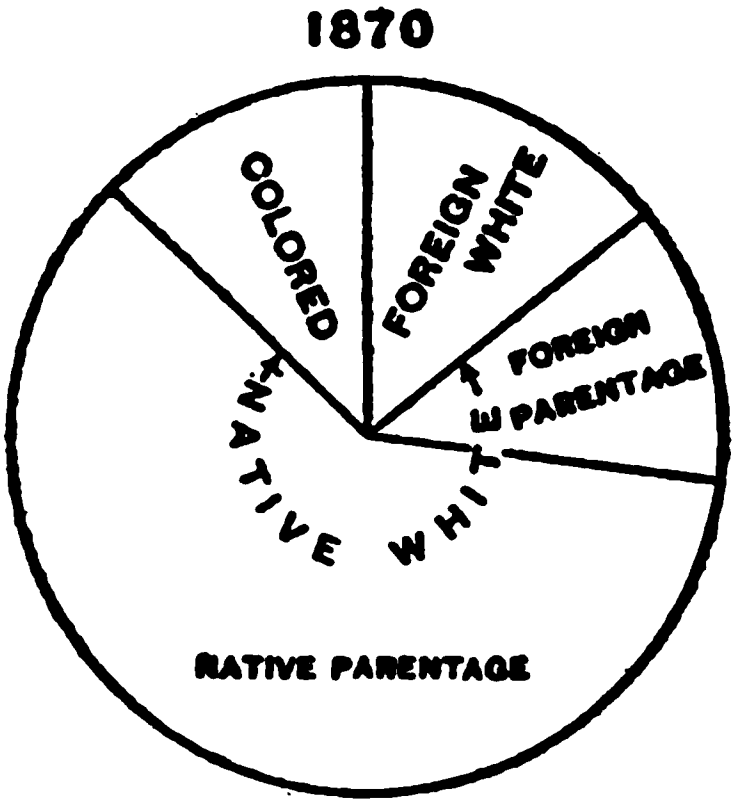
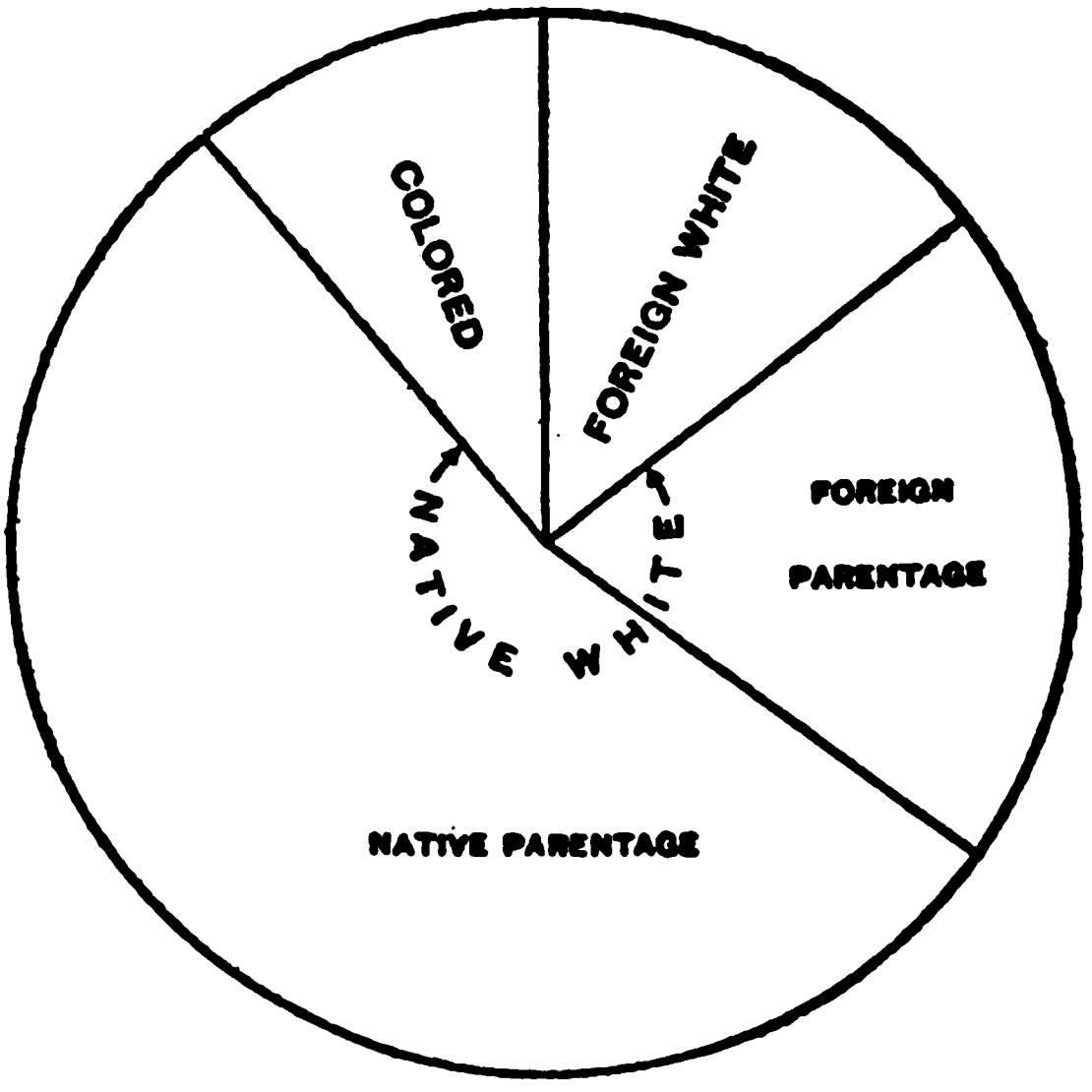
The Heirs of Success do not Wander

mit themselves to the hardships of the steerage. The children of the successful abide in their fatherland; only the children of the unsuccessful migrate, and it is very unlikely that such a stream



will constitute a good sample of the beauty, brains and initiative of the stock.



Early-comers Superior to Later-comers

Even the difficulties of a distant migration have a selective value. The first-comers from a people probably have more initiative than those who come later, after the channels of immigra-

tion are worn deep and straight and smooth. The poorest stuff is that which migrates in response to a ticket-selling campaign by steamship agents who go about and excite the ignorant and gullible with fairy tales. Woe to the land which serves as dumping ground for a commercialized immigration!

The Low-standard Immigrant Outbreeds and Supplants the High-standard Native Stock

Bringing his own inherited low standard of living, the foreign-born outbreeds his native competitor, whose standard of living reflects the better prospects of the newer country. The former will be ready to marry before the latter feels justified in doing so. The former will beget eight children while the latter does not see how he can do right by more than four.[3] The higher standards of cleanliness, decency and education cherished by the native element act on it like a slow poison. William does not leave so many children as 'Tonio because he will not huddle his family into one room, eat macaroni off a bare board, work his wife barefoot in the field, and keep his children weeding onions instead of at school. Subjection to competition with low-standard immigrants appears to be the root cause of the mysterious "sterility" which has stricken in turn the Americans and each of the Americanized immigrant elements. Down to 1830 the Americans were as fertile a race as ever lived and their decline in fertility coincides in time and locality with the arrival of the immigrant flood.[4]

[3] In 1890 in American cities a thousand foreign-born women could show 565 children under five years of age to 309 children shown by a thousand native women. By 1900 the contribution of the foreign women had risen to 612, while that of the native women had declined to 296.

[4] F. S. Crum in the Bulletin of the American Statistical Association for Sept. 1914, p. 216, offers the following significant table:

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER WIFE

(Statistics Based upon Twenty-two Genealogical Records of American Families.)

Marriage Periods.	Number of Wives.	Number of Children.	Average Number of Children per Wife.
Previous to 1700	276	2,034	7.37
1700–1749	802	5,478	6.83
1750–1799	1,966	12,649	6.43
1800–1849	5,530	27,320	4.94
1850–1869	3,062	10,630	3.47
1870–1879	1,086	3,004	2.77
Totals	12,722	61,115	4.80

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A Mixed Immigration Disintegrates the Social Mind

In a society governed from outside or above — Egypt, for example — the introduction of strangers, provided they are law-abiding and industrious, may do no harm. But a democratic society, in which government, laws, and moral standards are the outcome of common understanding, suffers as it becomes more heterogeneous in composition. The unworthy are able to slip into power because groups of worthy citizens are pulling different ways. When a people is so like-minded politically that fundamentals are taken for granted, it is ready to tackle new questions as they come up. But if it admits to citizenship myriads of strangers who insist on threshing over again old straw — the relation of church to state, of church to school, of state to parent, of law to the liquor trade — ripe sheaves ready to yield the wheat of wisdom under the flails of discussion lie untouched. Pressing questions — public hygiene, conservation, the control of monopoly, the protection of labor — go to the foot of the docket and public interests are not looked after.

MARITAL CONDITION

American Matrimoniality very High

Contrary to the prevalent impression, the Americans are one of the most married peoples on the face of the earth. A greater proportion of them are, or have been, married than of the British, French, Belgians, Scandinavians, Germans, Austrians, Swiss, Italians, Greeks or Japanese. Their only superiors in Europe are the Magyars and the Slavs. This high marriedness reflects, no doubt, rural life, relative ease of economic conditions among the common people, and a social position of woman which prompts her to scorn the irregular relations which a certain male element prefers. Moreover, servants are much hampered in marrying and in the United States the proportion of servants is singularly small.

Low Illegitimacy

The usual American proportion of illegitimate births is from 3 to 4 per cent. When the rate exceeds this, it is usually owing to the negroes, many of whom have the most primitive ideas as to sex obligation. When one considers that in the European peoples the proportion born out of wedlock runs from 5 to 15 per cent., while in the South American countries the proportion of illegitimate births ranges from 20 per cent. to more than 50 per cent., the fact that, out of a hundred American white children, ninety-

six or ninety-seven have been born in marriage indicates a fair degree of success in social control of the sex relation.

Not only are Americans much married but their fondness for the conjugal state seems to be increasing. From 1890 (when first the needful data were gathered) to 1910 the proportion of men 20 to 24 years of age who had married increased a fourth. The proportion of women in this age-class who had taken a husband advanced from 47 per cent. to 50 per cent. Out of a hundred American women in 1890 32 were single; in 1900, 31; in 1910, 30.

Americans Married Earlier in 1910 than in 1890

Nor is this tendency due to the influx of early-marrying East Europeans. Take the girls of American parentage. In 1890 just about half of them were married; in 1910 nearly 52 per cent. of them had stood before the altar. After all we hear about "bachelor maids," the higher cost of the married state, and the postponement of marriage, it comes as a shock to discover that marriages are earlier than formerly and that all that has happened is that one or two women who twenty years ago would have become wives now never marry at all.

Why Men Marry Later than Women

The fact that one man in ten and four women in ten marry before the age of 21 and that two-thirds of the women marry under 25 while only two-fifths of the men marry under 25, reflects the very unequal economic incidence of the matrimonial yoke. Since it is the husband who undertakes the legal obligation of support, matrimony generally occurs two or three years later for men than for women. Greater difficulty in getting a start in life results in a later average age of marriage for men, but does not affect the age of brides.

NORMALITY

Society's Vitality and Success Reflect the Ability Composition of the People

The ability differences within a population are of immense social importance. The super-normal provide society with leaders, misleaders, inspirers, path-finders and directors. Under fair competition the conspicuously successful will be of this type. On the other hand, the sub-normal are largely responsible for such sinister phenomena as crime, pauperism, vagrancy and prostitution. There is reason to believe that a third of the prostitutes in America are feeble-minded. It is supposed that from a quarter to a third of the paupers are hereditarily defective. Half or more of chronic inebriates are victims of a bad heredity. The

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proportion of criminals who are mentally defective is no doubt many times larger than that in the population at large.

Proportion of Congenital Defect in the United States

The number of feeble-minded in the United States is not reckoned at less than 375,000, while a much greater host carry the taint in their germ plasm and, if they mate with their own type, may transmit it to their descendants. The insane and demented are estimated to number at least 350,000. Epileptics are figured by some at 150,000. Counting in all the well-marked types of congenital defect perhaps one person in a hundred is so poor in natural equipment as to present a problem.

Much Depends on the Development of a Technique of Mental Measurement

The measurement of mental differences is yet in its infancy. Its technique is, however, rapidly developing and before long we may be able to ascertain with a fair degree of accuracy the natural mental capacity of any individual. When that time comes it may be possible to gauge the comparative brain power of races and of hybrids, to discriminate at immigration stations between the desirables and the undesirables, to discover what youth are worthy of being aided to a higher education, to find for each profession the grade of capacity requisite for success in it, or to sort out of a body of employees the ones available for responsibility and direction. Society will then be able to locate its stock of superior ability, to discover whether much of it is running to waste, to see whether it is reproducing itself, to find when and why a community becomes impoverished in respect to ability, and to trace the routes and causes of the migrations of the capable.

CHAPTER II

CITY AND COUNTRY

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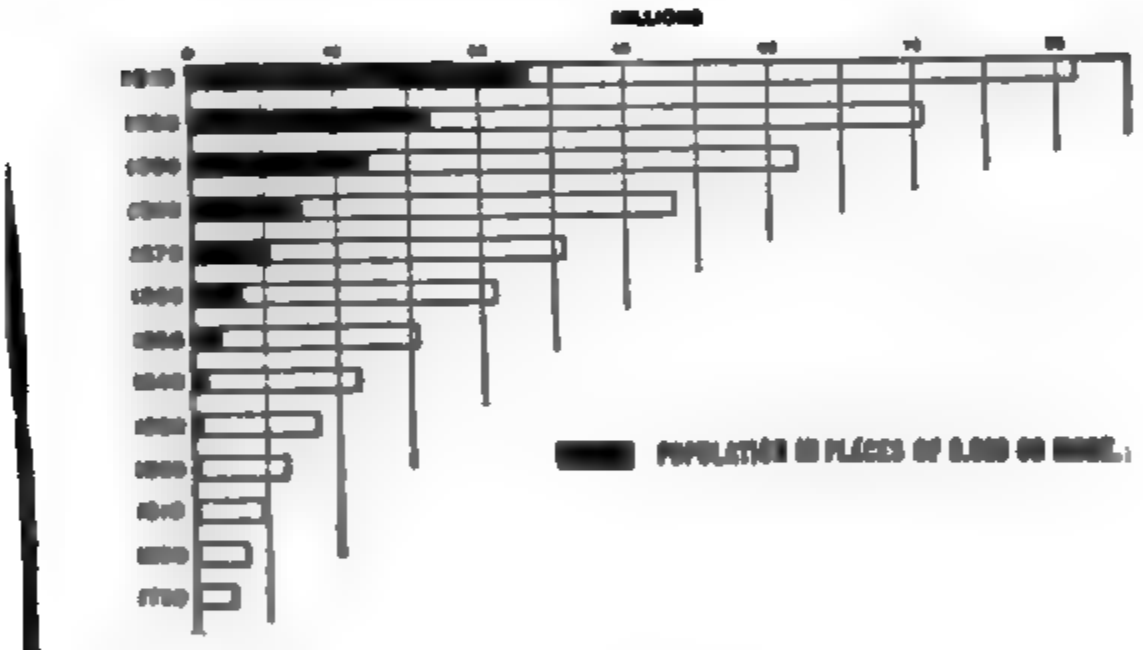
Swift Urbanization of the American Population

AT the birth of the American nation one hundred and thirty years ago, its largest city had but forty-two thousand inhabitants, while only one person in thirty lived in the six towns of more than eight thousand population each. Now there cannot be fewer than eight hundred such places in which dwell at least two-fifths of all Americans. Nearly one-half of us live in places of over 2,500 inhabitants, a tenth in villages, and hardly more than two-fifths in the open country. So many of the coming genera-



POPULATION IN PLACES OF 8,000 OR MORE.

Population in Places of 8,000 Inhabitants or More at Each Census: 1790–1910.

tion are growing up in cities that it will not be long ere the national soul is urban.

The Ending of the Frontier Accelerates the Process

Up to thirty years ago there was an agricultural frontier which acted as a brake on the forces of urbanization. The overflow from the long-settled regions split into two streams, one flowing to the rising cities, while the other spread out upon free land. The opportunity to create farm homes in the public domain saved hundreds of thousands every decade from the reaching tentacles

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of our great cities. Now that settlement is completed the ambitious farm youth without large capital has only the option of becoming a tenant farmer or going to the city.

The City-ward Drift a World Phenomenon

The indraught to the cities is not peculiar to the United States. "London is probably two thousand years old, and yet four-fifths of its growth was added during the past century. From 1850 to 1890 Berlin grew more rapidly than New York. Paris is now five times as large as it was in 1800. Rome has increased 50 per cent. since 1890. St. Petersburg has increased fivefold in a hundred years. Odessa is a thousand years old, but nineteen-twentieths of its population were added during the nineteenth century. Bombay grew from 150,000 to 821,000 from 1800 to 1890. Tokio increased nearly 800,000 during the last twenty years of the century; while Osaka was nearly four times as large in 1903 as in 1872, and Cairo has more than doubled since 1850. Thus in Europe, Asia and Africa we find that a redistribution of population is taking place. The movement from country to city is a world phenomenon." [1]

Despite the denunciations of cities by philosophers and the idealizations of the country by the poets, the cityward flow continues because its causes are fundamental.

CAUSES OF URBAN GROWTH

It Is Caused by the Expansion of Commerce

1. The application of mechanical power to transportation has so cheapened carriage that interchanges of goods have waxed like Jonah's gourd. Ever greater is the proportion of our consumables brought to us from beyond the hundred-mile zone, from beyond the thousand-mile zone, from overseas, from the ends of the earth. Gulf Streams of traffic pour between regions, countries and climates. Wherever there is a break in transportation, i.e., wherever cargoes shift between wagon and rail, land and water, canal and river, river and sea, and wherever traffic brooks gather into a river or a traffic river is split among canals, there a city springs up. These swelling streams of commerce permit an ever larger contingent to make a living from handling, storing, exchanging and forwarding a mass of goods which grows faster than the population, faster than the total product, and which must make an ever-longer journey in order to reach the consumer.

2. Two generations ago the typical farm family produced for

[1] Josiah Strong, "The Challenge of the City," p. 18.

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The Growth of the Factory System of Manufacture

itself a large part of the manufactured goods it consumed. The women of the house, busy with hand card, spinning wheel and loom, worked up into clothing the fleeces of the farm flock of sheep. "Rag" carpets covered the floor and home-made quilts and comforters the beds. The hide of the beef killed for family consumption as well as those of a calf or two were taken to the tannery and after six months brought home and worked up into foot gear, sometimes by the men of the family but more often by a traveling shoemaker. In the smoke house were curing hams and bacon, while from the ashes in the leech was drained the lye which, boiled with refuse fat, furnished soft soap for the family. Candles were moulded from the tallow of the slaughtered beef. The orchard supplied fruit, cider and vinegar. "Sweetening" came from the "sugar bush" or the patch of sorgum cane. Farm machinery did not exist, and the wooden parts of the farm implements were made on the place, the iron parts being furnished by a cross-roads blacksmith.

Since this period we have seen a development of machine industry which has concentrated in towns at least five-sixths of the making industries which formerly supplied the wants of the farm family. Nor can we foresee that any rural handiwork except the manufacture of food products for consumption by the family is likely to escape the reach of the power-driven machine. In some regions, perhaps, specialization has gone too far. As a result of girls' canning clubs, sewing clubs and the like, the people of the grain-growing regions in particular will become less dependent on the city for their food and clothing. Nevertheless, it appears unlikely that there will be left outside the towns many who do not give their entire effort and attention to some purely extractive industry like agriculture, mining, or lumbering.

3. The introduction of power-driven machinery on the farm diminishes the number of hands required in agriculture and releases a part of the rural population for some other pursuit.

The Rise of the Standard of Living

4. The very abundance of modern production gives the city more to do. The poor lay out most of their income on country product. As they prosper, more of their every gain in purchasing power goes to support town industry rather than rural industry. This is because, the better the ware, the more of its value lies in the workmanship and the less in the material. More of the price of the fine shoe goes for elaboration than of the

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price of the brogan. So is it if you compare pastry with bread, the business suit with blue jeans, porcelain with crockery. The coarser goods stand for extraction, the finer goods for elaboration. Hence, as people live better, their consumption calls more for elaborative industry and less for extractive industry, i.e., for the labor of city rather than of country.[2]

The Development of Government Service

5. Thanks to the host of new duties assumed by government, the public service grows rapidly and the proceeds of taxation contribute more and more to the maintenance of city dwellers. Few, indeed, are the public servants who live in the open country.

6. Generally people must reside where they get their living. Nevertheless, social, æsthetic and educational advantages have a bearing upon the local distribution of population. Both city and country are becoming more desirable places to live, but which improves faster? In our time the city has gained electric street railways, electric lights, asphalt pavements, rubber tires, pure water, parks, playgrounds, public baths, social centers, housing regulation, palatial free high schools and municipal universities. The open country has gained better roads, the oiled highway in places, the automobile, rural mail delivery, the telephone, in some homes acetylene gas and running water and in a few places the consolidated school and the community house. On the whole, town life has gained more attractions than country life, and the town's lead in attractiveness constantly broadens.

The Amelioration of City Life, and the Diminished Social Prestige of the Country

7. Once the country was a magnet for the wealthy because feudal tradition had haloed the life of the country gentleman. The townsman retiring rich withdrew with his dependents and servants to a mansion on an estate. This exodus of the leisured to the country offset a little the rush of the ambitious in the other direction. But, the world over, the rôle of country gentleman appeals less, while the passion of the wealthy for city excitements, amusements, and dissipations seems to grow.

MAKE-UP OF THE CITY POPULATION

Excess of Males in the Rural Population

The make-up of the urban element is by no means the same as that of the rural element. With us agriculture is so male that

[2] Of course, if population increases more rapidly than goods, particularly foods, as appears to be the case in this country during recent years, not so much of the national income can be devoted to manufactured goods and extractive industries will become relatively more important.

country spinsters and widows undertaking self-support seek the cities. In rural America there are 110 men to 100 women, while in urban America there are only 102 men to 100 women. The like holds true of western Europe, but in Russia, where women do field work, they are less apt to wander to the city than the men. In the Orient, where woman is not a free agent, no woman migrates to the city save as member of a family.

The Psyche of the City Is that of the Young and Active

It is the producer rather than the consumer who betters his lot by removing to the city. A man with several dependents is shy of going where living is dear. The city therefore drains from the country the young unencumbered adults, leaving an excess of children and aged. A third of our city-dwellers are in the age group 25 to 44 years, but only a quarter of our country-dwellers. No wonder the growing city throbs with energy and hope while the traits characteristic of the depleted countryside are deliberateness, reserve and conservatism.

The City Less Native than the Open Country

Oversea migration drops people down in cities, and most of them abide there, prisoners of ignorance and inertia. In a settled country receiving immigrants the cities become more polyglot and foreign than the rural districts. After our agricultural frontier came to an end, foreign immigration saturated American cities with foreign-born and contributed more to urban growth than the tide from the farms. Hence the open country is the stronghold of old Americanism, while the great city is a cosmopolitan Babel. About two-thirds of our farm residents are of native stock, while, as one runs the gamut from farms to towns, from towns to cities, and from small cities to big, this element shrinks until in the great cities it is a bare quarter. Conversely, the foreign stock, which is represented on the farms by a fifth, makes up *seven-tenths* of the metropolitan myriads.

This flooding with a type comparatively backward and custom-bound explains why, in respect to early marriage, divorce, family size, male ascendancy, patriarchal authority and child labor, certain of our Northern cities exhibit the traits of rural Eastern Europe rather than those which generally characterize an urban population.

Family Life Stronger in Country than in City

Who is more forlorn than the lone man or the lone woman on a farm? Since boarding houses are unsuited to the country, agriculture *commands* people to marry. Everywhere in the country districts married life begins earlier for both sexes, lasts longer

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before being broken by divorce or death, and, if thus broken, is more likely to be succeeded by a new union, than in the large cities. Family life prevails, therefore, in country rather than in city, and this is so because on the farm the family is a more natural and indispensable unit for life and work.

Irregular Sex Relations in the City

In view of the niggardly satisfaction the city affords the mating instinct, no wonder a market for female virtue springs up in the city. Comments an expert on the U. S. census figures for 1900, "The foregoing figures showing the much smaller proportion of married persons in large cities, especially in the earlier years of adult life, would support the belief that where married life is so much less prevalent, the unlawful indulgence of sexual desires is probably more prevalent." Since urban economic conditions call into being prostitution, this abominable plague does not die out of itself. It can be extirpated only by social effort.

City Life Discourages Prolificacy

The urban element reproduces itself less than the rural element not only because it is less domestic, but also because its children are more of a burden and less of an asset. Once child exploitation is curbed, the rearing of a large family costs the farmer much less than the city dweller. In certain of our Northern cities, full of foreign-born who exercise no forethought in the matter of family, this economic check is not manifest, but in the more native South the proportion of children to women is about half as great in city as in country.

FOLK DEPLETION

Is it *milk* or *cream* that the cities with their constant suction abstract from the rural population?

The City Drains the Country of Its More Valuable Elements

Perhaps the trait most distinctive of those who follow the call of the distant city when farming stagnates is the *spirit of initiative*. They have it in them to *make a start*, in spite of home ties, the bonds of habit, and the restraints of prudence. Had they not emigrated, their spirit of initiative would have shown itself along other lines. They would have been among the first in the community to change their method of farming, to introduce some new crop, to embark in an untried industry, or to promote some community enterprise. A heavy outflow of this element need not leave the community poorer in physique, or brains, or character, except as these are correlated with initiative, but it *does* leave it poorer in natural leaders.

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Leaders Necessary to Rapid Community Progress

This is serious because natural leaders are of the utmost value to society. Not only is it they who launch improvements, but they perform a peculiar service in keeping up to the mark the various institutions which minister to the higher life of the community. The bulk of the people are unable to start or direct those institutions, although they appreciate and support them once they exist. Often one sees a depressing slump in the religious, social, and recreative life of a neighborhood, following the moving away of two or three families of initiative. Usually those who insist upon and know how to get good schools, vigorous churches, and abundant means for social enjoyment, are a minority, often a very small minority. The loss of even the best tenth may cut down by one-half the effective support the community gives to higher interests.

Deterioration of the Country from Want of Leadership

The continual departure of young people who would in time have become leaders results eventually in a visible moral decline of the community. The roads are neglected, which means less social intercourse and a smaller turnout to school and church and public events. School buildings and grounds deteriorate, and the false idea takes root that it pays to hire the cheaper teacher. The church gets into a rut, fails to start up the social and recreative activities which bind the young people to it, and presently ceases to be a force, perhaps even goes to pieces. Frivolity engrosses the young because no one organizes singing schools, literary societies, or debating clubs. Presently a generation has grown up that has missed the uplifting and refining influence of these communal institutions. There is a marked decline in standards of individual and family morality. Many couples become too selfish to rear children. It is noticed that people are not up to the level of their forefathers, that they are coarser in their tastes and care less for higher things. Vice and sensuality are not so restrained as of yore. The false opinion goes abroad that the members of the community are "degenerate" and therefore past redemption.

All this may result from the continual abstraction from a normal population of too many of that handful of born leaders which is needed to leaven the social lump.

Signs of Folk Depletion in the Older Parts of Rural America

No doubt decline from this cause has occurred sporadically for thousands of years, but it assumes acute forms in the United States because the double pull of city and frontier, propagated by schools and newspapers, has worked on our old rural popula-

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tion like a cream separator. In New England there are rural counties which have been losing their best for three or four generations, leaving the coarse, dull and hidebound. The number of loafers in some slackwater villages of the Middle States indicates that the natural pacemakers of the locality have gone elsewhere to create prosperity. In parts of southern Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and even as far west as Missouri, there are communities which remind one of fished-out ponds populated chiefly by bullheads and suckers.

Folk depletion no doubt accounts for the moral sag noted a few years ago by one of the earlier analysts of country life:

"Allowing for some exceptions, not too numerous, it may be said that throughout the prosperous and productive farming regions of the United States, which have been settled for fifty years, community life has disappeared. There is no play for the children; there is no recreation for young people; there are no adequate opportunities for acquaintance and marriage for young men and women; there is not a sufficient educational system for the needs of country people, and there is not for the average man or woman born in the country an economic opportunity within reach of his birthplace, such as will satisfy even modest desires. There is not in a weak community that satisfaction of social instinct which makes it a 'good place to live in.' Time was in New England and New York and Pennsylvania when there was a community to which every farmer belonged with some pleasure and pride. The absence of community life through these country regions expresses to-day what one man calls 'the intolerable condition of country life.'" [3]

With the Better Outlook for Farming the Situation Is Improving

Of late the situation has decidedly improved. The country-life movement has opened the eyes of many bright country youths to farm opportunities. More and more of the graduates of agricultural colleges engage in farming. Lately the course of food prices has told in favor of country and against city. As farm homes improve and farmers have money to spend, the country gains in prestige and hence in hold on its young people. High-priced farm lands necessitating the use of improved machinery, thorough-bred live stock, scientific methods and good business judgment challenge the more capable young men, so that in the more prosperous agricultural regions it is the restless rather than the ambitious who wander to the city.

[3] Dr. Warren H. Wilson, Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. V, p. 174.

Means of Checking Folk Depletion

The hope of further checking the flow of country brains to the city lies in multiplying social and recreative opportunities for heart-starved young people on the farms, in redirecting rural education and re-inspiring the rural church, in dispelling the false glamour which envelops the distant city and in showing the bright country youth ways of gearing his brains and knowledge on to farming.

CITY SOUL AND RURAL SOUL

The Tempo of the City Is Quicker than that of the Country

The world over, the psychology of city people is notably different from that of country people. The urban type lives on surfaces, life being so crowded with impressions that there is little energy left for reflection. Compare the sights and sounds which hail one in the street with those one meets in the country lane. Compare the big head-lines, chromatic print, dramatic posters and palpitant lights which must be used in order to reach the city mind with the meek announcement posted at the crossroad. The former measures the intensity of the competition to arrest attention. The things the urbanite noticingly looks at or listens to in a day are generally many times more numerous than those that impinge on the farmer's mind. As a result, one country-dweller sinks into stagnation the machinery of his rusty mind moving slowly and only in response to a strong stimulus. The mind of another grinds on itself mulling over his narrow personal experience, his little stock of inherited dogmas, his scanty fund of scrappy uncoördinated information gleaned from his weekly newspaper. Another mind wrestles futilely with passages from the prophet Daniel or the Book of Revelation because quite without the equipment for interpreting them. Finally there is the farmer of trained mind who, furnished by his schooling with orderly knowledge and supplied with trustworthy current data, by his own reflections works out sound principles.

The Urban Mind Is Stimulated and Impressionistic

The city atmosphere quickens the creaking rustic mind, making for alertness, impressibility and promptness of response; also for snap-shot judgments and shallow thinking. You may long ply a rural population with facts and ideas which call for action on their part and get no response. But the impressions accumulate and presently you have built up in them a fixed purpose which inspires the acti n you desire. Urban people, on the other hand, are sooner ho and sooner cool. Impressions are easily made,

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but they are not accumulated, for the city type loathes repetition.

But the Contrast Between Urban and Rural Mind Is Diminishing

Now factors are at work which seem likely to wipe out much of this immemorial difference between city mind and country mind. Rusticity has well-nigh vanished from our Western states, while another generation will see its practical extinction in the corn belt and in most of the dairy belt. The farmer is becoming an entrepreneur, with an attention to the market which makes him a sort of cousin to the business man. Telephone and automobile link him closely with other farmers and with town. But even if the psychology of the isolate vanishes from the open country, it will remain the home of the rural mind, marked by love of the open, intimacy with nature, sympathy with growth processes, self-directed labor and skill in dealing with things rather than in dealing with people.

The City Suggests Spending

Certain economic contrasts between rural and urban seem likely to persist. The city does not favor the fundamental economic virtues such as foresight and frugality. The farmer is esteemed according to his production capital, his red barns, tight fences, weedless fields, sleek horses and fat stock. The city man, however, is appraised according to his consumption capital; not his mill nor his business block nor his law library, but his residence and scale of entertainment determine his social marking. In the country, then, the current standards of success incite to thrift; whereas in the city they incite to spending.

The Farm Suggests Saving

Again, the greatest stimulus to thrift is felt when one's present savings will plainly lighten future labor. The farmer pinches now so that next year a windmill may relieve his aching arms, or the horse fork take the strain off his shoulders. Moreover, his saving is expended under his eyes, just where it will do the most good, and no paltry 6 per cent. is his reward. The tiles he lays through his slough may pay for themselves in three years; so likewise, the new barn, the improved dairy herd or the self-binder. On the other hand, the typical city dweller rents his savings to some one else and takes the reward of his abstinence not in a vivid personal experience, but in an annual 4 per cent. from a savings bank or in 6 per cent. from some remote company whose directors he does not know and whose business he has never seen and would not understand.

The rural neighborhood rarely offers more than one or two levels of opinion upon the conduct of its members. Usually it

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The City Develops the Moral Extremes; the Country Favors the Golden Mean

applies a single standard sound enough but mediocre. Individuals with a strong bent either upward or downward chafe under unstimulating self-complacent neighborhood opinion and migrate in quest of countenancers, models and appreciators. The city, on the other hand, offers circles which differ immensely in their standards of right and of excellence. At every stage of descent into the pit one finds cronies, while one will hardly rise so far into the empyrean as to find himself without comrades. In the city, therefore, one's possibilities whether for good or for evil more fully develop. Angel or devil, hero or sneak, doer or loafer, miser or spendthrift, sage or fool — each more fully attains the limit of his nature than he is likely to do in the rural community.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

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Why There Is a "Population Question"

ASIDE from migration, the increase of population depends on the margin by which births exceed deaths. Formerly these were largely "natural" phenomena, with which the human will had little to do. Population growth was an uncontrollable matter like weather, which set the student of society no problems because there was no way by which he could influence it. In the course of forty years, however, certain forces have come into play among the advanced peoples which have greatly affected both birth rate and death rate. The sociologist has good reason, therefore, to grapple with "the population question."

THE SENSATIONAL LOWERING OF THE DEATH RATE

Progress in the Saving of Human Life

Owing to the great advances in medical science and the arts of healing and surgery, the better education of physicians, improved public sanitation, the greater enlightenment of people in hygienic matters, the rising plane of comfort and the smaller proportion of infants in the population, the advanced peoples cut down their mortality from a quarter to as much as two-fifths in the third of a century before the outbreak of the World War.

Astonishing Success in Saving Babies

The reduction of the mortality during the first years of life has, indeed, been sensational. The first census taken by the Japanese in Formosa indicated that the Chinese there lose one-half their children before they are six months old. Some years ago regularly a third of the Russian babies and a fourth of the Bavarian babies failed to live as long as one year. On the other hand, in the best Scandinavian or American communities not more than one infant in twenty fails to survive the first year, and in New Zealand, where the baby-saving campaign has been pushed farther than anywhere else, there are cities which lose but one infant in 26!

Baby-saving, besides preserving many sound constitutions, enables some of inferior stamina to reach maturity, so that the very

success in conserving younger lives adds to the difficulty of reducing the mortality of older lives. Moreover, there is no doubt that individuals are enabled to survive and reproduce themselves who transmit to their children a poorer physical inheritance than was found among those who grew up before the art of infant-saving was so advanced.

Baby-saving Adds to Difficulty of Saving Adults

Compare, for example, America and China in respect to natural selection. Out of ten children born in America, at least seven reach maturity. Out of the same number born in China, only two grow up. The Chinese lose the three weakest just as we do, but in addition they lose five more who can survive under American conditions but not under Chinese conditions. If at birth the white infants and the yellow infants are equal in stamina, the two Chinese who grow up ought to possess greater strength of constitution than the seven whites who grow up. As parents, the latter cannot be expected to transmit as valuable a physical heredity as the former, so that, in respect to toughness of physique, the people with the less searching and relentless elimination of the weaker infants is at a disadvantage. The proper moral to draw from this is not to relax our efforts to prolong life, but to apply the principles of eugenics to reproduction.

Baby-saving Lowers the Average Stamina of a Race

HOW FAST CAN POPULATION GROW?

The greatest fecundity of which we have statistical measurement is to be found in Russia, British India, and French Canada. Whole populations here show an average of 50 births per thousand annually, while there are communities in which the birth rate is 55 or even 60! Now, the lowest mortality possible in a population containing so large a proportion of young lives is 25 or 30 per thousand. So that the maximum rate of increase of man under the most favorable conditions is about 3 per cent. yearly. This means that the population doubles in about 25 years, or expands in a century to sixteen times its original volume.

It Is Possible for a Population to Double Every Quarter-Century

MALTHUS'S DISCOVERY

A century ago Robert Malthus startled the world by demonstrating that, following its natural bent, the human race multiplies faster than it can increase its food supply, the result being that population tends ever to press painfully upon the means of subsistence. So long as mankind reproduces itself freely, num-

Malthus's Law of Population

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Positive Checks or Prudential Checks?

bers can be adjusted to subsistence only by such destructive agencies as war, famine, vice, and disease. To be sure, this ghastly train of ills may be escaped if only people will prudently postpone marriage. Since, however, late marriage calls for the exercise of more foresight and self-control than can be looked for in the masses, Malthus painted the future with a sombreness which gave political economy its early nickname of "the dismal science."

ORIGIN OF MAN'S EXCESS OF FECUNDITY

His early critics could not conceive that a benevolent Creator would send man into the world with a fatal propensity to overmultiply. Darwin, however, after reading Malthus, conceived the idea that every species becomes involved in a struggle for existence because all species bring forth more young than ordinarily can be brought to maturity. The doctrine of organic evolution has repaid Darwin's debt to Malthus by explaining why every living form tends to multiply to excess.

In the Reproduction of Every Species Nature Provided a "Factor of Safety"

A species inherits the impulse and capacity for greater reproduction than it needs for continuance under ordinary circumstances because it had to have enough to get past the worst conditions it has ever encountered. No doubt countless species or varieties have become extinct because they did not reproduce fast enough to survive certain crises. All the forms we see about us to-day are those which had in their reproductive constitutions a sufficient "factor of safety."

The Human Species Has Three Times the Reproductive Capacity It Can Safely Use Under Present Circumstances

The specific fecundity of mankind became established hundreds of centuries ago and insured it the power of expanding even under the hard conditions of primitive life. In the most advanced stage of civilization this capacity is about *four times* what man needs in order to maintain his numbers and *three times* that which will cause population to grow about as fast as the food supply can be augmented. Hence, for man to shut his eyes and propagate without taking thought for the morrow is to act as if he were living in olden times when a twentieth of the population died in a year instead of to-day when not over an eightieth dies in a year. For him to let himself go in respect to the instincts centering about reproduction is almost as disastrous in its effects as for him to give free rein to his pugnacious instinct, his destructive instinct, or his acquisitive instinct.

MALTHUS AT PAR AGAIN

The White Peoples Must Cut Down Their Rate of Increase or go Back to the Old Poverty and Misery

Through the mid-part of the nineteenth century the lesson Malthus sought to drive home was obscured by the fact that, although the population was multiplying freely, life was getting easier. In the course of the century Europeans much more than doubled in number and yet were better fed than at the beginning. The explanation, however, is not that Malthus was all wrong, but that the art of agriculture was making giant strides and that, out on the expanding frontiers of the white race, great virgin tracts were brought under cultivation while steam transportation enabled their produce to be hurried to the bare larders of the Old World. Since no one perceives where the twentieth century is to find its Mississippi Valley, Argentina, Canada, or Australia to fill with herds or farms, it is necessary for the whites to slacken their rate of increase or to give up most of their social gains and go back to their old hard lot.

THE FALL IN THE BIRTH RATE

The Birth Rate of All Civilized Peoples has Fallen

While, owing to the great lowering of the death rate, most of the advanced peoples were, at the threshold of the World War, increasing perhaps faster than ever before, the behavior of their birth rate is profoundly significant. A marked sag in fecundity made its appearance in France about sixty years ago. In 1878, when the famous Bradlaugh-Besant lawsuit gave wide publicity to the idea of birth control, births began to decline in England and in the next thirty-five years they fell off a third. In the next decade the child crop began to be curtailed in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Australia, and New Zealand. Before the close of the century Finland, Italy and Hungary swung into line, while in the first decade of the twentieth century the militarists of Germany and Austria became agitated over "our diminishing fecundity." In the United States, despite an immense influx of early-marrying and fecund immigrants, the proportion of children under 5 years to women of child-bearing age shrank 35 per cent. between 1860 and 1910. In comparison with 1800, the proportion of children seems to be about one-half.

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The root causes of the spreading aversion to large families are certain tendencies characteristic of modern society.

CAUSES OF THE FALL IN THE BIRTH RATE

In Our Democracy a Large Family Impedes "Rising in Life"

One of these is *democracy*. Caste barriers are down so that more and more a man's standing depends upon himself. The lists of life are open to all and the passion to "succeed" grows with the value of the prizes in view. Never before have so many common people strained to reach a higher rung in the social ladder. But children impede such ascent, so the ambitious dread the handicap of an early marriage and a large family. As for the unselfish, who aim only to assure their children a good start, they will not desire more children than they can equip well for the battle of life.

Many Bear Fewer Children in Order to Gratify More Wants

Owing to the break-up of custom, *our economic wants expand faster than ever before*. People will not limit themselves to the traditional standard of comfort of their class. Wants and tastes once confined to the social elect spread resistlessly downward and infect the masses. Advertising, window-dressing, conspicuous consumption, waves of fashion and stories of the life of modish people carry the craving for luxuries hitherto looked upon as the prerogative of the well-to-do, down among the millions of limited means and these, in their eager haste to gratify these new wants, keep down their increase.

The Advance of Women Is Unfavorable to Excessive Child-bearing

Malthus foresaw neither of these developments nor did he anticipate how women would come forward. The child generally costs the mother more than it costs the father. Nevertheless, so long as woman is reputed to be inferior, her maternity pangs do not count. The great movement of the last seventy years which has burst the fetters on woman's mind, gives the wife more weight in the marriage partnership and causes the heavy cost of maternity to be more considered by her husband as well as by herself.

Knowledge of Means of Birth Control

Probably these forces opposed to prolificacy would have left no very conspicuous mark on the birth rates of nations, had there not occurred at about the same time a diffusion of knowledge of the means of birth control. Percolating slowly down from stratum to stratum, this knowledge continually increases the proportion of limited families.

While so far the fall in the birth rate has rarely exceeded the fall in the death rate, the two movements obey different forces

and they may not keep together. It is hard to see how the mortality in a normal population can be brought lower than 10 in a thousand, whereas there is no telling to what point its fecundity may sink. In New England, for example, the birth rate of the native stock appears to be less than its death rate, so that it is being swamped by the foreign-born element, which breeds three times as fast as it does.

The Behavior of the Birth Rate Rather Incalculable

SOCIAL CONTROL OF FECUNDITY

By Means of Opinion Society Can Influence the Desire for Offspring

Society, however, is not without influence upon the desire for offspring. Whether a young couple shall avoid progeny, content themselves with a child or two, or undertake to rear a real family, depends much on the current opinion about children. If they are looked upon as blessings and if a normal-sized, well-reared family is a source of pride, few couples will remain child-shy. Thus by substituting sound ideals for selfish and frivolous ideals, society may do much to raise births to the point, at least, of race continuance.

Society May Stimulate Child Production by Bearing a Part of Its Cost

If social appreciation of children does not suffice, society can induce the foresighted and prudent to rear more children *by altering the economic incidence of child-rearing*. At present the child-producing family handicaps itself in comparison with the child-shy. If by free medical care of the child-bearing mother and her children, free schooling, free meals in school, and so on up to the point of state allowances for healthy children born to healthy couples, the economic burden of race continuance were largely transferred from the individual to the community, no doubt the child crop of the superior strains would increase. It goes without saying that such aid would most stimulate the reproduction of the more shiftless elements unless it were reserved for couples which came up to a certain standard of inheritance, capacity, and character. Such a standard will not be accepted in a democracy until mental measurement is far more advanced and used than it now is.

The Free-multipliers Are, in General, of Less Valuable Stocks than the Prudent-multipliers

As soon as one element withholds its increase more than another element, it diminishes its share in the heredity of the generations to come. Now, since those who limit their family to a moderate size, are, on the whole, the prudent, self-controlled, and capable people, or those who have a high standard of what they owe their children, whereas those who have families of ten to fifteen are, on the whole, the more thriftless and reckless, or those

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who have a low standard of what they owe their children, is not birth control dysgenic? Does it not cause the race to be recruited from the less desirable strains? Formerly, owing to the poverty and ignorance of the parents of large families, fewer of their children survived than of the families half as large. But now that the child's prospect of surviving depends less on the intelligence and resources of its parents and more on the intelligence and resources of the community, the conscientious breeders have little advantage over the rash breeders.

Let the Law Hinder the Free-multipliers from Exploiting Their Children

Something may be done to correct this situation by social policies which restrain fathers from exploiting their young children. By means of compulsory school attendance laws and anti-child-labor laws responsible parents may impose upon greedy fathers the standards of child culture to which they already accommodate their own conduct. The conversion of children from assets into liabilities works a surprising change in the attitude of a certain type toward the large family.

The Size of One's Family Is Not Altogether a Private Matter

It is possible, moreover, for public opinion to discourage immoderate fecundity. When each trudges the road by himself, it is solely his own affair how many bundles he loads himself with. But when we go by train, it is everybody's concern how many bundles a passenger brings aboard. The more one brings, the fewer others can bring and the greater the general discomfort. Hence, an opinion grows up as to what is a reasonable amount of luggage for a passenger to travel with.

Can Social Opinion Restrain the Multiplication of the Inferior?

In the same way, once it is realized that only by a certain self-control in propagation is it possible for a people to enjoy health, comfort, and length of life, an idea forms as to what is a reasonable family size, and disapproval is shown those who without warrant exceed this. No doubt the exceptionally endowed who offer society a " full quiver " of children will find favor; but the subcommon — who are the most reckless in multiplication — will be made to feel community resentment when they propagate as if the world could not have too much of their ilk. The man of poor stock who begets a family of ten or fifteen will be looked upon as a fool or an egoist.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION INEVITABLE

But what of forethoughted parentage by the advanced peoples while there are peoples and races which multiply blindly and

threaten to flood their neighbors with their surplus population? Now that cheap travel stirs the social deeps and beckoning opportunity fills the steerages, immigration becomes ever more serious to the people which hopes to rid itself utterly of slums, "submerged tenth" and "poverty" classes. Wherefore should it practise family prudence if hungry strangers may crowd in and occupy at the table the places it had reserved for its children? Shall it in order to relieve the teeming lands of their unemployed abide in the pit of wolfish competition and give up the prospect of a betterment of the lot of the masses?

Unrestricted Migration Would Neutralise the Efforts of the Intelligent Peoples to Lift Their Plane of Living

There is no doubt that barriers to immigration will be reared which will give notice to the backward peoples that enlightened humanity is not willing to cramp itself in order that these peoples may continue to indulge in thoughtless reproduction. Let a people make itself miserable by multiplying like an animal not endowed with foresight and reason, but why should this people expect other peoples to allow themselves to be made miserable in order to accommodate its overflow?

Barriers Will be Reared to Keep Out the Free-multiplying Peoples

Unless family restriction becomes general over the world, it is vain, therefore, to expect acknowledgment of the right of any well-behaved and self-supporting human being to settle where he will. From the standpoint of the brotherhood of man such an acknowledgment would be most desirable. But there is no blinking the fact that it would handicap the advanced peoples and in time cause the world's population to consist more of unthinking races and less of thinking aspiring races.

The barriers which are sure to rise will not aim to hamper the interchange of culture elements among the peoples or to hinder the movement of such bearers of culture as students, scholars, missionaries, travellers, officials, and business men. But they will prevent the movement of great numbers from areas of high population pressure to areas in which a low population pressure is deliberately maintained. The imputation of such a barrier is not that the excluded people or race is inferior but that the excluding people does not propose to incommode itself and lose its own field of future internal expansion in order that the excluded may be relieved of the natural penalty of their heedless propagation. Such a policy smacks not so much of hateful discrimination as of that wise conservation of resources for the benefit of posterity which is becoming general among the enlightened peoples.

The Excluded Will Not Be Excluded as Inferior but as Superfluous

PART II

SOCIAL FORCES

CHAPTER IV

THE ORIGINAL SOCIAL FORCES

Social Laws Psychical, not Physical

THE immediate causes of social phenomena are to be sought in human minds. After such phenomena have been accounted for in terms of motive, nothing is gained by viewing them as manifestations of cosmic energy. Why account for a current of migration on the principle *motion follows the lines of least resistance* when it is so explicable on the principle *men go where they can most easily satisfy their wants?* No doubt there are rhythms in every field of human interest from dress to worship, but, if they occur because "attention demands change in its object," why class them with rhythms in Nature, which are due to "conflict of forces not in equilibrium"?

External Factors of Social Phenomena Are Not Coordinate with Internal Factors

In view of the great rôle of the geographic environment in social destiny, thinkers often explain social phenomena by the introduction of two sets of factors — one internal, the other external. Under such terms as "race and locality," "man and environment," "folk and land," this dualism is always cropping up. The fact is, however, migrations and colonizations, the territorial distribution of population, its occupational choices, the location of cities, the routes of communication and the lines of investment have human volitions as their proximate causes, not geographic features. It is only when, pressing further back, we seek the causes of these volitions that we come upon considerations relating to climate, contour, topography and soil. For example, all the causes of the location of a settlement are in the minds of the settlers. Geography enters into the case only as affecting the motives which determine their decisions.

The Wants of People Do Not Tally with Their Needs

Another error consists in identifying social forces with *human needs* rather than *human wants*. Usually *need* means what we think people *ought* to want; but human nature, including its follies, vanities and lusts, is in the members of society, and must be reckoned with. Nothing is more foolish than to imagine that all the defects in people flow from defects in society and will vanish

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if only we organize society on right lines. Some of the traits developed in man a hundred centuries ago make trouble now and will have to be allowed for æons hence.

Errors of the Organicists

No sooner have we arrived at the truth first emphasized by Ward that *the social forces are human desires* than we come upon new forms of error. The "organic" conception of society pictures the desires of individuals as running together into a collective desire for the social welfare. This generalized desire for certain results would be the cause of the "social organs" functioning. Thus Spencer is apt to attribute an institution either to the individual's sense of a common interest or to the common sense of an individual interest and to overlook the rôle of special desires behind a particular institution. In accounting for monogamy, he stresses too much its good results and ignores the rôle of male sexual jealousy. He thinks the force which calls customary rules into being is "the consensus of individual interests." [1]

As a matter of fact, there worked along with the general desire to safeguard individual interests such special motives as the love of fair play and sympathy with the resentment of the wronged man. He states that "governing agencies, during their early stages, are at once the products of aggregate feeling, derive their powers from it, and are restrained by it." [2] But in fact along with the aggregate feeling works the instinct to dominate — once known as "the love of power" and rebaptized "the will to power" — which, although animating only a few, may push government beyond what the aggregate feeling approves. On the other hand, another instinct — the impatience with restraint — may keep government below what the aggregate feeling demands.

HUMAN INSTINCTS THE ORIGINAL SOCIAL FORCES [3]

The Instincts Are the Springs of Behavior

To contemporary psychology, man comes into the world with a rich endowment of dispositions or instincts which, in the words of MacDougall, "are the mental forces which maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies." Without them the human organism would lie inert "like a wonderful clockwork whose

[1] Principles of Sociology, V. II, p. 533.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 469.

[3] It would be rash for the sociologist to list or classify these social forces when the psychologists have not yet made up their minds about them.

mainspring had been removed or a steam engine whose fires had been drawn." Thorndike declares, "The behavior of man in the family, in business, in the state, in religion, and in every other affair of life, is rooted in his unlearned, original equipment of instincts and capacities." In Veblen's judgment the instincts are "the prime movers in human behavior." "Nothing falls within the human scheme of things desirable to be done except what answers to these native proclivities of man. These native proclivities alone make anything worth while and out of their workings emerge not only the purpose and efficiency of life but its substantial pleasures and pains as well."

Not All Man's Instincts Are Beneficial to Him under Present Circumstances

Like his features or his brain structure, man's instincts have evolved slowly under the operation of natural selection thru an immense period and there is no reason to suppose that they have changed much in historic time. Each instinct promoted the individual's survival during its period of development, but since then the conditions of life have so changed that it may now be a snare to its possessor or a menace to his fellows or to the social order. The existence of an instinct is no reason for giving it free course.

THE REPRESSION OF INSTINCTS

It Is Well to Control Instincts but not to Repress Them

The yielding to native tendencies when and as they present themselves results so often in ruin and confusion that thinkers were quite justified in arraigning the "natural" man and recommending the conduct of life according to rules or ideals or a system. They erred, however, in supposing that, if you "mortify" or "bring under" a troublesome natural disposition, it will presently die and drop off. Indeed, it is not so simple a matter to prune and force human nature. Sometimes the baulked disposition persists and we suffer an inner bleeding, a loss of nervous energy accompanied by a vague distress or unrest.

INNOCENT GRATIFICATION OF INSTINCTS

The Doctrine of Multiple Channels, Of Sublimation

The solution of the dilemma lies in the fact that almost every native urge may find vent thru any one of a number of channels and by closing certain channels and opening others a mischievous instinct may be drained harmlessly away or even made useful. Whether the acquisitive instinct shall lead to commercial crime or to innocent collecting, whether innate pugnacity shall find satis-

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faction in fighting or in antagonistic sports, whether the impulse to self-assertion shall seek fulfilment in self-display and boasting or in solid achievement, whether curiosity shall instigate to prying or to study, depend on training, leadership and dominant ideas.

SUBLIMATION OF INSTINCTS

There is, furthermore, the fact that man is fanciful and his cravings may be stilled by imaginative or symbolic gratification. The sex urge, the teasing and tormenting proclivities, the destructive bent, the passion for domination, *wanderlust,* the hunting and fighting instincts, need not be pinched off provided that they be sublimated. It is the mission of literature and art to create means of satisfying our repressed desires wholly within the mind, thereby giving them a fuller or less costly scope than we dare to give them in real life. The relief of the soul by art or sport so resembles that of the body by a cathartic that the Greek thinkers called it *katharsis* or purgation.

SOCIAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THE FIGHTING INSTINCT

Devastating Operation of the Fighting Instinct

There is no end to the illustrations of instinct in the life of societies. In the earlier stages the pugnacious instinct impels man to wreck everything he holds dear, almost as if he were possessed by a demon. On the basis of his observations in Central Borneo, MacDougall remarks, "The people are very intelligent and sociable and kindly to one another within each village community; but . . . the neighboring villages and tribes live in a state of chronic warfare; all are kept in constant fear of attack, whole villages are often exterminated, and the population is in this way kept down very far below the limit at which any pressure on the means of subsistence could arise. This perpetual warfare, like the squabbles of a roomful of quarrelsome children, seems to be almost wholly and directly due to the uncomplicated operation of the instinct of pugnacity. No material benefits are sought; a few heads and sometimes a slave or two are the only trophies gained; and if one asks of an intelligent chief why he keeps up this senseless practice of going on the war path, the best reason he can give is that unless he does so his neighbors will not respect him and his people, and will fall upon them and exterminate them." [4]

[4] Social Psychology, p. 280.

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Modern Wars not Mere Manifestations of the Fighting Instinct

The instinct of pugnacity, however, is *not* at the root of most modern wars. The World War sprang from the conflict of rival imperialisms. Behind these imperialisms was the greed of certain influential financial or business groups secretly molding the foreign policy of government. The instinct of pugnacity came into the situation only at the stage when it was necessary to win wide support for aggressions which could bring the common people nothing but peril. Then came politicians, orators, song writers and newspapers playing artfully upon the popular mind to evoke well-timed outbursts of Jingoism.

The Militarization of Politics

Politics has been a male affair and male pugnacity cropped out in American politics as soon as the Jacksonian movement brought to self-consciousness masses of unthinking instinctive voters. The citizens divided into two hostile camps, filled political discussion with fighting words like "campaign," "battle," "enemy," "chiefs," "slogan" and "banner," and imported military features such as uniforms, marching companies and torchlight processions. The one dread of politicians was the judicial attitude, and their one hope was "spirit," i.e., a groundless hatred of opponents. The winning party celebrated a "victory," declared "To the victors belong the spoils," and with the general approval of the voters of both parties proceeded to convert the salaried offices to private or party advantage. It is to be hoped that women voters will rid politics of these childish manifestations of male pugnacity.

The Traditional Treatment of the Offender Reflects Male Pugnacity

A skillful teacher controls unruly children by various means — argument, appeal, example, sarcasm, humor, etc. The rod will not be his chief reliance. Can any one doubt that society would be equally resourceful in dealing with offenders were it not that the easily aroused emotions of anger and vengeance have stood constantly at the elbow of Justice, suggesting pain and ever more pain in dealing with the recalcitrant? If the agents of justice used as much ingenuity as the skillful teacher, there would be more *management* in our dealings with trouble-givers and less *punishment*. Here again, where male instinct has botched the job, is an opportunity for the managing sex to try its hand.

THE GREGARIOUS INSTINCT IN SOCIETY

The gregarious instinct is one of the chief architects of modern society. The sensational growth of cities is not due solely to

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The Growth of Cities not Wholly an Economic Phenomenon

economic causes. The multitude attracts men as the candle attracts moths. Many who grew up in the country and never found it dull, become restless in it after they have learned to vibrate with the crowd. Slum dwellers develop a morbid passion for huddling and no "garden city" apostle can persuade them to exchange the slum with its high rents, congestion, ugliness, dirt and disease for the roomy and wholesome suburb.

Society may Feel Called upon to Check the Growth of Cities

Formerly custom bound the country-born to the place and calling of his forefathers. But universal newspapers and cheap travel have extended to the remotest hamlet the solar pull of the herd. Even in thinly settled Australia and South America the country-born pile into the city as if the furrow had no need of them. Until near the close of the nineteenth century this drift was balanced by the flooding of settlers into virgin lands in the temperate zone. Now that we are at the bottom of *this* sack, the rising cost of living warns that too many have abandoned food production. To restore the balance it may be necessary to teach the children of the farm the risks and drawbacks of urban life and even to require cities to contribute to the expense of making country life more attractive.

Why Domestic Service Cannot Attract Women from Factory Work

The swarming of young women out from the home into places of congregate work owes something to the gregarious impulse. The factory, which pays only three-fifths as much as domestic service, never lacks hands while the kitchens stand empty because they are lonely. Mr. Wallas induced a lady who possessed the young women's confidence to ask of the girls employed in the laundries and poorer factories of Boston, "Are you happy?" They took the question as meaning, "Are you happier than if you had stayed at home instead of going to work?" And almost every one of them answered, "Yes." Their reasons were that "the work takes up your mind," "You are of some use," "It's awful lonesome at home," or "There's an awful emptiness at home." [5]

SOCIAL SERVICES OF THE PARENTAL INSTINCT

The Parental Instinct Is at Work Outside the Home

It is probable that philanthropy, anti-vice crusades, the prevention of cruelty to animals, and the protection of children are largely manifestations of the parental instinct. It is significant that many of the prime movers are childless or have lost their children, so that, finding no object at home, their tenderness occu-

[5] The Great Society, pp. 341–2.

pies itself with the helpless outside. Moreover, the support of such movements is chiefly among those who in their own homes give evidence of possessing strong parental feelings. The zeal of women for protecting child life and their indignation toward offenders against children spring, no doubt, from their maternal instinct.

SOCIAL RÔLE OF CURIOSITY

Curiosity at the Root of Religious Speculation, Free Inquiry, and the Growth of Science

The original driving force behind the scientific movement was the instinct of curiosity. It was also behind the religious speculations which, when they had crystallized into a regulative dogmatic system, obstructed further inquiry. The passion to probe deeper is so imperious in the stronger minds that every persecution of research and sceptical speculation has produced its martyrs. The foiling of this passion, whether by violence or by the prestige of the ancients, as in the Silver Age of Greece, in China and under ecclesiasticism, leaves the intellectual elite restless and unhappy, whereas the stimulation it meets with in an age like ours, which realizes the money worth of scientific progress, inspires men of genius with self-confidence and optimism.

RELEASE OF THE INSTINCT OF SELF-EXPRESSION

Self-expression in Revolutionary Russia

The strength of the instinct of self-expression may be gauged from what happens when it is released after being long pent up. After the Revolution of 1917 the Russians interested in political ideas went on a "spree." There was no end of public meetings and speakers. People went about from one meeting to another all Sunday and never tired of listening to utterances which formerly would have cost the utterer a jail sentence. There was a veritable passion for "demonstrating." Every political group delighted to parade the street carrying banners or transparencies blazoning its sentiments. Besides the motive of spreading one's ideas there was sheer pleasure in self-expression, like the whooping of children let out of school.

BOOTLESS SOCIAL REPRESSION OF CERTAIN INSTINCTS

Often the Social Regime Needlessly Frustrates Human Instincts

If customs and institutions grew right out of the impulses and experiences of the people, they would offer little check to harmless human tendenc s. But various crude products of thinking, half-baked theologie d philosophies, have had part in their shaping.

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The Dominant Element Laces Human Nature in a Strait-jacket

so that we have no assurance that the social order will cc with ordinary human nature. Individuals with the skewe tions as to the chief ends of man — religious devotees, age ists, property owners, fox-hunting gentry — may shut up a for generations in a frustrating régime. The Chinese have ized toil to the point of eliminating provision for play. Unt came into contact with the West, sport made no appeal tc and their ideal of a delectable life was bodily ease and p enjoyment. This was why they took to opium smoking b to strong drink.

Communal ownership denied the Russian peasant a sati scope for his instinct of acquisition or possession. Rural l knows little of that "magic of property which turns san gold." For this reason, perhaps, the peasants rarely develc unremitting industry, thrift and hopefulness which are co when each farmer has, or can look forward to, a farm of hi

The Indians of the Andean Uplands Broken by Past Oppression

The moroseness and surrender to alcoholic excess of t dians of the Andean uplands from Ecuador to Bolivia pr result from the bafflement of the instincts of self-assertio liberty. Even to-day Cuzco Indians, women as well as mei hat to every white man they pass. In the remoter distric Indian who sees a white man coming along the trail will n long detour to avoid him. If you approach an Indian ab he will fall on his knees, put up his arm to shield his fac cry, "Don't hurt me, master!" The old brutalities are go fear continues to inhibit self-assertion, so that this broken-h race has little of the virtue and happiness it enjoyed befo Spaniards set their heel on its neck.

The Needless Repression of Women Once Well-nigh Universal

Through most of the Orient and particularly under women are so pent and obstructed in the gratification of or human instincts that their faces are stamped with sadnes resignation. On the other hand, nowhere do women's c nances bear less evidence of balked disposition than in the U States and among the educated class in Russia. Thirty yea when I began to addres groups of American women the marked with bafflement were far more numerous than th now. College girls to-day laugh and chatter more than did of the eighties. Japanese and Chinese girls educated in A can schools show in the countenance a light and a nobility pression strange to the Oriental women. Under the conditic

security, freedom and male appreciation women here are entering on an unwonted fullness of life.

HOW MODERN SOCIETY OFFENDS AGAINST HUMAN NATURE

Until Lately the School Dealt Unfeelingly with Child Nature

It must not be supposed, however, that our own civilization does not sin against human nature. A generation ago the schoolmaster dealt repressively with child nature, dismissing the child's propensities to play, rove, hunt, collect or fight as a heritage from the "Old Adam." He acknowledged no obligation to make learning interesting and complacently forced the child by fear of the ferule to "get" his lessons. Such repression worked no great harm when those who abominated school could generally escape it. Now, however, that society insists on keeping the child in school for eight or ten years, it behooves educators to make education palatable by tying it to his native interests. Less task work and more play, less memorizing and more doing, less study of books and more of things, is the order of the day. By the best teachers, the rhythmic, dramatic, expressive, animistic, constructive and emulative instincts are recognized and appealed to.

Our Prison System Looks More Humane than It Actually Is

In dealing with offenders the infliction of physical pain has been given up as well as the martyrizing of the social self by means of stocks, pillory, ear-cropping, branding, and whipping at the cart's tail. We only confine offenders and, since they are well-warmed and fed and not overworked, we imagine our prison system humane. The fact is, shutting a man up in a tiny cell in a great steel cage may torture the mind as the thumb screw tortures the body. It so violates the instinct for liberty that alienists have had to recognize a new disease, "confinement insanity." More enlightened than we, posterity will condemn our ignorant cruelty in breaking men who in a convict logging or road-building camp would have kept sane.

Dissociation of the Sexes by Modern Industry

Gravest of all is the trend of industry in obedience to the motive of cheapening production. Incidentally and quite without malice, industrialism holds apart the sexes. One industry will have men workers while another located elsewhere will hire only women, the result being an excess of men in some localities and of women in others. In a certain collar-and-cuff manufacturing center only 46 per cent. of the population are males while in a neighboring electrical manufacturing center 54 per cent. are males. Here a few miles apart are two groups of involuntary celibates

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whose sex instincts are needlessly thwarted or perverted. Consider, too, the massing of unmarried immigrant men into tenement rooms and the condemning of some millions of migratory workers to a wifeless existence.

To Many the Machine Technique Denies Gratification of the Instinct of Workmanship

Less and less is the instinct of workmanship stimulated as the minute subdivision of tasks makes labor a monotonous repetition. Handicraft gives way to machine-tending, which is so little absorbing that, it is said, mental deficients make the best machine tenders! Small zest can workers feel who do not understand the relation of their own product to the finished article. Finally comes scientific management which takes all planning away from the ordinary worker, leaving him a meaningless mechanical job at which no craftsmanship can be exercised and from which, therefore, no joy can be derived.

Industrial Autocracy Baffles the Workers' Instinct of Self-assertion

Exclusive capitalist control of industry thwarts the workers' impulse to self-assertion stirred as it is by the democratic ideas of our time. This autocratic determination of conditions which vitally affect the lives of the workers, as well as the experience of being spied upon and dismissed for any endeavor to organize, makes for an unrest which no concessions as to wages and hours can allay. Behind the movement for a more democratic control of industry lies something more than agitation, viz., a suppressed demand of human nature. This is why the President's Mediation Commission urges the captains of industry to "aim for the release of normal feelings by enabling labor to take its place as a co-operator in industrial enterprise."

CHAPTER V

THE DERIVATIVE SOCIAL FORCES

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The Interests

THERE are certain great complexes which contribute to satisfy a number of our innate cravings. Among them are ılth, Government, Religion, and Knowledge. Each of them :als to so many sides of human nature that for most men it mes an object of abiding concern and desire. These derived al forces may be called *interests*. They so mightily deter- e the attitudes and exertions of men that the interests of a ple or an age give it its distinctive stamp. The forces which r from time to time the comparative strength of interests are ng the veritable makers of history.

THE ROOTS OF THE ECONOMIC INTEREST

Building up of the Wealth Interest

The *wealth* (or economic) *interest* has its tap root in the pangs hunger and cold, which incite man to acquire material goods. time, however, all sorts of cravings, native and acquired, put requisitions for such goods and thus whet greed to a keener ge. When personal emulation takes the form of "conspicu- s waste," the instinct of rivalry prompts to acquisition. When maidens' eyes gold "gilds the straitened forehead of the fool," ld will be prized as a means of winning the coveted mate. hen entertainment is expensive, money is sought in order to tify one's sociable needs. When it is believed that the gods ept rich presents, men will seek the wherewithal for costly crifices and sanctuaries. When wealth gives lordship over thers, the ambitious will rowel hard in the pursuit of fortune. hen the artist works for the highest bidder, the lover of beauty ill turn his hand to money-making. When Dives is more hon- red, stands better with God, is a more formidable suitor and finds bigger meshes in the law than the better man with the lighter purse, many streams of desire pour into the wealth-wanting chan- el and avarice will swell to monstrous proportions.

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FLUCTUATIONS IN THE VALUE OF WEALTH

In general, the itch for wealth varies directly with its capacity to promote the satisfaction of one's desires. Since this capacity varies from place to place and from age to age, it follows that *the value of wealth is subject to rise and fall,* not, of course, in terms of any kind of material good, but in terms of the things against which wealth may be balanced.

We can Measure the Value of Wealth in Terms of the Things Against Which It Is Balanced

For there are markets in which such balancing occurs. There are streets where woman's virtue is sold for money, communities where there is a ruling price for votes. From the pay scale of occupations which differ in respect to independence, safety, and good repute, one can compute the amount of money which will overcome the love of independence, of safety, and of good repute. We see individuals sacrificing health or leisure, or mating, or offspring, or friends, or liberty, or truth, for gain. The relative volume of such spiritual goods Mammon can lure into his market at a given time and place, measures the power of money. By the choices men make in such cases and by the judgment others pass upon such choices, we can arrive at the current social estimate of wealth. When gold cannot shake the nobleman's pride of caste, the statesman's patriotism, the soldier's honor, the wife's fidelity, the servant's loyalty, the scholar's veracity, the official's sense of duty, the artist's devotion to his ideal, wealth is cheap. But when maidens wed senile money bags, youths swarm about the homely heiress, judges take bribes, experts sell their opinions to the highest bidder and genius champions the course it does not believe in, wealth is held dear.

Wealth Fluctuates in Value Rather than what It Is Compared with

Such fluctuations in the market where wealth is balanced against other kinds of goods might originate on either side. Some insist that it is the latter which vary, arguing that wealth derives its primary esteem from its relation to our bodily wants, which are as stable as the organism itself. Probably, however, it is wealth that changes in value rather than the satisfaction of the sex instinct, the parental instinct, the instinct for liberty or self-assertion, or workmanship; rather than built-up values such as honor, caste pride, and moral standards. The reason is that, since wealth is *means* not end, its importance is bound to fluctuate owing to changes in the power of material goods to gratify desire.

WHAT MAKES WEALTH APPRECIATE

The Advance of Technique Adds Constantly to the Categories of Material Goods

The advance of technique constantly augments this power. Thus the introduction of perfumes and spices gave new sensuous gratifications, spirituous liquors provided a short-cut to social pleasure, armor opened a way to safety in battle, the coming in of cattle enabled heads of kine to be trophies as well as scalp locks and captives. The discovery of medicaments gave new weapons against disease. The art of embalming met in a way the longing for immortality. The origination of art products provided new embodiments of beauty. Since by exchange any material good may be converted into any other, each of these changes added to the desirability of wealth in general.

When in China one marks how much more the treaty port missionary gets from his little income laid out on the products of Western knowledge and skill than the rich mandarin from his wealth of Chinese products, one realizes how invention has multiplied the categories of material goods. In his medicine case, eye-glasses, microscope, field glass, camera, talking machine, motor cycle, swivel chair, vacuum cleaner, fruit orchard, driven well, etc., the missionary has values all the money in China cannot procure from native skill.

Shiftings of custom and opinion affect the importance of material goods sometimes favorably, sometimes adversely.

Certain Opinions and Customs Add to the Power of Wealth

At various times the power of wealth and consequently the craving for it have been augmented by the custom of wife-purchase, the system of *wergeld* or money compensation for crimes, the acceptance of damages as a salve for injury, the passing of prestige from trophies of personal prowess — such as heads, scalps, and bear's claws — to herds, acres, and bonds, the reliance upon clothing instead of tattooing as a means of charming the opposite sex, the belief that burnt-offerings win the favor of the gods or that masses deliver the soul from purgatory, the passing of political power from the Elders or the Fighters to the Wealthy, the decay of the distinction between "noble" and "mean" employments, the yielding of patrician ranks to the pressure of the new-rich, the lapsing of birth as a ground of social superiority, the gaining of "conspicuous consumption" or "conspicuous leisure" as a means of good repute, the enlist-

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ment of the artist in the service of Croesus instead of the service of temple or church.

WHAT MAKES WEALTH DEPRECIATE

Modern Reforms which Redeem Stretches of Individual or Social Life from Mammonism

On the other hand, there are movements which have shorn lucre of some of its power. Woman's resumption of free disposal of herself, the rise of romantic love, the custom of courtship, and the dispensing with the "marriage portion," have nearly freed Cupid from Mammon! "Justification by faith," the suppression of masses, pilgrimages and indulgences, the dispensing with altar and image, the open Bible, the lay chalice and the unadorned "meeting house" have well-nigh separated the favor of God from the payment of money. The protection of the law is no longer exclusively for those who can pay for it. Public hospitals and free dispensaries socialize the healing art. The printing press and the free library have popularized the sweets of literature. The abolition of hireling armies, of imprisonment for debt, of child labor and of property qualifications for the suffrage are so many dykes reclaiming smiling stretches from dreary commercialism.

ROOTS OF THE RELIGIOUS INTEREST

The Tap-root of the Religious Interest

A primary factor in the *religious interest* has been the desire to experience ecstasy. Primitive peoples know and highly value this enlargement of consciousness and no one who has seen persons "getting happy" at a camp meeting will doubt the reality or the seductiveness of such states. Then the wonder aroused by the more arresting phenomena of nature sets up speculations as to their causation which gratify the impulse of curiosity. Moreover, man's sense of helplessness before the personal powers he conceives as causes of fear-inspiring natural events excites in him the instinct of submission and throws him into the attitude of self-abasement. Intimidated he seeks by acts and gestures of propitiation to assure his safety. In time he conceives

Its Numerous Side Roots

the idea of utilizing these imagined personal powers. He covenants with them that in return for regular praise and sacrifice they shall grant increase and prosperity. Thus the gods acquire economic importance. Becoming more fully domesticated they are approached with confidence and worship is prompted by love and gratitude as well as by fear, or expectation of benefits.

With the advent of collective worship, religious feasts endear themselves as occasions of intense social pleasure. Moreover, the common worship of the gods for public ends makes them agents of social discipline, props of order, bulwarks of family, property, and state. As ethical thought develops, the gods are conceived as deliverers from temptation rather than from misfortune. Philosophy blends with the theory of the gods and religion provides answers for the *Why? Whence?* and *Whither?* of the restless intellect. In the priestly cults religion becomes a stepping stone to power and so enlists ambition. The Hebrew prophets incorporate into religion their passion for social justice. Thus a great variety of human passions, instincts, impulses, and yearnings have at one time or another joined to magnify religion to the dimensions of a history-making force. No wonder that men have suffered themselves to be hewed in pieces rather than give up their gods, that at times one has looked upon all co-worshippers as friends and all deniers of one's god as enemies.

UPS AND DOWNS OF RELIGION

The Religious Interest Is Extremely Fluctuating

The religious interest cannot but wax and wane with the relation of religion to men's necessities. The gods are remembered in danger, forgotten in security, valued when the state rests on authority, ignored when government is founded on consent, adored as guardians of the right, but neglected after Justice gains her sword. Every forward stride in man's mastery of Nature and control over men lessens his dependence on the Unseen. A sense of security from violence, plague, calamity, and future torment weakens the fears behind religion. As people come to look to the policeman for protection, to the physician for healing, to the inventor for victory and to themselves for worldly success, their anxious zeal in worship abates. Religion abides, purer and nobler to be sure, but less potent as a maker of history.

ROOTS OF THE POLITICAL INTEREST

Origins of the Demand for Government

Partly ally, partly rival of the *religious interest* is the *political interest*. At certain epochs of social history, people worry as much about keeping a whole skin as about getting the next meal. Hence, for the creators and organs of security, they feel emotions scarcely weaker than their feelings for wealth or for the

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gods. In fear of having their throats cut by the enemy they cheerfully submit to the will of the war leader. In dread of evil-doers they rally round a power that can make law respected. They come to feel intense love and loyalty toward the state-building kings and dynasties who have allayed their terrors, and hate the recalcitrant and disloyal.

Origin of the Supply of Government Bringing Government under Control

The appetite for power, however, impels the masterful to supply more than enough government. In time the absolute state reveals its true inwardness and men start back in affright before a Frankenstein. Then ensues a struggle to wrest from government guarantees of individual liberties and rights. The next step is to dispense with governing families and classes and organize a state whose master is the people. Finally the people's state is used for a multitude of services which never occurred to government in an earlier day.

FLUCTUATIONS IN THE POLITICAL INTEREST

Fundamental Social Evolution Changes the Value of Government and Therewith the Strength of the Political Interest

The intensity of feeling about the state varies with its apparent importance in the general scheme. Political loyalty is strongest when enemy blows rain harmless on the shield the state holds over its people. The flame of patriotism rises or sinks with the approach or retreat of violence. To the degree that peace and order, individual liberty and democratic control are attained, the old fears and passions die. Free associations take over the promotion of culture. Public opinion comes to be the chief regulator of conduct and law but reflects public opinion. The non-political side of society comes forward and politics ceases to be an arch joiner and sunderer of men. If, however, social evolution should cause the state to absorb so much of the industrial organization as to play the rôle of a supreme earthly Providence, no doubt men's interest in it would grow again.

ROOTS OF THE INTELLECTUAL INTEREST

The Intellectual Interest Springs from Curiosity at First, but Has Grown Far Beyond This Instinct

The *intellectual interest* has far outgrown the craving for knowledge inspired by the instinct of curiosity. For one thing intellectual subtlety, always a coveted species of prowess, gratifies the instinct for self-assertion. Even in the early stages of culture a reputation for extraordinary wisdom brings the sage fame, favor and wealth. Later, learning confers distinction and has a value in bread-winning and mate-winning. As for real

knowledge, it has been means as well as end. Its branches were first cultivated as badges of leisure-class superiority. Later the sciences were promoted because they relieved pain, prolonged life, brought military victory and vastly augmented the production of wealth.

WHY SCIENCE HAS BEEN TOLERATED

Despite Her Disturbing and Upsetting Habits, Science Will Be Tolerated Because of Her Great Practical Services

Down to about the middle of the eighteenth century it was a question whether supernaturalism might not crush or enslave science; but since then science has so won the favor and confidence of the people by her triumphs over disease and her conquest of the forces of Nature, that it does not seem possible for the conservatives to bind her again in chains. Although to the great majority of men their religious traditions are infinitely dearer than the quest of Truth, they have been made to see that they cannot have from science the immense practical services she is rendering them unless they tolerate free inquiry. So, although the craving to find out is a very weak thing in human nature in comparison with the passions and interests which fear and hate it, it enjoys immunity because the world has learned that knowledge is power. Science labors ever with the noose about her neck; but it will not be drawn while science grants the health vainly besought by the worshipper; turns aside the pestilence; insures the husbandman his increase; and overcomes one's enemies.

THEORIES OF SOCIAL DETERMINISM

One-sided Theories Which Make Some One Interest Responsible for the Course of Society's Development

The dominance of now this interest and now that, creates the illusion that some one force is the shaper of social destiny. At the moment when the state attains its broadest significance the military-political interest seems to be the swaying force in history. At the moment when religion reaches its broadest significance the religious interest appears as the chief uniter and divider of men. Now it happens that in modern times certain well-understood influences have weakened the political and religious interests and thereby thrown into bolder relief other interests, chief among which is the economic. *Economism*, so helpful a key to the evolution of modern society, is now offered as the "Open sesame!" to the locked chambers of the past, the one magic formula for the interpretation of history. Its one rival is *intel-*

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lectualism which pivots the whole social life of an age on its knowledge and beliefs. But these are one-sided theories and cannot explain the past as successfully as they explain the present.

Theory of the Worries as Prime Determiners of History

It is reasonable to suppose that men's attitudes and actions depend most on what most worries them. When they worry chiefly about what the Unseen will do to them, the course of society will be most affected by developments in the field of religion. When they lie awake for fear their property or their lives will be taken, their attitude toward everything will depend on how it is related to the security-furnishing organization, i.e., the State. When their supreme anxiety is where the next meal is coming from, they will be for everything that promises to promote economic success and against everything which appears to hinder it. As soon as one worry is soothed it ceases to shape the course of history and some other supreme worry takes charge.

CHAPTER VI

THE RACE FACTOR

Does Each Race Have a Social Destiny of Its Own?

es differ in their original tendencies and in their response
ıe ideas by which original tendencies are moulded into
they will not develop the same type of society. The
ı comes up, then, whether each race of men is marked out
istinct social destiny and whether the contrasts we find
contemporary peoples in respect to character, manner and
ons are to be explained in terms of race.

RACE OR SOCIAL HISTORY?

gnorant always invoke race to account for any peculiarity
ı to a certain stock. Why is the Chinese a conservative?
Why is the Turk a fatalist? Race. Why is the Semite
theist? Race. Why is the Nordic a Protestant? Race.
lgar wonder why the Chinese toil so hard, the Jews trade,
lish follow sport, and the Germans engage in philosophical
tion, until some one tells them, "It 's in the blood." Then
away satisfied.

National Traits Which Have Their Origin in Social History

ɔon, however, as we explore the social history of a people
ıe upon good grounds for many of its puzzling traits.
w's distaste for farming is seen to be a traditional attitude
by confinement in the Ghetto for several centuries and
ent from owning farm land. The proverbial thriftlessness
Irish peasant is traceable to centuries of alien landlordism
k-renting. Were it a race trait it would show also in
ısins, the Welshman, the Cornishman and the Breton.
ssion of the Dutch for cleanliness seems to be product
cial standard made possible by easy access to water. In
f China threaded by canals the standards of cleanliness
ch higher than where water is not close at hand. On
er hand, the small use of water by the masses in Italy is
be connected with the fact that many of the towns are
l on a hill so that water has to be brought from a distance.

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The national traits of the Japanese seem queer to us, and here if anywhere one is attempted to appeal to race. But it has been made clear that such Japanese peculiarities as self-immolation in battle, ritual suicide and exaggerated politeness are products of the severe feudal compression from which they have only recently escaped.

What Appears to Prove Inequality of Propensity May Be Due to Inequality of the Motives to Inhibit Propensity

Races certainly appear to differ in the strength of their native propensities. There is an imposing stock of facts which seem to prove that the Negro has a fiercer sex appetite than other men, that the South Italian has a bent for murder, that the Irishman has an uncommon taste for fighting, the Jew for money-making, the gypsy for wandering, the Levantine for lying, the Slav for anarchy, the Frenchman for gesticulation, the Yankee for asking personal questions. The trait is there to be sure; but is it because the owner has a stronger proclivity than we, or because he lacks the idea or social standard which prompts us to inhibit our proclivity? The Yankee has seen no reason to repress his inquisitiveness, the Slav lacks the social experience which generates reverence for law, the Jew is not heir to leisure-class ideals, the Frenchman has developed no standard which excludes gesticulation, the Negro like all primitives has not canalized his sex appetite.

DIFFERENCES IN RACE PSYCHE

Nevertheless, there Are Congenital Race Differences

Nevertheless, after making due allowance for the moulding of a people's *psyche* by the products of its social evolution, there remain veritable differences in race mind. There is a mountain of evidence that the Northern peoples of Europe (Irish, Scotch, Scandinavians, Slavs) and most nature peoples are more intemperate than Southern races like the Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks and Semites. The latter have known strong drink for some thousands of years and their members possessed of an uncontrollable love of vinous exhilaration drank themselves to death long ago. If the physical environment can thus mould the appetite it is likely that other contrasts have been produced by processes we do not yet understand.

Indications of Emotional Instability of the South Italians

Before the immigration boards of inquiry the emotional instability of the South Italians stands out in the sharpest contrast to the self-control of the Hebrew and the stolidity of the Slav. They gesticulate much, and usually tears stand in their eyes.

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When two witnesses are being examined, both talk at once, and their hands will be moving all the time. Their glances flit quickly from one questioner to the other and their eyes are the restless uncomprehending eyes of the desert Bedouin between walls. Yet for all this eager attention, they are slow to catch the meaning of a simple question and often it must be repeated.

Explosiveness of the Sicilian Temper

Mindful of these darting eyes and hands, one does not wonder that the Sicilian will stab his best friend in a sudden quarrel over a game of cards. Other nationalities shun railroad camps with many Italians. Contractors are afraid of them because the whole force will impulsively quit work, perhaps flare into a riot, if they imagine one of their number has suffered a wrong.

The principal of a school with four hundred Sicilian pupils observes that on the playground they are at once more passionate and more vindictive than other children. The teacher "has to sit on the lid all the time." Their restlessness keeps the truant officer busy and their darting flickering attention denies them concentration and the steady telling stroke. For all their seeming alertness, when at fourteen they quit school, they are rarely beyond the third or fourth grade. These people are not primitives. Their ancestors were civilized when ours went in skins. Yet if such people had populated the American colonies is it likely they would ever have given the Declaration of Independence to the world?[1]

Lack of Ballast

[1] "The Northerners seem to surpass the South Europeans in innate ethical endowment. Comparison of their behavior in marine disasters shows that discipline, sense of duty, presence of mind, and consideration for the weak are much more characteristic of North Europeans. The South Europeans, on the other hand, are apt, in their terror, to forget discipline, duty, women, children, everything but the saving of their own lives. In shipwreck, it is the exceptional Northerner who forgets his duty and the exceptional Southerner who is bound by it. The suicide of the Italian officers on board the doomed *Monte Tabor*, the *Notice*, and the *Ajace*, is in striking contrast to the sense of responsibility of the Northerners in charge of the *Cimbria*, the *Geiser*, the *Strathcona*, and the *City of Paris*. Compare the mad struggle for the boats among the South Europeans on *La Bourgogne*, the *Ailsa*, and the *Utopia*, with the self-possession of the Scandinavian emigrants on the *Waesland* and the *Denmark*, and the consideration for women and children shown on the sinking *Mohegan*, the *Waesland* and the *Titanic*." Ross, *The Old World in the New*, p. 295.

If the difference be attributed to inhibition by traditional social standards, how shall we account for the excellent behavior of American negroes in some of the disasters above mentioned?

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Self-Assertiveness in Aymarás but not in Kechuas

On the Andean uplands all observers are impressed by the self-assertion and strength of character of the Aymará Indians of Bolivia as compared with the Kechuas of Peru at about the same level of culture. The latter experienced the Inca civilization and perhaps their long subjection to the patriarchal régime of the Incas had the effect of taking the iron out of their blood. The self-assertive individuals sooner or later bumped up against the established order and came to grief, while the pliant and docile survived and multiplied.

Esthetic Sensitiveness of the Japanese

As one goes about in Japan and notes the indefatigable striving for beauty among even the common people, whereas the Chinese, the authors of the civilization the brown people borrowed, make no great sacrifices for beauty's sake, one infers that the Japanese inherit a specific sensitiveness to beauty. The only white people which can be compared with them in esthetic endowment is the French. It is perhaps significant that peoples gifted esthetically are extraordinarily vibrant to sex.

REALITY OF THE "CELTIC TEMPERAMENT"

Long a sceptic, I have concluded that the famed "Celtic temperament" is no mere literary myth. Celtic mythology is to Norse mythology what an Orinoco jungle is to a Yukon forest. In the Sagas of Iceland the fancy never runs riot as it does in the legends of Connemara or Brittany. Compare the American-born Scandinavians with the Irish born here. Professors notice that lads of the former breed are slow to grasp the principles of the machinery explained in the college of agriculture and need a diagram to supplement oral description of a ventilating system. A physical director working among Scandinavians observes that his boy scouts can not "size up" a camp site till the brush had been cleared from it. His gymnasts could not "get the hang" of the new gymnasium till the scaffolding was down. The Scandinavian merchant is said to put little visualizing into his advertising. As business man he is a "stand patter" lacking the American's power to anticipate developments and to foresee a business where none exists. As farmer he lacks vision of the future of his soil. As investor he is unspeculative, for large remote profits do not appeal to him. As labor leader he lacks vision and idealism. As advocate he makes a hard-

Scandinavian Sluggishness of Imagination

headed plea without sentiment and as after-dinner speaker he lacks wit and fancy. CHAP. VI

Scandinavians care little for the social side of their labor unions. They do not warm up to the employer who treats them "right." As teachers they do not attach their pupils to them. These unsociable sons of the North do not shine as bar tenders, salesmen, canvassers, commercial travellers or life insurance solicitors.

Compare now the careers of those of Irish blood in the same American city. With their Celtic imagination as a magic glass they see into the human heart and know just how to touch its strings. No one can wheedle like an Irish beggar or "blarney" like an Irish ward boss. Not only do the Irish furnish stirring orators, persuasive stump-speakers, moving pleaders, and delightful after-dinner speechmakers, but they shine as salesmen, commercial travellers, foremen, executives, army officers, politicians, teachers and labor organizers. They succeed as trial lawyers because they can play upon the jury and are quick in thrust and parry. They abound in newspaper offices because their imagination enables them to keep "in touch" with their readers. Celtic Fancy and Intuitiveness

If in a common environment far from their home lands these two stocks lead such different careers and make such different impressions upon impartial observers, there must be something in the "Celtic temperament." I believe that the innate mental differences between Celtic Irish and "John Bull" English or between Bretons and Normans exceed those between the Chinese of North China and the old Americans.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN BRAIN POWER

Whatever be their differences on the affective side, no one can doubt that races differ in intellectual ability. Otherwise why should most unbiassed observers rate the Chinese intellectually above the Japanese, the Chinese of Fokien above those of Hupeh, the Indians of Peru above the Indians of Ecuador, the Senegalese above the Guinea Negroes, the North Italians above the South Italians, the Russian Jews above the Slavic Russians, the Armenians above the Kurds, the Arabs above the Turks? Some of these contrasts may be due to opportunity, stimulation or social inheritance, rely not all. Of course every stock has wit enough to t conditions of existence, else it could not Races Differ in Intellectual Power

CHAP. VI have survived; but our morons survive without aid and it may be that some races are as far apart in capacity as the normals and the morons in our own population.

HOW WINTER PUTS A PREMIUM ON BRAINS

Winter an Eliminator of the Unthinking

It would be strange, indeed, if races *were* equal in intellect. It is significant that thinking man does not develop in the humid tropics. Superior brain power appears not where Nature spreads the board but where the basis of subsistence is artificial and food getting is interrupted by winter. Among men forced off into harsh climates those would best survive who possessed the foresight and self-control to hoard stores of food to carry them thru the cold season when food was not to be collected. Those who did not foresee late-winter starvation or, foreseeing it, could not control their appetites or their laziness sufficiently to provide for meeting it, were eliminated.

LUCK AND HISTORY

The Situation of Peoples at the Moment Is no Safe Clue to the Comparative Brain Power of Races

This is not to endorse the doctrine of the intellectual superiority of all whites over the rest of humanity. This claim has some plausibility just now but it would have seemed absurd when the Saracenic civilization reached its climax under Haroun-al-Raschid or when the Chinese flowered under the Sung dynasty. Fortune has something to do with the fate of peoples. Persians and Arabs were overwhelmed by the Mongols. The Chinese have been out of luck since the Middle Ages. The Russians were held back by their exposure to the invasions of Asiatic nomads. The Armenians have had no fair chance since they fell under the Turkish yoke. The Aryans of India long ago came on evil days. Each race, then, should be appraised according to its performance at its zenith.

But on the subject of the comparative brain power of races there is nothing final to be said yet for we are on the eve of perfecting tests of mental ability and applying them on a large scale. In a few years the fog which now shrouds this question ought to be dispelled.

PUBLIC POLICIES WHICH AFFECT RACE BALANCE

Meanwhile we cannot dispense with judgments as to the relative worth of races because what we nationally do or refrain

We Cannot Avoid Making Assumptions as to the Comparative Value of Races

from doing affects the racial opportunity for expansion. Our war with Mexico in 1848 resulted in the substitution of some millions of whites for the Indians and mestizos who by this time would have filled the annexed territory if this war of aggression had never taken place. How ought an impartial spectator, say a philosophical Oriental, to regard this?

When we extended our Chinese exclusion laws to the Philippine Islands, we narrowed the sphere of expansion of the yellow race in order to reserve the islands for the posterity of the Malays. This may give the Malays a greater share in the ultimate population of the globe. Is this rational?

Our Policies May Affect Tremendously the Comparative opportunity of Races to Expand

The Monroe Doctrine enables a million and a third persons mostly Indian in blood to possess Ecuador which, we are assured, could easily sustain fifty millions of people. Everybody there prays for a white immigration which, however, refuses to come so long as the country is kept in turmoil under the native element. In the hands of a European power Ecuador would provide room for the expansion of the white race and the home birth rate would not fall so rapidly. It is polite to insist that it is just as important to mankind to have more Ecuadorians as to have more Europeans, but is it scientific?

The West Coast countries of South America are worrying about Oriental immigration but they realize that they are not strong enough to exclude the Japanese and it may not be long before they will be unable to exclude the Chinese. But a large insweep of Oriental coolies would press the bulk of the Indian and the mestizo population of tropical South America to the wall, so that Asiatic blood would largely replace Indian blood in Western South America. The Indian blood is doomed unless the United States throws its weight on the side of these countries in their endeavor to bar out Oriental immigrants. If we are appealed to thus to extend the Monroe Doctrine, must not our decision rest upon some notion as to the comparative value of the Oriental races and the Indian races?

The prolificacy of the Negroes in the American South is so great that, were it not largely offset by an appalling infant death rate, the colored people would soon overwhelm the whites. If health officers and social workers put forth as much effort to lower the death rate of colored children as they do to lower that of white children, this overwhelming would actually take place.

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Under these circumstances is it the duty of the more intelli race to use its superior efficiency against its own expansion in furtherance of Negro expansion?

The Stupid Elements in a People Constitute a Standing Temptation to the Exploiter and the Demagogue

The progress of civilization makes ever-severer demands u the intelligence and if we wish our civilization to be democr i.e., understood and sustained by the majority, we should out stupid elements. However amiable the dogma that at bot one race is as good as another, it is not only unscientific positively mischievous at a time when the peoples are in mo ment and decisions are being made which share the surface resources of the globe among the various races.

DANGERS IN THE RECOGNITION OF RACE INEQUALITY

Doctrines of Race Inequality Will Be Used for Evil Purposes

On the other hand, recognition of the unequal value of ra is fraught with great danger. Not only does it sow discord a time when good will and the brotherly spirit were never so mu needed, but it imperils the very existence of little and backw peoples. Any stigma of inferiority we cast upon a race may made the excuse for their maltreatment and exploitation, p haps even their extermination, by the capitalists behind the perialistic policy of nations. Rather than let loose upon weak this devastating greed one would cling to the majes declaration of Paul to the Athenians: "God hath made of o blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of t earth." [2]

The conclusion of the whole matter is that what we kn about the comparative value of races gives no people groun for oppressing, dispossessing or exterminating any portion mankind. On the other hand, we *do* know enough to have wa rant for preferring one race to another in disposing of oppo tunities to expand and for discriminating among races in admi ting strangers to the national society.

[2] Says H. G. Wells, "I am convinced myself that there is no more ev thing in this present world than Race Prejudice; none at all. I wil deliberately — it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies a holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other so of error in the world."

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT

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Does Environment Determine the Higher Life of Society as It Does the Lower?

IT is obvious that the characteristics of the immediate physical environment — climate, soil, minerals, topography, elevation, contour, waterways, rainfall, harbours, etc.— dictate the size and local distribution of a population, the key industries, the basic occupations, the lines of specialization, the mode of life, the routes of migration, the channels of transportation and the character of commerce. In a word, *the environment determines the general economic basis of society*. Since no one disputes this, to dwell upon and illustrate it would be a waste of time. The real question is the influence of the environment upon human relations, social organization, institutions, moral and esthetic standards, the fine arts, religion and intellectual development.

CLIMATE AND HUMAN ENERGY

In the Tropics Nature Is Too Easy on Man; while in the Polar Regions She Is too Hard on Him

In a very marked way climate conditions social phenomena. In the tropics where food is provided the year round without labor on man's part, where frost and drouth do not afflict, where shelter and clothing are simple or even unnecessary, Nature has done so much that there is little left for man to do. Hence it is not in warm and moist climes that man has mounted to civilization. The natives of the tropics have the reputation of being indolent and untrustworthy, *mañana* folk. Only where Nature requires man to exert himself for a living has he developed the energy and enterprise necessary for any signal achievement.

In the polar regions, on the other hand, where there can be no stock-raising, agriculture, or mining, where the food basis is extremely narrow and the woods, fibres, clays and metals we rely on are not to be had, where life is an eternal struggle with cold, darkness and famine, culture remains low and society does not advance beyond the rudimentary stage. No wonder, then, that it is in the intermediate climes that we come upon energy, ambition, self-reliance, industry and thrift. In the temperate

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belt Nature offers few free gifts, but she recompenses man for the sweat of his brow and for his exercise of self-control and forethought. She braces him for labor and does not break down his habits of industry with enervating heat or a long benumbing winter.

Man's Advance in the Art of Being Comfortable Even in the Cold Zones Permits Him to Live in the Most Stimulating Climates

Significant is the migration within historic time of the major centers of human energy away from the warm belt. When the curtain of history rises the brilliant foci are in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia and India. During the classical period the peninsulas of the Mediterranean are the brightest spots. In the Middle Ages northern Italy, France and Germany house the busiest hives. Modern times have seen Holland, England, Scandinavia, Russia, Canada, New Zealand, and Argentina come to the fore. One cause of this secular movement of civilization toward the inclement climates is the development of the arts of conquering cold, which permits man to avail himself more and more of the stimulus afforded by the bracing winter and the sharp seasonal changes of the temperate zone. Had the art of cooling kept pace with the art of heating the story might have been different. Ever since he invented fire and clad himself in skins, man has been in the way of invading the harsher climes; but only our own time has seen the beginning of a technique of cooling which may yet enable him to conquer the tropics instead of succumbing to them.

CLIMATE AND POLITICS

The People of the Tropics Are Always Ruled from the Temperate Regions

In the tropics there is no real self-government nor is there prospect of it. The natives of the hot humid zone lack the energy and self-control to provide themselves with such government as they need. If, as is almost inevitable, they fall under the hand of powers in the temperate zone, their white residents constitute an upper caste and become the real rulers. The natives, although an immense majority, have little or no voice in their own government. Moreover, the white rulers tend to lose in time the democratic standards and ideals they may have brought with them and to gravitate toward the level of the natives rather than lift them to their own high plane.

The "Equatorial Drift" of Peoples

Climate, no doubt, is the key to many of the invasions and conquests which have bent the current of history again and again. Peoples living at ease in the warm lowlands have been

overrun by hardier races bred in the more rigorous climates farther north or higher up. In time the invaders themselves become enervated and succumb to the onslaught of another people from a harsh environment. The descent of the Aryans into India, the conquest of the Chinese by Mongols and Manchus, the recurrent barbarian invasions of Greece and Italy, the southward movement of Toltecs and Aztecs in Mexico, the northward pressure of Kaffirs and Patagonians, the absorption of Africa into European "spheres of influence," illustrate the equatorward drive from the less kindly climates.[1]

RELIGION AND ENVIRONMENT

Close Correlation of the Religious Ideas of a People with the Climate and Scene It Is Familiar with

Climate and scene write themselves clearly into the middle stages of religion. After the stage of fetichism religion appears as a means of accounting for and controlling those natural phenomena which seem most to affect human life. The mysterious annual rise of the Nile was a matter of life and death to the people of Egypt, so the adoration of the Nile became a part of their religion.[2] On the lofty plateaus of the Central Andes where it is always cold, sun-worship was quite natural. In ancient India the chief god was, of course, Indra the rain-giver. On the other hand, in Egypt the Satan was Typhon, the malevolent deity that sent the parching wind, while in India the Satan was Vritra, who holds back the rain. In Norway the evil gods were the frost giants and the mountains.

Origin of Conceptions of Heaven and Hell

"In Norse mythology," says Whitbeck, "heaven was a place of warmth and hell, a place of cold and mist, but in the religions of Palestine and Arabia hell is a place of heat — eternal fire. To the Arab of the desert paradise was dreamed of as an oasis, or a garden, always having flowing water, shade trees, and fruit." To the ancient Hebrews, a settled people surrounded by marauding desert tribes, walls were the symbol of safety and hence heaven or the "New Jerusalem" is a walled city with gates of precious stones and streets of gold.

"Whether a people conceive of heaven as a place of eternal rest or as a garden with shade and flowing water, or as a happy hunting ground, or a walled city or a great hall like the Norse

[1] R. DeC. Ward, "Climate," Ch. VIII.

[2] Whitbeck, "Religion and Environment," *The Geogprahical Review*, April, 1918.

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Valhalla where those who die in battle continue to fight for Odin, will naturally depend on what that particular people regards as the acme of happiness; and this in turn will depend upon the special kinds of discomfort, privation, unhappiness, want, and suffering to which that people is subjected — in short the adverse elements of its environment." [3]

Bootage of Mythologies in the Phenomena of Nature

Both Greek and Norse mythologies sprang from old Aryan sky worship. But Greek mythology turned on the recurrence of day and night, while in Norway, where the contrast of the seasons is far more dramatic than in Greece, the mythology turned on the alternation of winter and summer. When the Aryans, a pastoral people, entered India their chief deity was Dyaus (sky); Indra, his son, the rain-giver, was of minor rank. But after they turned farmers and became vitally interested in rainfall, Dyaus shrank to a secondary deity and Indra took the highest place. No wonder Keary concludes "the creed of a people is always greatly dependent upon their position on this earth, upon the scenery amid which their life is passed and the natural phenomena to which they become habituated; that the religion of men who live in woods will not be the same as that of the dwellers in wide open plains; nor the creed of those who live under an inclement sky, the sport of storms and floods, the same as the religion of men who pass their lives in sunshine and calm air." [4]

SEX RELATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT

Bizarre and Unnatural Types of Sex Relation Develop Among the Denizens of Inhospitable Mountains and of Small Remote Islands

Sex relations bear witness at times to the power of the environment. The inhabitants of an infertile mountain mass or plateau are ever threatened by overpopulation. Fear of this may establish the custom of late marriage or send a large part of the adults into monasteries, as we find in Thibet. The institution of polyandry, so repugnant to the jealous instincts of the male, nevertheless appears quite frequently among mountain peoples as a means of avoiding the further division of plots so small that already each barely supports a family.

On islets (e.g., Polynesia) there is soon no more room and the necessity of arresting human increase is obvious to all. Hence infanticide becomes prevalent and in some cases is even

[3] Whitbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
[4] "Outlines of Primitive Belief," p. 325.

enforced by law. Marriage takes the form of polyandry or perhaps an elaborate system of prostitution springs up. The result is a breaking down of sex morals and a decay of the finer sentiments of the family. Moreover, the constant dread of overpopulation causes a low value to be set on human life manifesting itself in neglect of the aged, cannibalism, human sacrifice, slaughter in warfare and a free use of capital punishment.

NATURE AND GOVERNMENT

A Strong Central Government Develops Early in a Tilled Open Plain, but Late, if at all, in a Very Mountainous Country

Nature is no mean factor in determining the *political* destiny of a people. The creation and maintenance of irrigation canals calls for cooperation and for this reason high political organization first appears along rivers traversing deserts like the Nile, the Euphrates and the Riobamba. Along the Hoang-Ho in China the necessity of controlling the flood waters seems to have forced an early development of the state. Among agricultural people in an open plain, a strong government soon develops partly because the people desire protection from hungry swooping hill tribes, partly because the law-breaker has no safe refuge to fly to, and there is no natural barrier to shelter local resistance. On the other hand, in mountain country like the Scottish Highlands, Corsica, Albania, Macedonia, the Caucasus, and Afghanistan, natural barriers split up the people into petty groups each independent of the others. Only late, and generally in consequence of subjugation by an outside power, do highlanders emerge from a condition of chronic intestinal warfare, brigandage, and lawlessness. Switzerland is one of the rare instances of mountain dwellers attaining political unity of their own free will.

IS THE POWER OF ENVIRONMENT GROWING?

As Producer, Man Is Becoming More Dependent on His Local Environment, but as Consumer He Is Becoming Less Dependent on It

As society progresses does man become less dependent on his geographical environment or more dependent? Some hold for the latter. The roving tribe is hardly more attached to the land than the tumble weed of the prairie. But civilized men strike root deep into the earth. They clear, level, drain, fence, plant, bridge, cut roads, sink shafts, canalize streams, build levees, dam rivers, and in a thousand ways entwine themselves with a particular land, from which they cannot be dislodged save by a cataclysm.

If it be held that at least steam transportation and commerce

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emancipate men from their local environment, it may be demurred that locality never left a sharper impress on economic life than it does to-day. Formerly a community *had* to diversify its production in order to provide for its wants. But cheap carriage sets a community free to import everything it requires and to concentrate its labor upon the one industry in which its locality has the greatest advantage. Whatever be its best profit-maker — raising cranberries, oyster-tonging, celery growing, turpentine gathering or digging iron ore — it gives itself up to it. And since occupations leave their own stamp on character, e.g., horse-trading, vine-growing, gold-mining, etc.— the dominant industry marks the whole life of the community, so that more than formerly it is moulded by its immediate environment.

As *consumers,* on the other hand, men free themselves from the limitations of their locality and draw upon the whole world. Amid Alaskan snows the miner enjoys tropical fruits, tea from China, coffee from Brazil, sugar from Cuba. Besides, if he likes, he may read poetry inspired by palm trees and coral islands, listen to music that takes its motif from shepherd's pipe or temple bells, and enter imaginatively into the life and thoughts of any group of men on the globe.

MAN'S SLOW EMANCIPATION FROM GEOGRAPHY

More and More It Is Mental Barriers, Rather than Physical Barriers, that Hold Peoples Apart

Whatever be the conclusion as to the economic life, there can be no doubt that as man advances in civilization he withdraws himself more and more from the lordship of geography. Man has pierced, dug, hewn, dredged, and blasted away not a few of the natural features which divide him from other men. Of water barriers he has made liquid highways. On the wide seas he goes about at will in defiance of wave, trade wind, current, tempest, and icefloe. He rushes the desert in a few hours with an iron camel which easily carries fifty times the fodder it consumes. Now that he is leaping into aerial highways, he disdains the rivers, mountain chains, wastes, jungles, swamps, and tundras which once shut communities in so many cells. More and more, the obstacles to the fellowship and mutual aid of peoples and races are found in the human mind rather than in Nature.

A religion springs up bearing a deep impress from a particular scene. Elsewhere one springs up with a different stamp. Here one is born with a pastoral twist, and there one with an agri-

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In Order to Become Universal, a Religion Must Reflect Human Nature Rather than External Nature

cultural slant. When these religions meet, as they are bound to do in time, what will happen? Obviously a people will be slow to take up with a religion of an utterly alien climate and scene. Hence many will disappear while others will fuse or develop in such a way as to lose the sharp impress of their birth place. Thus as tribal cults give way to universal religions the geographic stamp grows fainter, for the winning faiths are not those adapted to external Nature — which is various — but to human nature — which is everywhere much the same.

The Marriage Customs of the Advanced Peoples Are Not Adapted to Climatic or Geographic Differences, but to the Psychology of the Sexes

The marriage customs of nature peoples have obviously been moulded by locality — the aging effect of the climate on women, the comparative value of men and women in the chief occupations, the food possibilities, etc. But in the course of social evolution the institution of monogamous marriage develops, gains prestige, and begins its triumphal march. Finally it is able to pull communities in the most diverse climates and situations into one plane of practice, to exert a hydraulic even pressure without heed to geographic or climatic differences.

Crowded and anxious on their little islands in the South Seas, the Polynesians resorted to practices which nauseate healthy human nature — infanticide, abortion, man-eating, the sanctioned murder of the aged and infirm. In the same strait, however, civilized islanders hold to their standards and ease the strain by such innocent means as postponing marriage or emigrating. The Thibetans solve their problem of population increase by polyandry; but Christian mountaineers accept no such dictate from their inhospitable environment. With them the marriage institution is granite, whereas with nature peoples it is wax.

Thus, as civilization develops, social institutions are moulded more by the products of human thought and less by impressions from Nature. Ideas play a greater rôle, climate and scene a lesser rôle. Man becomes a citizen of the world rather than a parish and *psychology* rather than *geography* provides the keys to social evolution.

PART III

SOCIAL PROCESSES

CHAPTER VIII

PRELIMINARY SOCIALIZATION

Women and Children the Nucleus of the Primitive Social Group

THE primordial social grouping arose out of urgent needs and seems to have been a band of mothers with their children. Owing to his restlessness the male was probably no such stable member of the earlier human group as the woman. "The woman was the social nucleus, the point to which he returned from his wanderings. In this primitive stage of society, however, the bond between woman and child was altogether more immediate and constraining than the bond between woman and man. The maternal instinct is reinforced by necessary and constant association with the child. We can hardly find a parallel for the intimacy of association between mother and child during the period of lactation; and, in the absence of domestic animals or suitable foods, and also, apparently, from simple neglect formally to wean the child, this connection is greatly prolonged. The child is frequently suckled from four to five years, and occasionally from ten to twelve. In consequence we find society literally growing up about the woman. The mother and her children, and her children's children, and so on indefinitely in the female line, form a group. But the men were not so completely incorporated in this group as the women, not only because parentage was uncertain and naming of children consequently on the female side, but because the man was neither by necessity nor disposition so much a home-keeper as the women and their children." [1]

Owing to this fact that the primitive group formed about the women, the maternal system of kinship is found in all parts of the world where social advance stands at a certain level and the evidence indicates that every group which has attained a state of culture has passed thru this stage.

Small Size of Early Groups

It is probable that for a period of some tens of thousands of years there was never a human social aggregate larger than the

[1] Thomas, "Sex and Society," p. 57.

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group which could regularly find sufficient food without dispersing. So long as he depended only on such food as Nature provided, man would rarely be able to live in groups including a hundred individuals. An enduring cluster of half a thousand members could hardly appear until considerable progress had been made in developing an artificial basis of food supply. During the immense period in which the species lingered in this embryonic social state occurred its dispersal over the habitable globe and the subsequent development of racial differences in the stocks long subject to diverse geographic conditions.

DIFFUSION

Why Man Emerged from His Original Habitat

Multiplying like any other animal, primitive man tended to expand up to the limits of his opportunities for gaining a living. As the horde grew, hunger would oblige it to break into two or more hordes, which would scatter in quest of food. In time such areas as were fitted to become the home of the species would be filled with small simple human groups. But, thanks to his gradual gain in brain power — which is very clearly recorded in the skulls of the successive races of the Stone Age — man was not confined, as were his pre-human ancestors, to warm and bountiful regions. He had the ingenuity to provide himself clothing and shelter and to devise ways of destroying enemy species and increasing his food supply. Thereby, in the words of Ward, "he was able to break over the faunal boundaries that limit the distribution of other species and to overflow into other regions to which he was not originally adapted. All other species are restricted to special districts and unable to quit them. Every attempt to do so proves fatal to the individuals that make it." "Any species that could successfully overstep its faunal barriers would, according to the now well-understood laws of multiplication, soon overspread the globe." "Man alone acquired this power and this was the result of his superior resourcefulness, due in turn to his inventive faculty."

"Thus emancipated from the slavery of the environment this favored species commenced that career of universal expansion which ultimately encompassed the entire globe. Although his memory was sufficient to establish the kinship group, this faculty was not sufficient to maintain a connection between the daughter-hordes and the ancestral hordes from which they had descended

and a few removes were sufficient to obliterate all traces of relationship."

Dispersion and Differentiation

"Those groups that had wandered farthest from the original center of dispersion were utter strangers to the mother group. As they moved out along special and extremely irregular lines, . there were soon produced many such terminal groups and these were usually remote from each other, often separated by seas or mountain chains."

"The period during which this process was going on, however long it may have been, may be called the period of *social differentiation*. In it languages were formed, but, owing to gradual isolation, each group acquired a language of its own. At least the variation that would naturally take place in the language of any group would soon render it practically a different language from that of any of the remoter groups from which it had descended."[2]

"A *fortiori* would the languages of all the terminal groups be different from one another. It would be the same with customs. The differences of environment would alone accomplish this, but customs naturally tend to vary, and unless there be intercommunication, they rapidly differentiate. The customs as well as the languages of all the different radiating lines would be utterly unlike except in certain fundamentals. When customs and ceremonials at length took the form of cults and religions, these, too, were different, and all the scattered groups ultimately presented the utmost heterogeneity in all their social characteristics. Between them the only points of agreement were biological. They still all belonged to the same genus and the same species, and were all equally men."[2]

Parallelism of Development in Non-Communicating Groups

Ward here exaggerates a little the heterogeneity of non-communicating groups. Their identity of nature causes such groups to move upward along parallel paths, so that at corresponding stages in their development they have some capacity to under-

[1] "A striking illustration of the low state of these people (natives of Celebes) till quite recently is to be found in the great diversity of their languages. Villages three or four miles apart have separate dialects and each group of three or four such villages has a distinct language unintelligible to all the rest; so that, till the recent introduction of Malay by the missionaries, there must have been a bar to all free communication." Wallace, "The Malay Archipelago," Vol. I, p. 411.

[2] The above quotations are from "Social Differentiation and Social Integration," *Am. Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VIII, p. 721.

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stand and get along with one another. It is well to remember with Thomas:

Parallelism of Social Development

"Human nature, the external world and the fundamental needs of life are everywhere much alike and . . . there is, roughly speaking, a parallelism of development in all groups, or a tendency in every group which advances at all, to take the same steps as those taken by other groups. Such phenomena as spirit belief and accompanying ecclesiastical institutions, a maternal system preceding patriarchal control, ecclesiastical and political despotism preceding democracy, and artistic, inventive, and mythical products of the same general ground pattern show a general law of uniformity in progress.

"The fact of a common possession of language, myth, religion, number, time and space conceptions, political and legal organization, under conditions where the possibility of borrowing is precluded, indicates that the same general type of mind is a possession of all races both high and low."[4]

The first discernible process that looks to the merging of men into a larger society is *preliminary* or *extra-social assimilation.*

ASSIMILATION BY THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

How groups subject to the same geographic influences are made ready to enter into social relations when circumstances are favorable, may be illustrated from Southwestern Asia. Here is an immense expanse where mountain ranges, the chief separators of peoples, are wanting. Says Hogarth:

"A certain degree of similarity in human character and an even greater similarity in language prevails over an immense area where races of most various origin have all been assimilated more or less by the one which occupies the healthy crown of the land, the Arabian of Nejd.

Arabia as an Area of Uniform Characterization

"Differences there are many and obvious among this widespread people, differences due to the local circumstances of their habitation, whether steppe or desert, whether in the neighborhood of an oasis or in an oasis itself; differences due to the elevation of one district compared with another, to latitude, or to exposure to particular climatic influences; differences due to the proximity or distance of a non-Arabised section of the mountainous fringe, or to communications with the civilization of

[4] *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. X, p. 450.

Persia or India or Egypt or Europe; and finally differences of less moment due to race. But through all persists the uniformity of that desert life which is the same to-day as when the Beni Israel were wandering in a corner of this wilderness." [5]

"Bedouins may be, and are, of many racial families, but the uniformity of physical conditions over all this area and the absence of the strongest natural influences of separation, cause their life to be organized on such similar lines that they have all come to take something of a common national character from the most vigorous, because best circumstanced, of their kind: Hamite in the Southwest, Mongol in the North, Iranian in the Southeast, all have been Arabised by the Semites of the center. Of all the fertile tracts of the Fringe, only the mountain system of the Mediterranean littoral . . . has been able altogether to withstand Arabisation, and that in virtue of its abrupt relief, its high fertility and its intimate connection with East Europe and Anatolia." [6]

The significance of common environment appears when we realize that the clans which fused into the people of Israel probably had no common ancestor but were prepared by the shaping influence of their desert life and by the diffusion of certain culture elements among them all to act together when the time came. Jehovah was originally not the god of the clans but the god of the Kenites. Moses bound all the tribes to Jehovah's service.

Probably the Common Ancestor of the Twelve Tribes of Israel was — the Desert

Identity of environment later made possible among the Arab tribes the diffusion of Mahomet's religion, which in turn paved the way for the unification under the caliphs of Bagdad and the formation and spread of a truly Arab civilization.

Other important areas of uniform characterization are the interior of Australia, the South African plateau, the Central African jungle, the basin of the Amazon, the Andean highlands of South America, the steppes of Western Asia and the great Russian plain.

ASSIMILATION BY OCCUPATION AND MODE OF LIFE

A certain mode of life was forced upon the Indian tribes of the prairies which subsisted by the chase of the buffalo. The

[5] "A Wandering Scholar in the Levant," p. 255.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

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A Common Environment May Force Groups into One Plane of Practice

Eskimos of the Arctic tundra are brought into one plane of practice by the dictate of their common geographical environment. The Asiatic nomads are so deeply stamped by the steppe which they wander over that from time to time leaders have arisen among them who have united them in attacking the adjacent settled peoples. Such leaders were Attila, Ghenghis Khan, Kublai Khan, and Tamerlane.

Discord Between Groups at Different Stages of Economic Development

Those subject to the same geographic environment may find union impossible because they are at different economic stages. Rarely can hunters combine with herdmen or herdmen with agriculturists. Their manners of life and economic interests no more blend than oil and water. The endless strife between Bedouins and sedentary Arabs, between prairie Indians and forest Indians, between Scottish Highlanders and Lowlanders is proverbial. The cattle-raising Hottentots of South Africa are never on good terms with their neighbors, the hunting Bushmen, altho they are one in blood and land. Compare the friendliness of the American Indian toward the trapper with his hostility toward the settler, whose manner of life he did not understand or believe in. In civilized life there is latent feud between country dwellers and city dwellers. It has been shown, for example, that in the vote on the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the townsmen were for it and the farmers against it.

ASSIMILATION BY COMMON ELEMENTS OF CULTURE

Mere identity of origin counts for little in preparing groups for unity. The question is, what have they in common? The sense of community whether of belief, of taste or of feeling — and the feeling may be either affection or aversion toward persons or things — begets sympathy and draws men together. To the same class belong recognition of a common ancestry, the use of a common speech, the prizing of a common literature.

Religion as a Social Bond

Religion, "as it touches the deepest chords of man's nature, is capable of educing the maximum of harmony or discord. No force has been more efficient in knitting factions and states together, or in breaking them up and setting the parts of a state in fierce antagonism to one another. Religion held together the Eastern Empire, originally a congeries of diverse races. . . . for 800 years. Religion now holds together the Turkish Empire. . . . Religion split up the Romano-Germanic Empire after

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the time of Charles the Fifth."[1] The independent tribes of the Sahara are knit together by the religious confraternities which count their fanatical adherents in all the tribes from one end of the desert to the other. Such a confraternity is known as *zaouia*. Its members are *khouan* or brothers. Its chief is *khalif* or *mahdi*. Since the sole bond among the tribes has been community of religious sentiment, which is especially developed among pastoralists, it is religious sentiment which has become protector of the commercial caravans traversing the desert in the face of hostile tribes. Seeing the profits of trade have assured ample resources, the religious confraternities patronizing commerce have developed rapidly and have accumulated great riches.

Similarly in the Middle Ages commerce for awhile found safety under the wing of the religious orders. The little local seignorial powers provided trade no adequate and general protection. But an order with members everywhere — like the Knights Templar — could and did protect commerce, engaged in trading on its own account and presently amassed enormous wealth.

The warrant for regarding the Homeric poems as "the Bible of the Greeks," as has so often been said, is that in these poems utterance was given to ideas about the gods which broke through the limitations of local and tribal worship and held forth to all Greeks a certain common stock of religious ideas and motives.

Assimilation of Homeric Greeks by Guest-Friendship

In Homeric Greece along with survivals of the old narrow tribal sentiment showing itself in inter-tribal booty raids, in piracy and in the desire to compete with strangers and beat them, appears a broadening factor. Green receptivity of mind and eagerness for advance undermined kin-group feelings and worked toward mingling and nationalization. "Toward this end," says Keller, "one of the chief contributors is a body of traditions connected with strangers, suppliants, guests and guest-friends. Since the stranger became at once a guest and since the guest was forever afterward a guest-friend, this body of ideas and practices is appropriately called guest-friendship."[2]

Druidism as a Binder of Peoples

Gaul before the Roman conquest was not a national body. Its inhabitants were not all of the same origin nor had they all settled in the country at the same time. They did not speak the same language nor were they under the same laws. One could

[1] Bryce, "Studies in History and Jurisprudence," Vol. I, p. 266.
[2] "Homeric Society," p. 299.

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count eighty states in what is now France. Yet, altho without unity, they had a certain fitness for union in consequence of the diffusion among them of Druidism.

Driven out by the Roman conquerors, the Druid priests fled in great numbers over the Rhine and took asylum with the independent Germans. Here, spreading their superstitious ideas, they developed a priest caste which wrested control of the Unseen from the old women and made itself a secular power. They gained the upper hand in the popular assemblies which had always been associated with religious festivals. They established a truce of God, developed spiritual penalties for crime and secular penalties for disobedience to the priests. They wrested from the chiefs the death penalty and even ventured to set aside kings who appeared to have incurred the displeasure of the gods. Perhaps the Germans would have been united under a theocracy if Christianity had not come in at the critical moment.[9]

The Unity of Orient, as of Occident, a Matter of Community of Culture

Vast importance attaches to the labors of the Christian missionaries who, between the fourth century and the tenth, Christianized the peoples of Central and Northern Europe and thereby paved the way for that unity known as "Christendom." At the other extremity of the world the elements of the Chinese culture were soaking thru populations in no sense incorporated into Chinese society. This culture, worked out first in the valley of the Wei and then in Shantung, has mastered not only the Far East and India, but has profoundly influenced all the races inhabiting Asia. The unity of the Orient is, in fact, not a matter of organization but a matter of culture, as is also the unity of the Occident.

We see, then, that again and again culture spreads among tribes and peoples which are in no relation whatever to one another and makes them willing to enter into relations, or work together, when the need comes. Thanks to the unprecedented facilities of intercourse and communication we are in the midst of an epoch of immense diffusion which cannot but smooth the way toward some kind of social synthesis of humanity.

The goal of this development — a goal which we approach but never quite attain — is the suppression of distance. As we approach it, human groupings are transformed in type. They are

[9] See Seeck, "Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt," Vol. I, pp. 223–4.

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Forced or "Political" Association will make way for Free Association

less dominated by geography and more by affinity and preference. They are less a product of circumstances and more a product of choice. Social bonds become less and less territorial, more and more intrinsic and purely human. "Neighbor" means less; "comrade" and "friend" more. Eventually, it would seem, human society will be made up of numerous free-forming, closely interlacing social organisms extending all over the civilized world.

CHAPTER IX

THE GENESIS OF SOCIETY

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What Society Is

WHAT makes us a society? Is it that we have certain things *in common* — language, religion, art, science, industrial technique? Or is it that we *do* something *together?* The fact is both likemindedness and cooperation enter into our idea of society. Therefore, we cannot do better than adopt the definition framed by Giddings: "Any group or number of human individuals who cultivate acquaintance and mental agreement, and who, knowing and enjoying their own likemindedness, are able to work together for common ends, is a Human Society." [1]

Modes of Origin of Society

It is helpful to distinguish between *primary association,* i.e., the union of individuals or families into a social group and *secondary association,* i.e., the union of existing groups into a larger group. Primary association occurs either by growth, *multiplication,* or by coming together, *congregation.* The union of groups, *conjugation,* is either free or forced, i.e., by *alliance* or by *conquest.*

Multiplication. No doubt there have been groups which grew out of the family. In the words of the Americanist Payne,[2] "Evidently the tribe may come into existence as a simple development of the family." The family like the tribe is fundamentally a food-seeking organization. It might terminate as soon as the youngest offspring are able to provide for themselves; but it would tend in the absence of disturbing causes to become permanent especially with man on account of the broad overlap of successive generations. Prolonged infancy attaches the children more to their parents and to one another. Parents likewise become attached to their children and to each other. "The attachments thus deepened survive the temporary relations in which they originated, subsisting when the children have grown up and have formed for themselves new associations of the same kind." The family thus tends to generate a larger consanguineous group

Expansion of a Family into a Tribe

[1] "Inductive Sociology," p. 6.

[2] "History of the New World called America," II, p. 43.

consisting of members belonging to three or even more generations, who pursue food-getting in common. "Such an enlarged group would constitute the tribe in its purest and simplest form."

Formerly the natural expansion of the family was supposed to be the characteristic mode of genesis of a society. Now we look upon it as a rare occurrence because we are better able to recognize how considerations of food and safety have broken in upon the quiet growth of a family into a tribe.

From time to time local insufficiency of food will compel the kin group to break up. Thus Spencer remarks, "The primitive social group . . . never attains any considerable size by simple increase. Where, as among Fuegians, the supplies of wild food yielded by an inclement habitat will not enable more than a score or so to live in the same place — where, as among the Andamanese, limited to a strip of shore backed by impenetrable bush, forty is about the number of individuals who can find prey without going too far from their temporary abode — where, as among Bushmen, wandering over barren tracts, small hordes are alone possible, and even families are sometimes obliged to separate, since the same spot will not afford sustenance for all, we have extreme instances of the limitation of simple groups, and the formation of migrating groups when the limit is passed. Even in tolerably productive habitats, fission of the groups is eventually necessitated in a kindred manner. Spreading as its number increases, a primitive tribe presently reaches a diffusion at which its parts become incoherent, and it then gradually separates into tribes that become distinct as fast as their continually-diverging dialects pass into different languages." [3]

On the other hand, an unusually bountiful source of food — rich fisheries, game trails, and haunts of wild animals — will be exploited not by a single family but by various persons, and a congregate society will result.

Mutual Protection as a Motive for Association

There is safety in numbers and hence, for the sake of mutual protection, people who derive no economic advantage from their association may come together and stay together. An isolated family dares not wait till it has expanded into a tribe able to take care of its own. Fear has been a great group builder. Aggregation, by increasing the power and the temptation to aggress, has been a cause of aggregation in neighbors or rivals. Hence, the

[3] "Principles of Sociology," Vol. I, 454–55.

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making of war or the dread of war, has continually forced men into unions for which they felt no inclination.

Congregation. This is the convergence of non-kinsmen upon the same locality and their cohesion into a group. This occurs particularly in

Coming Together of Strangers in New Countries

(a) *New countries.* Iceland, discovered in the ninth century, was speedily settled from the Norse communities of Norway, Ireland and Scotland. All the provinces of Christian Spain contributed to the repeopling of the lands vacated by the retiring Moors. The "Africanders" of South Africa are a blend of Dutch and French Huguenots. The colonies of England in North America attracted, besides all the British peoples, Dutch, French Huguenots, Swedes, and Germans. In the course of the last forty years immigration has made the Americans one of the most heterogeneous and polyglot of modern peoples. California, on account of its sky, scene and natural wealth, has been a magnet for the whole earth. For this reason it contains besides Americans from all parts of the Union over 5000 representatives of each of the following countries: Germany, Ireland, England, Canada, Italy, Mexico, Russia, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, Norway, France, Denmark, Austria, Wales, Turkey, Spain, Greece, China, Isles of the Atlantic, and Australia. Argentina, next to the United States the greatest absorber of strangers, is rapidly filling from the Iberian and Italian peninsulas and bids fair to become for the Latins what the United States once was for the Anglo-Saxons and the Celts.

and in New Towns

(b) *New towns.* In the ancient world the walled city was so prized on account of the security it offered that it tended to become a depot, a market, and a trade center. As theater of opportunity it lured the enterprising from afar, so that its population became extremely mixed while yet the surrounding country was pure. Consequently it was in the city that the immemorial kinship grouping first broke down. The old families had to admit strangers into the social organization and the bond of common residence succeeded to the bond of common blood as the chief social tie.

The modern commercial city is not a place of peculiar security; but from its position on the routes of travel and trade it becomes exceedingly motley in composition. This is especially true of the ports at the meeting points of traffics and races, such as San

Francisco, Manila, Singapore, Shanghai, Harbin and Buenos Aires.[4] CHAP. IX

Gold-Deposits a Magnet

(c) *Sites of valuable natural deposits.* The gold rush first impressed upon California its cosmopolitan character. The lure of the Rand drew into the Transvaal so many *Uitlanders* that the Boers lost their country. Gold-mining camps like Nome, Leadville, Deadwood, Carson and Cœur d'Alene are slow to develop a community sense, because the residents are so diverse that they have few ideas or aims in common. The oil fields of California, Oklahoma, Texas, and Mexico attract every species of North American, just as the nitrate beds of Chile attract every species of South American.

Blending of the Heterogeneous

However mixed its original population, intermarriage will in three or four generations cause the congregate community to be almost as consanguineous as if it had developed from a single family. What therefore finally determines the psychology of the community is not whether it was formed of blood kin or of strangers, but whether the component elements freely intermarry and whether such likemindedness as it achieves is not continually ravelled out by immigration.

Voluntary Merging of Groups into a Larger Group

Conjugation. The peaceful union of groups is exemplified by the Covenant with Jehovah by means of which Moses bound a number of desert tribes into the people of Israel, the Achæan and Ætolian leagues of Greece, the drawing together of the circle of communities about the coasts of Iceland in order to create a law-making body and a tribunal which could settle disputes, the union of six Indian tribes into the Iroquois confederacy, the league of New England colonies to wage war with the Indian combination effected under Philip, the union of thirteen English colonies to free themselves from Great Britain, and the confederacy of the slave-holding states of the South to draw out from the American union.

Says Spencer: "The scattered Greek communities, previously aggregated into minor confederacies by minor wars, were prompted to the Pan-Hellenic Congress and to the subsequent co-

[4] On visiting Shanghai some years ago, I found the composition of the foreign population of the French Concession to be as follows: French 436, German 148, American 44, English 314, Australian 3, Austrian 12, Belgian 12, Korean 1, Danish 19, Spanish 2, Eurasian 68, Indian 17, Greek 2, Dutch 16, Italian 12, Japanese 103, Manilans 3, Norwegians 14, Parsee 8, Portuguese 15, Russian 7, Swedish 4, Swiss 7, Tonkinese 207.

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operation, when the invasion of Xerxes was impending." "So, too, was it with the Teutonic races. The German tribes originally without federal bonds, formed occasional alliances for opposing enemies. Between the first and fifth centuries these tribes massed themselves into great groups for resistance against, or attack upon, Rome." [5]

Alliances Among Medieval Cities

Kropotkin has shown how apt were the medieval cities for forming alliances among themselves. When the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa invaded Italy "enthusiasm was roused in many towns by popular preachers. Crema, Piacenza, Brescia, Tortona, etc., went to the rescue; the banners of the guilds of Verona, Padua, Vicenza, and Trevisa floated side by side in the cities' camp." "Next year the Lombardian League came into existence, and sixty years later we see it reinforced by many other cities and forming a lasting organization. . . . In Tuscany, Florence headed another powerful league, to which Lucca, Bologna, Pistoia, etc., belonged, and which played an important part in crushing down the nobles in Middle Italy, while smaller leagues were of common occurrence."

"Similar leagues were formed in Germany for the same purpose. When . . . the land was the prey of interminable feuds between the nobles, the Westphalian towns concluded a league against the knights. When the knights and the nobles lived on plunder and murdered whom they chose to murder, . . . the cities on the Rhine (Mainz, Cologne, Speier, Strasburg, and Basel) took the initiative of a league which soon numbered sixty allied towns, repressed the robbers, and maintained peace." [6]

Not often, however, do enduring societies come into being in this way. Union for emergency action is not at first sustained either by the sentiment of kinship or by any close political organization. Born of practical necessity, the league tends to fall apart into its original elements after this necessity disappears. Only lasting pressure causing alliance to persist thru several generations generates a real nation, and such lasting pressure is rarely supplied.

Forced Union

Finally, there is the union of social groups brought about by *force*. The history of pre-Columbian America shows that groups consisting each of a single principal *pueblo* and several subordi-

[5] "Principles of Sociology," Vol. II, p. 279.
[6] "Mutual Aid," 204–206.

nate ones were most commonly formed by the simple process of war, terminating in conquest, between neighboring *pueblos*. A frequent cause of war is occasional scarcity of food or of females. The relative military strength of neighboring *pueblos* is generally approximately known; and when such scarcity makes itself felt, the stronger tribe attacks the weaker one as a matter of course. In time the weaker *pueblo* buys itself free of attack by agreeing to furnish a fixed tribute of labor and agricultural produce and sometimes of women, on condition of freedom from molestation and assistance in case of attack by other tribes. Where the rival forces are nearly matched such terms may be deliberately imposed on the conquered as a means of permanent enfeeblement.

Conquests of this kind tend to enlarge themselves; and in this way the districts occupied by the strongest tribes become the centers of a military domination more or less widely extended.

Conquest Starts a Social Process

History begins with the compound society consisting of several units aggregated into a group in subjection to a dominant *pueblo*. Often this in turn is annexed with its dependencies by a rival; the repetition of this process results in large aggregations. The struggles and vicissitudes of the dominant *pueblos* make history.[7]

Two Ways of Holding Down a Conquered People

The super-position of conquerors can occur in one of two ways. Suppose a regiment of white soldiers comes to dominate a Central African region. The colonel may keep his men together and rule the country from one point. Thus did the Dorians in Lacedemon, the Medes and Persians in Assyria, the Turks in the Balkans. This policy is not very fruitful in social results. The other way is for the regiment to break up into companies and occupy and govern districts. Each captain rules within his district but bonds of sympathy and tradition unite the dispersed companies. On anniversaries they join in some religious or patriotic festival. Such was the mode of establishment of the Hellenes in Greece, the Hebrews in Palestine, the Normans in Normandy, Great Britain, Sicily, Neustria and Russia. It is socially fecund because it rapidly transforms a simple tribe of conquerors into a complex nation by the inclusion of the conquered populations.[8]

[7] Payne, *op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 51.
[8] See Coste, "L'experience des peuples," pp. 562–64.

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Social Consequences of Conquest

The superposing of one people upon another usually calls into being great landed estates. The conquerors plant themselves at various strong points over the country in order to be able to nip in the bud any uprising. They assign large bodies of land to their foremost men who thus become a territorial nobility. The lordship of these immense tracts is given not only as a reward for past military services, but on the condition that the holder keep his district in subjection and organize a local force for the defense of the realm.

Sharp impassable lines of demarcation within society generally originate in conquest. Bagehot thinks that caste "could only begin in a country several times conquered and where the boundaries of each caste rudely coincide with the boundaries of certain sets of victors and vanquished." [9]

Religious syncretism is another outgrowth of superposition. In ancient Babylonia, for example, the cities were in the first instance the places of residence of fellow tribesmen and were built around the temple of their divinity of fertility. The struggle between these cities for supremacy made now one city supreme over the others for a century or two and now another. Empire fell to Shirpurla, then Erech, then Agade, then Erech, Ur, Isin, Ur, and Larsa in succession, and finally to Babylon about 2300 B.C. One result was a hierarchy of gods. The city that led for a few centuries would gain for its god a high place in the minds of the subjugated people and the city that gained the supremacy first and held it for a long period, would win for its god the headship of the pantheon. The deities of the other cities would be grouped around him as sons, daughters, or subordinates. Among the ancient Mexicans the same process had brought about a pantheon.[10]

Forced Union Produces More Social Results than Free Union

The reason why conquest is sociologically so much more significant than alliance is now apparent. Association for fighting does not intermingle the allied populations or oblige them to relinquish any of their dissimilar characteristics. Internally the allied groups are little modified. Subjugation, on the other hand, is likely to pour the peoples through one another, so that thenceforth separation is impossible. Moreover, it creates such new relations as master and slave, lord and villain, noble and com-

[9] "Physics and Politics," p. 149.

[10] See Barton, "A Sketch of Semitic Origins."

manner; substitutes positive law for custom; makes landed property an engine of exploitation; and gives birth to the centralized coercive state.

Violence Has Produced a Premature Massing of Human Beings into Large Societies

The compounding and recompounding of men by force has immensely accelerated social integration. At present all mankind are embraced in not more than half a hundred sovereign group-units. Had the fraternal teachings of Buddha and Jesus, of Epictetus and Francis and George Fox been followed, such a stage of massing might not have been reached for thousands of years. The radiation and interchange of culture elements would in time have produced likemindedness, which paves the way for the spontaneous fusion of social groups; but, without waiting for this slow process to achieve results, conquerors and empire-builders integrated men by violent methods. How different would be the grouping of human beings to-day if economic advantage rather than force had been the parent of societies! What woes would have been spared him if man had not early overcome his instinctive shrinking from combat with his kind and by the glorification and worship of dominion steeled himself to the wholesale taking of human life. Despising the gospel of peace civilized man has hurried exultantly along the war path until now he finds himself holding a knife at his own throat. The next movement may sever his jugular.

KINDS OF SOCIETIES

Distinguishing according to the social bond — which depends not only upon the mode of origin of the society but also upon its stage of development — Giddings recognizes the following kinds of society:

Sympathetic Society

"1. There is a homogeneous community of blood-relatives, composed of individuals that from infancy have been exposed to a common environment and to like circumstances, and who, therefore, by heredity and experience are alike. Always conscious of themselves as kindred, their chief social bond is sympathy. The kind or type of society, therefore, that is represented by a group of kindred may be called the Sympathetic.

Congenial Society

"2. There is a community made up of like spirits, gathered perhaps from widely distant points, and perhaps originally strangers, but drawn together by their common response to a belief or dogma, or to an opportunity for pleasure or improvement. Such

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is the religious colony like the *Mayflower* band, or the Latter-Day Saints; such is the partisan political colony, like the Missouri and the New England settlements in Kansas; and such is the communistic brotherhood, like Icaria. Similarity of nature and agreement in ideas constitute the social bond, and the kind of society so created is therefore appropriately called the Congenial.

Approbational Society

"3. There is a community of miscellaneous and sometimes lawless elements, drawn together by economic opportunity — the frontier settlement, the cattle range, the mining camp. The newcomer enters this community an uninvited but unhindered probationer, and remains in it on sufferance. A general approbation of qualities and conduct is practically the only social bond. This type of society, therefore, I venture to call the Approbational.

"The three types of society thus far named are simple, spontaneously formed groups. The first two are homogeneous, and are found usually in relatively isolated environments. The third is heterogeneous, and has a transitory existence where exceptional economic opportunities are discovered on the confines of established civilizations.

"Societies of the remaining five types are in a measure artificial, in part created by reflection — by conscious planning. They are usually compound, products of conquest or of federation, and, with few if any exceptions, they are of heterogeneous composition. They are found in the relatively bountiful and differentiated environments.

Despotic Society

"4. A community of the fourth type consists of elements widely unequal in ability: the strong and the weak, the brave and the timorous, exploiters and the exploited — like enough conquerors and the conquered. The social bonds of this community are despotic power and a fear-inspired obedience. The social type is the Despotic.

Authoritative Society

"5. In any community of the fifth type arbitrary power has been established long enough to have identified itself with tradition and religion. Accepted as divinely right, it has become authority. Reverence for authority is the social bond, and the social type is, therefore, the Authoritative.

Conspiritual Society

"6. Society of the sixth type arises in populations that, like the Italian cities at their worst estate, have suffered disintegration of a preexisting social order. Unscrupulous adventurers come forward and create relations of personal allegiance by

means of bribery, patronage, and preferment. Intrigue and conspiracy are the social bonds. The social type is the Conspirital

Contractual Society

"7. Society of the seventh type is deliberately created by agreement. The utility of association has been perceived, and a compact of cooperation is entered into for the promotion of the general welfare. Such was the Achæan League. Such was the League of the Iroquois. Such was the confederation of American commonwealths in 1778. The social bond is a covenant or contract. The social type is the Contractual.

Idealistic Society

"8. Society of the eighth type exists where a population collectively responds to certain great ideals, that, by united efforts, it strives to realize. Comprehension of mind by mind, confidence, fidelity, and an altruistic spirit of social service are the social bonds. The social type is the Idealistic." [11]

Theories of Society

Giddings goes on to show [12] that these types observed from early times have suggested to thinkers as many different theories of the nature of society. In tribal mythologies we find sympathy or natural brotherhood theories. The society of congenial spirits suggests the consciousness-of-kind theories voiced in the proverb, "Birds of a feather flock together," in the saying of Empedocles that "Like desires like," and in the word of Ecclesiasticus that "All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like." From approbational societies have come our natural-justice theories. From despotic societies have come theories that might makes right in the sense of creating law and order. From authoritative societies have come theories of the divine right of kings; from conspirital societies have come Machiavellian theories of the inevitableness of intrigue and conspiracy; and from societies long used to deliberative assemblies, to charters of liberty and bills of rights have come the social-covenant or social-contract theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

[11] Giddings, "Descriptive and Historical Sociology," pp. 10–13.
[12] *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. X, p. 169.

CHAPTER X

ASSOCIATION

HUMAN NATURE IN ISOLATION

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Characteristics of "Wild" Children

BEFORE the days of the scientific study of human nature, romancers often imagined what a man would be like who had grown up without human association. In every case they portrayed a being with our faculties and reactions, although quite without culture. We know now that a child with only animals for nurses and companions would never develop the distinctively human traits. Its mentality would be arrested on a plane but little above that of an imbecile. The observations upon human beings of "wild" upbringing who at various times have been brought among civilized people show them to be characterized by a vegetative type of existence, automatic reactions, unconsciousness of self, inability to learn the use of language, absence of social emotions, and indifference to human companionship. Self-consciousness, the rise of personality, and the ordinary capacity for thought and emotion are impossible without the give-and-take of life in society.

Effects of Solitary Confinement,

About a century ago, from observing the mutual contamination of prison inmates, some were led to advocate the solitary confinement of prisoners, at least for the first part of their term of incarceration. It was argued that in the silence of his cell the offender would come to see his misconduct in a new light and would resolve to change his ways. But the results of the policy showed how little the penologists understood the social side of human nature. In 1821, by act of the legislature of New York, eighty convicts in the Auburn prison were put into solitary cells without labor. At the end of a year five were dead, one had killed himself, another was mad, and the rest were melancholy. The next year the experiment was abandoned. In 1842, in England, Pentonville prison began to confine the prisoner in solitude for the first eighteen months of his sentence. For the next eight years the insanity rate among Pentonville prisoners was ten times

as great as in other English prisons. Since solitude is most racking to the more developed personalities, it is not surprising that of the Fenian leaders locked up at Mountjoy from 1865 to 1867 nearly one-half went mad before their release and many others died soon afterward. After repeated experiments, in the course of which numerous prisoners went insane, the English prison authorities cut down the maximum period of solitary confinement first to nine months and later to six months.

Of Hermit Life

Victims of long-enforced solitude generally become the prey of melancholia, delusions, and hallucinations. They cease to have emotions, shrink from the sight of others, and perhaps return voluntarily to their cell as to a grateful shelter. Hermits, too, exhibit a variety of forms of mental disintegration. The biographies of the anchorite saints record strange noises and mysterious voices which the devout of their time deemed supernatural, but which were really sense hallucinations in no wise different from those which visit to-day the isolated lighthouse keeper, or the lonely shepherd of the Sierras.

Struggles of the Famishing Social Self

The struggles of the social self against death are pathetic. In an Italian prison Pellico gained new life when he could wave a handkerchief at a fellow-prisoner, and his spirits rose at the mere sight of a human being. In cellular confinement prisoners devise many ingenious signals to convey sympathy. In Russian prisons the "politicals" developed a clever code of taps on walls or pipes as a means of communicating. In their mad thirst for companionship the immured make pets of mice, rats, and birds, even spiders, ants, and flies. In lieu of anything better, a flower or a struggling plant may furnish support to the starving social self. Incorrigible prisoners have been softened and transformed by having small animals to pet or even a flower box to tend.

Imaginary Companions

One of the early "finds" of child-study was that not a few children have imaginary companions with names and clearly marked traits, with whom they talk, play, quarrel, and make up. Sometimes the isolated child projects a number of imaginary playmates with distinct personalities, who have varied experiences, develop life-histories, and live on with their creator into adult life. One investigator brought to light fifty cases of children who have invented such companions. Akin to this is the practice of "talking to one's self" which grows up in hermits, trappers, prospectors, and other solitaries, and which seems due to the fact that

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the lonely soul finds a faint companionship in the sound of th voice just as the timid boy in the dark is heartened by hearing h own whistling.

The Make-believe of Prisoners

Even the making of objects which other human beings migl admire, enjoy, or use holds comfort for the solitary. Sma says: "They go to work without squares, gravers, stamps, pa terns, or models. Every scrap of glass or metal, every nail an pin, turns to account as a tool. Waste from the shop, bones fro the kitchen, walnut, cocoanut, acorn shells, feathers, locks of hai the bark of trees, pebbles, every kind of fragment, affords mat rials. Tin plates, the bowls of spoons, stone jugs, old bottle dippers, bed posts, table tops, cell walls, and the bottoms of chai serve for canvas and parchment."[1] The prisoner finds reli from his loneliness by tearing pictures out of books and new papers and fastening them on his walls. If he has a latent artisti talent he lines his cell with drawings, which almost always repre sent human heads or figures. If he writes he is likely to produc autobiography, the most intimate of all literary forms. Thu "Every trifle wrought in confinement; every color stain upo prison walls; every nonsense couplet; and every attempt at biog raphy or philosophy, represents an effort of loneliness to peopl the waste of hours to which the physical presence of others is denied. It is an effort to multiply the spirits of one's own personality when all other avenues of intercourse are closed."[2]

GENIUS AND SOLITUDE

Why Genius Seeks Solitude

Still, terrible as is solitude, some souls prefer it to too much society. Various motives lead one to wish to be much by himself. Men of genius voluntarily turn recluse in order to create original works. In the words of Ruskin, "An artist should be fit for the best society and should keep out of it." Thoreau puts it: "The reason of isolation is not that we love to be alone, but that we love to soar; and when we soar the company grows thinner and thinner until there is none left." Even when they seek communion, geniuses are so fretted or bored by the chatter of commonplace persons that they prefer to be alone. In his *Letters* Wagner confesses: "I always feel it to be a useless and utterly

[1] M. H. Small, "Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude," *Pedagogical Seminary*, Vol. VII, p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

sultless proceeding to converse with any one." "Nothing rees with me like solitude." Schopenhauer thought that "Who es not love solitude loves not freedom." Wordsworth prizes

> that inward eye
> Which is the bliss of solitude.

mmermann declares, "Who lives with wolves must join in their wls." Cicero writing to Atticus avers that, excepting the dear end he is addressing, he loves nothing so well as solitude; while oreau thought one person to the square mile is enough and ote, "I never found the companion who was so companionable solitude." On the other hand Hume confesses, "I feel all y opinions loosen and fall of themselves when not supported by bers," and George Sand cries, "I care but little that I am grow- g old but that I am growing old alone." De Senancour, author "Obermann," renounces the world, yet wishes there might be his end one friend to "receive his adieu to life." Cowper claims:

> How sweet, how passing sweet is solitude.
> But grant me still a friend in my retreat
> Whom I may whisper, Solitude is sweet.

The World's Rejection of the Genius

Gifted men who are far above or ahead of their time are likely be so neglected, misunderstood, or hawked at that in despair ey turn misanthrope and hold aloof from their kind. The ographies of genius are full of tragedies of expansive souls, aming for communion and sympathy, yet finding their offer- gs ignored or rejected, so that they end eating out their hearts their loneliness. The world never forgives their being dif- rent.

A great variety of conditions may lead to voluntary isolation. f one hundred famous solitaries studied by Small[1]

hteen suffered from physical weakness and horror of muscular fort; seven had a physical deformity or some sense defect; seven- n were of a pronounced neurotic type; nine had hallucinations; ht were famed for visions, thirty were extremely subjective from ildhood, three were reared in the cloister and six were bred in midst of a solitude almost as intense; sixteen suffered from ulia, referred to as "lack of will" or "lack of force for work."

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

CHAP. X Too much luxury or profligate companions drove eight to the cloister; defeat of party made seven solitary; loss of friends and disappointment in love alienated fifteen, religion led twelve into retirement; science and philosophy, eleven; several were solitary per force since they were either imprisoned or banished. Perhaps a dozen really suffered isolation from entertaining ideas too advanced for their age.

SOCIETY AND SOLITUDE

Impulses Away from and Towards Our Kind

We must, in short, recognize the existence of two opposite types. The *sociable* man wants to join any crowd he happens to come upon. He is glad to be one of a great congregation, a procession, a regiment, enjoys moving in step or cheering in concert with a thousand others. If he possesses a weighty secret, it presses him to communicate it and, if he curbs the impulse, he falls mentally ill. The *individualist,* on the contrary, prefers the trackless wood to the beaten path, empty rooms to full ones, small congregations to large ones, wilderness to towns, fields to thoroughfares. Such was the American backwoods type who, when he could hear the sound of a neighbor's ax, reckoned "Folks are gittin' too crowded," and moved on.

What Our Sociable Nature Demands

What is it the sociable man craves? The mere sight of others? No, "a crowd is not company." Not the presence of others but reciprocity of feeling relieves the ache in the breast. That one is dear who seems to care about us. One of the worst forms of college hazing is the "silent treatment," feigning that the obnoxious messmate does not exist. To the friendless newcomer the loneliness of the great city is hardly less cruel than that of the far hill farm. Hosts of acquaintances or admirers cannot still the thirst of the heart like a single friend. The high-placed executive, commandant, or employer may live as lonely as a castaway on a coral reef. On the other hand, no one loves a thousand as individuals. The man of wide benevolence simply loves an imaginary generalized human being. Only in this way can the missionary be said to *love* the race he labors among.

The Demand Curve for Companionship Falls Steeply

In sooth, our taste for society like our taste for salt is soon cloyed. Many find one good friend enough and few would get more satisfaction out of a hundred friends than out of a dozen. The man with many friendships runs the risk of cultivating them too little to reap a harvest. The value of companionship, like that of any necessary of life, falls rapidly as the supply increases.

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Denizens of the backwoods or the desert are hospitable chiefly because there the wayfarer has a scarcity value. In a strange land the traveler falls with joy upon the neck of the rare fellow-countryman; multiply such meetings and he will discriminate. In the wilderness the lone prospector's delight in coming upon another human being is, one might almost say, as the square of the number of days since he saw a countenance. In a crowd the country-bred man quickly assumes personal attitudes toward those about him, while the townsman in the press holds himself spiritually aloof. City congestion has bred in him the habit of regarding the ordinary fellowman as a mere moving bulk to be avoided as one avoids a rolling stone.

THE STIMULUS FROM ASSOCIATION

Children never get so "wild" as when playing with others. The "only" child becomes at times leaden, cannot "think of anything to do," and begs to "go over to Jimmie's." When visiting children unexpectedly arrive, he becomes another being, laughs, shouts, jumps about, and shakes with eagerness as he excitedly exhibits his playthings and accomplishments. The writer or artist does his best alternating between fellowship and solitude. Too long alone his founts of inspiration run dry and his visions pale.

"'Tis hard," says Emerson,[4] "to mesmerize ourselves, to whip our own top; but through sympathy we are capable of energy and endurance. Concert fires people to a certain fury of performance they can rarely reach alone."

The maxim of the sage now rests on an experimental basis. According to Burnham,[5] Dr. Mayer of Wurzburg studied experimentally the difference between the mental work of pupils in a group and the isolated pupil. In general the result of the work of the pupils in groups was superior to their work as isolated individuals, the superiority showing not only in decrease of time but in the quality of the work. One pupil who took 10 minutes and 25 seconds to do some work alone did it in class in 7 minutes and 30 seconds. Another who took 13 minutes and 11 seconds took 6 minutes and 45 seconds in a group. This result tallies

[4] "Society and Solitude."

[5] "The Group as a Stimulus to Mental Activity," *Science*, New Series, Vol. XXXI, pp. 761–67.

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with that of Schmidt, who, testing children in their home work as compared with their school work, found that for most kinds of work the product in the classroom was superior.

The Mind Works Better When Others Are About

Dr. Triplett tested the influence of the presence of a co-worker on a simple physical act, the turning of a reel as fast as possible. The pupil always worked more rapidly when in company with another child. Neumann corroborated the results of Triplett. Seven pupils of the ages of thirteen and fourteen were tested repeatedly with the dynamometer and the ergograph. In the case of the test of the pupils separately, with no one else in the room, the amount of work done was always less than when others were present. If the experiments were made in the presence of the teacher alone, the pupils did not do as much work as when they were all together without the teacher.

Testing the memory of pupils alone and when working together, he obtained similar results. While in the case of children of thirteen or fourteen years of age there was no essential difference in memory for the individual and the common test, the difference was remarkably large in the case of the younger children. On an average with the individual test the children remembered considerably less than in the class. Not a child was found who remembered more in the individual test than in the class test. It is not surprising then that when asked whether they would rather do an exercise in the class or alone undisturbed by the noise of other pupils 80 per cent. replied that they would rather do it in the class.

THE "ONLY" CHILD

The "Only" Child Is Likely to Be Handicapped.

Studies of "only" children show that, instead of outstripping other children owing to their association with mature minds, they fall behind them. They not only enter school from one and a half to two years later than is usual, but they are markedly inferior to other children in school performance. About half of the "only" children in school were reported as getting on badly with other children, usually because they were loath or did not know how to make concessions or were set on having their own way. In a fourth of the four hundred "only" children reported on selfishness was set down as the dominant trait. Even with careful training the "only" child becomes selfish from lack of the give-and-take of association. A woman who had been a well-

brought-up "only" child confesses, "Because I have met less than the normal demand for sacrifice of my own rights and privileges, I have lacked practice in resigning them and have never acquired the habit of spending myself freely. So that whatever unselfish acts I may perform are more likely to be solely concessions to conscience than the spontaneous expressions of a nature accustomed to sacrifice." CHAP. X

Morbid,

Quite aside from parental spoiling, which is quite a different factor from want of companions of one's own age, the "only" child is likely to be morbidly self-centered and introspective. "In later life," affirms a neurologist, "he is extremely conceited, jealous and envious. He begrudges the happiness of friends and acquaintances, and he is therefore shunned and disliked. The fact that he is peculiarly subject to hysteria, neurasthenia, and kindred maladies is attributed to faulty habits of thought fixed in childhood, the chief of these being an excessive preoccupation with thoughts of self."

and Unsocialised

Without experience in a system of selves, the "only" child is easily teased, does not know how to stand being the butt of a joke, cannot bear to be "it" in a game in which "it" is the laughing-stock. About 40 per cent. of "only" children in school are not normally interested in active games. Such children spend too much time reading and with grown-ups because they lack the art of adjustment. One says: "I was always disturbed by the prospect of going to a children's party . . . for the first half of the time I was certain to stand about on the edges of the crowd, merely because I could not get into the spirit of the merry gathering."

A Sound and Social Self Develops Only Amid Other Like Selves

Childhood is the seedtime of character, for it is then that the subconscious is planted with suggestions which become nuclei for whole systems of thought which later ripen into habits. The suggestions the "only" child receives from too exclusive association with doting overanxious parents "tend to engender in him a mental attitude out of which may afterward spring, according to the subsequent circumstances of his life, a cold, heartless, calculating selfishness, or a morbid self-anxiety, perhaps eventuating in all sorts of neurotic symptoms."[6] On the other hand, abundant association in games, especially team games, with children of about his own age fixes in his subconsciousness suggestions of

[6] Bruce, "The Only Child," *The Century Magazine*, 1916, p. 310.

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"fair play," "give-and-take," "turn about," "follow," "lead," "obey," and "true blue," which help to build in time the "good fellow" and the "good citizen."

SOLIDARITY AND SUICIDE

Firm, Durable Ties Afford Some Insurance Against Suicide

Durkheim's exhaustive study of the statistics of suicide reveals a strange saving power in the bonds by which the individual is knit with others into a group. The suicide rate of bachelors is half as great again as that of married men of the same average age *without* children and three times that of married men *with* children. The rate for widowers *without* children is a third greater than for widowers *with* children. Thus, family life in a measure protects against self-murder and it does so because it shifts the focus of the individual's interest from his personal experiences and fate to that of the family group. His attitude toward his life is determined less by what it is worth to him than by what it is worth to his children; and such a consideration may give him strength to go on with it when otherwise he would cast it away as not worth keeping.

It is significant, too, that for every European people the suicide tendency is decidedly stronger among Protestants than among Roman Catholics. In Switzerland, for example, the suicides in Protestant, mixed, and Catholic cantons are respectively 326, 212, and 86 per hundred thousand persons. In general the Jews show a lower rate than even the Catholics. The reason for these contrasts is to be sought, not in any difference in the teaching as to the sinfulness of suicide, but in the fact that the Catholics are more firmly knit into a religious community than the Protestants, while the solidarity among Jews usually exceeds that among Catholics.

He Travels Safest Who Travels with a Group

Again, suicide is rare in young, vital, strongly organized societies but frequent in decaying, disintegrating societies. Wars and revolutions, by resuscitating the sentiment of national solidarity, cut down the suicide rate. Whatever stimulates group, party, or patriotic feeling helps men bear their private troubles. Hence Durkheim's law, *Suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of the social groups to which the individual belongs.* Men are like mountain climbers, some making their way over the glaciers roped to the members of a large party, others going alone and depending on eye and alpenstock. The latter mount

more quickly and can go farther if they are strong. But woe to them if the crust breaks! CHAP. X

Durkheim[1] accounts for this law as follows:

> Man is double. To the physical man is added a social man. The latter presupposes a society that he expresses and serves. If it decays so that we no longer feel it living and acting about and above us, the social in us hangs in the air, has nothing to rest on, no objective basis. The social in us becomes a phantasmagory that a little reflection dissipates, it no longer can give purpose or meaning to our acts. And yet this social man is the whole of the civilized man; it alone gives worth to existence. So losing it, we lose most of our reasons for living. For the only life we value no longer responds to a reality and the (animal) life which is still based on reality no longer responds to our needs. There is nothing to which the strivings of the higher, the civilized man in us relate. Our efforts seem to lose themselves in the void. In such a state of mind the minor causes of discouragement may easily give birth to the desperate resolution of the suicide.

SOCIAL SYMPATHY

The Relief of Confession

In the suicide clinics which have been maintained in certain American cities, it appears that persons contemplating suicide are more in need of sympathy than of succor. The mere confessing their troubles to a sympathetic stranger instead of brooding over them alone gives them relief and renewed courage to battle on.

Sympathy Makes the Heart Strong Under the Most Trying Experiences

Sympathetic association has, indeed, an almost magical value. After the San Francisco fire it was remarked that families that had lost all and were camped in the parks were by no means downhearted. The secret was that the universal sympathy and helpfulness were meat and drink to the starved social self. The sudden fellowship that springs up in hours of disaster — like the sinking of the *Titanic* — is found so sweet that the survivors form an association and meet annually in order to revive it. Just as the loveliest flowers grow nearest the toe of the glacier, so the sweetest intimacies spring up among those sharing the most terrible experiences. In war "comrade" becomes a sacred word, and the bonds uniting trenchmates and messmates often last through life. So comforting is this perfect fellowship that soldiers will joke and whistle amid horrors that would drive a soli-

[1] "Le Suicide," p. 228.

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tary man out of his wits. The journals of Polar expeditions bear witness to the cheerfulness of the men during the long Arctic night. With companionship but without sunshine they were far happier than the mountain shepherds who have sunshine but lack companionship. In the Ludlow tent colony of Colorado "the striking miners of a dozen different nationalities suffered destitution together in midwinter, half-starved and exposed, with their wives and children, to all the adversities of cold and want and armed inhumanity; yet through all their stories of their misery there is the evidence of an extraordinary good fellowship that gave a gala air to their encampment, the happiness of a society united in sympathy, a delightful concord between alien races that were glad to find their old prejudices unfounded."

The *we*-feeling is not the outcome of mere juxtaposition, but depends on certain favoring circumstances. One is *crisis*, which sweeps away conventional barriers and gives free play to the social instincts of deeply moved persons. Another is *harmony of interests*. In the trenches, the exploring party, the strikers' colony, one loses that habit of eyeing the fellow-man as an actual or potential competitor which grows up in a society like ours characterized by pecuniary emulation. *Conversation* brings to light mental differences as well as resemblances, but, on the whole, no doubt, it gives birth to more sympathies than antipathies. "It is a trait of civilized man," says Tarde,[8] "to love to talk in everything that he does, to talk eating, working, loving. It is as far from the mute love-making of the Arabs and Hebrews to our vivacious wooing as from silent meals to hilarious feasts. Conversation is the circulation of general sympathy through even our most private joys." *Pleasuring together* favors the spread of the *we*-feeling. Eating, drinking, acting, playing together, the enjoying in common of music, drama, or spectacles are time-honored means of fostering general fellowship. Owing to its relaxing effect on inhibitions, the consuming together of alcoholic drinks has been greatly relied on for thawing egos and setting up warm currents of good feeling. *Concerted rhythmic response* is especially powerful in creating social sympathy. Cheering, singing, and stamping together are used to evoke "college spirit" and the choral singing of patriotic hymns is encouraged among soldiers to fan their *esprit de corps*. From early tribal days the

How the We-feeling Is Evoked or Intensified

[8] "La Logique Sociale," p. 323.

dance has been used to unlock social emotion, and those attempting to create a community spirit in our polyglot American cities rely on getting people to sing in immense choruses and take part in great public dances in the streets and parks. *Touch,* although narrow in range of operation, is a great quickener of sympathy. Shaler says:[1] "It has been my chance to help many wounded men. In all such cases when I first look upon the sufferer I am filled with a disquiet which impels me to seek protection in flight. There is, of course, sorrow for the afflicted, but this is overmastered by the intense desire to spare myself the pain due, so far as I can see, to the shock to my ideal of what a man should be. The moment I touch the sufferer all that horror immediately vanishes and he becomes that dear thing, the actual neighbor. The fact seems to be that the impressions of sight have little awakening effect upon the sympathies as compared with those of touch." This is recognized in the "grip" of friends, the handclasp of circling merrymakers, the interlacing figures of dancers, and perhaps the ceremonial laying on of hands.

The Efficacy of Touch

THE TARDY RECOGNITION OF OUR SOCIABLE NATURE

Our dependence on others has been so overlooked that most of us marvel that any one should go mad in solitude or kill himself from lack of sympathy, or that an unmarried mother should smother her infant rather than meet shame. Poets and romancers have made much of such things, but the current theory of human nature is quite too narrow to take account of them. Psychology early gained an individualistic slant from its probing of the senses and the intellect and only lately has it plumbed the instincts and emotions — man's social side. Meanwhile the philosophers, being jealous for the "dignity" of human nature, have ignored our social needs as if they disclosed a shameful weakness. Until human relations were scrutinized with the appraising eye of the scientist there was none to gainsay the orator and the moralist in eloquently presenting absolute independence and self-direction as goals of personal development.

The Dependence of the Self on Other Selves Has Been Overlooked

Blindness to the social demands of human nature showed itself in a great variety of ways. Prison reformers clung to the delusion that solitary confinement regenerates. Quite unconscious of their cruelty, the benevolent tolerated the almshouse with its sep-

Individualistic Theories of Human Nature Have Done Infinite Harm

[1] "The Neighbor," p. 293.

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aration of aged couples and its walling off paupers from the common life. Respectable people looked upon the saloon as nothing but a "dramshop" and not more than twenty years have elapsed since they perceived it to be "the poor man's club." That what the poor most need is "not alms but a friend" gave thirty years ago the shock of a great discovery. The social settlement, founded in the conviction that nothing will help the slum like sympathy, good fellowship, and inspiring personal influence, has been in existence but a little over thirty years, yet has succeeded so well that it is being generalized the country over as the "social center." Still nearer is the beginning of the scientific study of the social relations of boys, resulting in the discovery of the "gang" and of the "boys' club" as a means of building character. The transformation of the Young Men's Christian Association from a devotional organization into a social-recreative institution with a religious background was a response to the new view of human nature.

Individualistic assumptions so governed early Americans that, giving up the compact settlement of the New England town, they practiced "homestead" settlement, which few European peoples have found to be congenial. One result of this and of the neglect to provide for social and recreative life in the open country is a loneliness which so tortures young people on the farms that they rush to the cities with a recklessness hardly to be matched in any other part of the world.

LATER BARRIERS TO FELLOWSHIP

Current Errors

While much light has been thrown on the true nature of human beings, there are still various false notions which stand in the way of our doing justice to our social cravings. Common yet is the idea that religion is something altogether between man and his Maker and does not relate man to man. Another pitfall is the notion that the chief end of sport is physical development rather than the enjoyment of fellowship in play. "Scientific management" extremists see the workman as a mere machine, while some devotees of the efficiency cult drop every human relation and reject every claim that does not contribute to "success." There is abroad, too, a caricature of Darwinism, invented to justify the ruthless practices of business men, which insists that struggle is the law of life, that every other human being is a possible rival,

and that one's only option is to devour the fellow-man or be eaten by him. CHAP. X

Blind Social Evolution May Martyrize the Social Self

Nor may we overlook certain untoward social tendencies. The growth of tenancy under a form of lease which allows the tenant no compensation for disturbance or for the unexhausted fertility he has added to the soil results in a shifting rural population unwilling to invest in the roads, schools, churches, playgrounds, and community halls which facilitate social enjoyment. The commercial spirit, which prompts people to associate on the basis of reciprocal entertainment and service, taints fellowship with calculation and inhibits that generous self-abandon which is the finest flower of friendship. Again, the wealthy have to guard their circles against the intrusion of touts, leg-pullers, notoriety-seekers, and exploiters of social connections for financial, professional, or political advantage. But the raising of the money barrier is responsible for the hollowness and dulness that lies like a pall upon plutocratic society. No wonder that in the second generation the conspicuous tend to restrict their intimacies to playmates and schoolmates in order that within this closed circle they may taste the sweets of mutual confidence, geniality, ease, and the intimacy of first names!

THE STRUGGLE OF PERSONALITIES IN ASSOCIATION

The Struggle for Existence Among Egos

Do people come together solely to commune with and enjoy one another? By no means. To the shrewd eye much social life is a veiled struggle to expand one's personality at another's expense. One eats another like the beasts of the jungle. Children, whose natures lie near the surface, plainly strive to convert their playfellows into an admiring circle, to use them to intensify their feelings of self. They keenly compete for notice from companions or superiors. Boys swell up and swagger about, talk in unnatural tones, "play big," and "show off." They do "stunts" eagerly shouting "Looky" as they stand on their heads or hang by their toes. They thrill with superiority as they stalk about on stilts or on tin cans tied to their feet. They vie in boasting, "daring," playing the "smart Aleck," and making up tall stories of their wonderful feats or hairbreadth escapes. It is significant that the bragging lies of boys usually relate to what they can do, while girls are more apt to lie about their possessions.

Dr. Bolton says:

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The Use of the Secret to Dilate the Self

The use of secrets by children is full of interest. Small boys pu their arms around one another's necks and whisper in the ear, pre tending to tell something that the others shall not know. This exal the selves of those that hear the secrets and at the same time shrink up the onlooker and flushes him with envy. Such an act calls fo a countermove in the same direction. The other boys get togethe and tell secrets among themselves and make extravagant claims tha their secrets are much more worthy of knowing. Girls do this, too but it does not seem to bear the same marks of genuineness an naïveté. It has always seemed as if it were more fun to be a bo than to be a girl, just for the reason that the conduct of boys is les conventional and their activity is more varied. To tell another secret is a way of coming *en rapport* with him *de novo* and tellin a secret serves very well as a fresh beginning after a miff has bee declared off. The secret serves to re-establish the relation of friend ship. The suspicion lies close that where the fraternity boys of th university do not feel sure of their girls, they tell the girls the fra ternity secrets as a way of strengthening the desired relationship To tell one a secret is a mark of confidence and respect. Young people of the lower classes of society who associate much together give up a large part of their conversation to noisy claims about secrets or what they know that someone else does not; they make veiled references to past good times and to other times in which things transpired that would be a terrible humiliation if told. Each one tries to get a secret with every other and then to make noisy claims about keeping it from all the rest. Servant girls with their company at the back door indulge in this kind of conversation, making veiled references to secrets most of the time. With them social life is always a sharp contest among personalities in which severe thrusts are given and countered just as severely.[10]

To the same end young people invent "dog-Latin" and other lingoes. They are prized less as a vehicle for secrets than as a means of triumphing over the puzzled listener.

The "I" in Games

Many of the games of childhood, such as "Needle's Eye," "Drop the Handkerchief," and "Virginia Reel," owe their charm to their giving each in turn an opportunity to be the chief actor. In the flushed cheeks and glistening eyes of the child that is "it," one remarks the intoxication resulting from feeling the "I" glorified. While it revels in its golden moment of initiative and self-display, the rest find their compensation in the pleasure of marching, dancing, or singing in concert.

[10] *The Journal of Pedagogy*, Vol. XIX, pp. 35–36.

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Tactics Aiming to Shrink Another's Self

To shrink or put down the selves of others gives much the same satisfaction as to exalt one's own self. It is, after all, the margin of superiority between one's self and another's self which feeds one's sense of importance. In the teasing, badgering, and hectoring of small children, red-haired girls, cross-eyed or hare-lipped boys, peddlers, outlanders, and Chinamen, the object is not always the infliction of pain; it may be the exalting one's self-importance by mortifying and depreciating another. The delight of "taking down" one who is throwing us into the shade is very evident. Schoolboys on the playground "take it out" of "teacher's pet," bespatter the best-dressed child, and pursue the prize pupil, chanting some incantation rhyme built about his name. Girls try to take down the girl all the boys are fond of and the uncouth lads join to humiliate the boy that the girls favor. In the same way young men who are boon companions are on the watch to "get something" on one of their number. Playing tricks and "practical" jokes is a favorite means of "getting the laugh on" another, i.e., shrinking him. Hazing and fagging pleasantly enliven the self-feeling of older schoolboys. The ordeals of initiation imposed by some fraternal orders give the lodge members the pleasure of making a worthy fellow-citizen a laughingstock, while the victim later salves his wounded pride in watching other initiates "ride the goat." Games like "Prisoners' Base," "Blindman's Buff," "I Spy," are built on the plan of shrinking the players one at a time. The child who is "it" feels smalled and wins back his self-respect only by catching another, who in turn becomes "it."

Then there are the tactics of *self-protection* designed to prevent or turn aside a thrust at one's self, and the tactics of *self-recovery* aiming to expand the self after a humiliating experience. Thus the savage, who mainly identifies his personality with his name, is careful to keep secret his true name. The child called a name wards off the blow with the incantation:

> Sticks and stones
> May break my bones
> But names can never hurt me.

There is the same caution about one's image. Once I tried in vain to find a Bedouin who would let himself be sketched; each feared lest in some mysterious way I should gain a hold on him.

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Catlin had to use all the arts of diplomacy in order to get his Indian chiefs to sit for their portrait. Nature peoples have a like horror of being photographed.

Tactics for Protecting One's Self

For fear of a rebuff one refrains from the direct question, but "supposes," or "wonders," queries to the ceiling, or ends a statement with a rising inflection. An invitation is couched in the negative statement: "You would n't care to . . .?" or is conveyed by a lifting of the eyebrow or a pointing of the thumb. A request takes the form of a hint. One answers an embarrassing question with a shrug or a grimace which, while expressing enough, cannot be quoted. Refusal is met with "I don't care," or "Like as not I 'm better off without it." Repartee parries gibe and the innuendo is turned by irony. The use of that double-edged weapon, the apology, gives scope for great dexterity in exalting one's self or putting the other in the wrong. Some adults in associating with children assume an affected speech in order to keep their personalities from being sucked down to the child's level. The children soon see through this and will have nothing to do with one who "talks down" to them.

How There May Be Fellowship Without a Spark of Love

It would be rash then to assume that wherever people come together to enjoy one another's company there is affection. Braggarts must have listeners, skinflints will have their cronies. The self-conceited by no means resign themselves to solitude. The utterly selfish mental invalid may be an utter cormorant for sympathy. In such cases the individual foregathers with others not from love but to gain a sounding-board for his "I," to exalt his own self by bringing under or exploiting other selves. Many egoists of the purest water are on the constant lookout for sympathizers, admirers, or satellites. In a pinch such vampires can find satisfaction even in one another, for each endures the plaint or brag of the others for the sake of having attention when his turn comes to blow the trumpet.

Traits of Egotic Association

Egoistic society apes the manners and amenities of good-will association, but its hollowness shows in a variety of ways. Under velvet endearments women stretch their claws and scratch like cats. Each lady of an exploitive social circle keeps books, as it were, and will not set out cake when she is hostess if the others have been serving only wafers; or if she offers cake it is to triumph over the rest. Stingy beldames calculate it costs less to attract company by spiced gossip than by spiced refreshments

Roistering egoists watch that no one skips his turn to stand treat. Cronies who are not good fellows show their yellowness when one of them falls into trouble. Then he is given to understand that no one cares to see his long face or listen to his tale of woe. For such fair-weather friendship the refrain is, "If you 're out of health or money you need n't come around."

MANNERS

Manners a Technique for Harmonizing the Demands of Different Egos

It is the rôle of good manners to sweeten social intercourse by deleting or refining the struggle among the "I's." The well-bred refrain from such irritants as conspicuousness in dress, loudness of speech, boasting, self-display, monopoly of the conversation, controversy, rudeness, the humiliating of others. The best manners call for the constant subordination of the claims of one's self to the claims of the selves of others. When all in a circle act up to this standard, association becomes in the highest degree enjoyable provided that real congeniality exists. In the best circles of our South the harmonization of the demands of different egos has become a fine art. The way in which a well-bred Southerner will let the conversation take any direction you seem to wish, always playing up to your lead and suppressing his own preference, reveals the secret of the oft-noted "charm" of southern society. In eighteenth-century France the higher social class developed manners of a suavity before unknown and the spread of these over the world has put many peoples in debt to the French. Throughout Spanish America one finds diffused an older, unselfish, but less sympathetic, manner that grew up among the hidalgos of Spain.

Courtesy a Necessary Step in Socialization

The percolation down among the people of the manners wrought out in a leisure class is a very important step in socialization. Politeness is, to be sure, a poor substitute for good-will and respect for the rights of others, but where these traits do not yet exist it is most valuable. Its function is not to sweeten the relation of kinsfolk, friends, or lodge-brothers but to lessen the chafing between strangers, colleagues, or rivals. Wherever, as in South America, good manners have become the heritage of all classes, even *peons*, muleteers and deckhands, the contacts of men give rise to few quarrels and brawls. Good manners cannot, of course, do away with such hostility as arises from conflict of interests; but they go far to prevent troubles which have

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their origin in the naïve assertion of the "I" in human intercourse.

THE MIRRORED SELF

Effects of Our Consciousness of Onlooking Others

The disturbing state of mind we term "self-consciousness" is rather our consciousness of others; of others, however, as noticing and appraising one's self. For many children the first experiences of figuring in the minds of another are extremely upsetting. Some unable to bear an unfamiliar eye cover the face or hide themselves. Under the stranger's gaze the bashful child blushes, makes random movements, twists its body, pulls at its clothing, puts its finger in its mouth, or bites its nails. Muscular co-ordination goes by the board, so that it drops or spills things, stumbles over trifling objects, and finds its hands and feet become alien. It may giggle, laugh nervously, stammer, or even lose voice and word memory. In stage fright the symptoms match closely those of extreme fear. Even the experienced speaker finds discomfort in the "cold" or "unsympathetic" stare.

However, if closer acquaintance reveals a kindly attitude in others, children cease to shrink from their attention and even begin to court it. "In the youngest children," say Hall and Smith,[11] "'showing off' seems to be the simple, openly expressed desire for recognition and sympathy, the step in the extension of the consciousness of self which naturally succeeds the baby's development of self through the investigation of the limits of its own body."

Infantile "Showing Off"

The desire to play a star part in other people's minds develops much earlier than is commonly supposed. "The child," says Professor Cooley, "appropriates the visible actions of his parent or nurse, over which he finds he has some control, in quite the same way as he appropriates one of his own members or a plaything, and he will try to do things with this new possession, just as he does with his hand or his rattle. A girl six months old will attempt in the most evident and deliberate manner to attract attention to herself, to set going by her actions some of those movements of other persons that she has appropriated."

The human looking-glass in which the infant sees its little I

[11] *Pedagogical Seminary*, Vol. X, p. 160.

reflected furnishes it a powerful stimulus to do things. Children brought up in foundling asylums, where they receive good physical care but not loving personal attention, learn to walk and to speak much later than those whose baby efforts call forth the encouraging "ohs" and "ahs" of an admiring family, whose sympathy baby soon learns to claim as his right.

Histrionic Children

"Strong joy and grief depend upon the treatment this rudimentary social self receives. In the case of M., I noticed as early as the fourth month a 'hurt' way of crying which seemed to indicate a sense of personal slight. . . . The slightest tone of reproof would produce it. On the other hand, if people took notice and laughed and encouraged, she was hilarious. At about fifteen months old, she had become 'a perfect little actress,' seeming to live largely in imaginations of her effect upon other people. She constantly and obviously laid traps for attention and looked abashed or wept at any signs of disapproval or indifference. . . . If she hit upon any little trick that made people laugh, she would be sure to repeat it. . . . She had quite a repertory of these small performances, which she would display to a sympathetic audience or even try upon strangers." [12]

Some never develop much beyond this childish stage. I recall a clever young college instructor who in every conversation was obviously occupied with the impression he was making. After he had touched off an epigram you could see him busily priming the next one, in the meantime paying not the slightest attention to your remarks unless they dripped compliment. The callow monologist would make the round of his acquaintances like a landlord collecting rents and then retire to his den to gloat over the admiration he believed he had excited.

We Differ Greatly in Sensitiveness to the Mirrored Self

No one is totally indifferent to his mirrored self, but people differ greatly in sensitiveness. The wise man schools himself to be content with the approval of the discerning. The strong man cares only for the handclap of his peers and will not be looking every minute for fear his social image has changed. Those born in the purple give themselves little concern over what the community think of them. We perceive Haman was an upstart when we read: "But when Haman saw Mordecai in the King's gate, that he stood not up nor moved for him, he was full of indig-

[12] Cooley, "Human Nature and the Social Order," pp. 164–67.

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nation against Mordecai." After telling over his honors, he adds: "Yet all this availeth nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's gate." [13]

No One Is Really Self-Centered

A man may think he turns on his own axis, but "if failure or disgrace arrives, if he suddenly finds that the faces of men show coldness or contempt instead of the kindliness and deference that he is used to, he will perceive from the shock, the fear, the sense of being outcast and helpless, that he was living in the minds of others without knowing it, just as we daily walk the solid ground without thinking how it bears us up." [14]

The "Independent" Man Is Supported by Imaginary Approval

One we call "independent" or "self-sufficient" is not outside society nor dispensing altogether with social approval. He may be a massive deep-draft character that from past approval has gained enough headway not to be stalled in the slack water of indifference, nor caught in an eddy of blame. He may be a discriminating person who smiles at the catcalls of the multitude provided only the wise appreciate him. He may be serene when all men revile him because in his imagination he sees himself triumphantly justified before some high tribunal of the worthies of the past or of the élite of the generations to come. As Ibsen puts into the mouth of one of his characters, "The strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone," seeing that for corroboration he relies least on numbers or contemporaries. This is why faith in God is so bracing to the disinterested champion of an unpopular cause. Imagined divine approval enables him to hold his course amid general opposition and obloquy. In the homes of the Christian missionaries in Inner China one can read from the many cheering religious texts hung about the walls how, aliens in a strange land, they feel the need of counteracting the moral isolation in which they live.

Why the Vain Man Is Weak and Dependent

In a light-draft mind preoccupation with one's reflected self shows itself as *vanity*. The vain man, unlike the constructive and stable sort, cannot hold steadily to an idea of his worth. He cannot fix past social approval as a durable part of his thought of himself, cannot get the habit of taking his merits for granted. Hence his self-feeling is subject to great ups and downs. Let people show admiration or envy of him and he treads on air; but in a trice some slight or rebuff has cast him into the depths. His nature lacks a flywheel to carry him past the "dead points" in

[13] Esther V: 9, 13.
[14] Cooley, "Human Nature and the Social Order," p. 177.

his experience. He cannot keep up his self-confidence with the bravas of last year or even last month; he needs his praise fresh. Such constant dependence is a weakness and will be exploited if it is worth while to do so. The vain man who happens to be rich or powerful or influential is an easy mark for sycophants and toadies, since he swallows gratefully the flattery that buoys his soul in hours of self-distrust. One who skilfully feeds the vain man his needed ration of "taffy" makes himself indispensable. Vanity, too, may be played upon to make one a tool of others. The vain are easy to get the better of and are always burning their fingers pulling other people's chestnuts out of the fire. CHAP. X

To pant for recognition, to yearn to impress one's personality deeply upon one's people or one's time, is the essence of *ambition*. The ambitious youth thinks he thirsts to "do something" or to "be somebody," but his thirst would not be slaked by a success nobody noticed or acknowledged. Really what he craves is to figure potently in the minds of others, to be greatly loved, admired, or feared. The mere notoriety-seeker is less nice and bankers to be read about or talkd about even if the self reflected is far from impressive. This type that would rather be butt than other is kin to the lunatic with a mania for self-exhibition. **Thirst for Recognition**

Less dependent than the ambitious is the power-seeker who slakes his thirst for self-effectuation by molding the destinies of others but cares nothing for recognition by them. The retiring financier or unofficial Warwick, who secretly pulls the wires that make politicians dance, finds his pleasure in seeing the puppets obey his will. Beyond him is the achiever, careless whether the public he benefits ever learns of his existence; but even he needs an inner circle who understand and appreciate his achievement.

It is rather a fine type that is captivated by the idea of recognition by the unborn. A man who shrinks from newspaper publicity may revel in imagining his name in a stained glass window, carved on a portal, or attached to a street. As between wide fame and lasting fame the more imaginative prefer the latter, counting it better to be remembered by posterity than to be the popular idol of one's time.

In a time like ours, when money can work wonders, men are apt to exaggerate its power over souls. Just as there are fools who think they can buy true love and silly rich who actually find satisfaction in the deference paid them by their lackeys and on- **The Impotence of Money to Extort Recognition**

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hangers, so there are some who think to insure commemoration of themselves by paying for it. One rears himself a useless monument or leaves money to build it. Another welds his name to the philanthropy he founds or with his benefaction stipulates a memorial. The sage has no such childlike faith in the power of money, but realizes that he must leave to the unforced gratitude of his fellows the cherishing of his name and service.

Pathology of the Mirrored Self

Uncurbed, the passion to fix and greaten one's social image leads to such evils as pomp, ostentation, fashion, heart-burning, jealousy, fawning, and tuft-hunting. It is a paradox that the mania to impress others may lead to the worst forms of antisocial conduct — as when a king brings on a war for the sake of prestige, or a proprietor squeezes his tenants in order to make a splurge on the boulevards or a splash at Monte Carlo. Shakespeare has Coriolanus slaughter the Volscians just to vindicate himself as not a "boy of tears." The scheming social climber sacrificing old friends and risking countless snubs in the hope of ultimate recognition by people of high position is about as social as a lizard; others interest her only as looking-glasses to reflect a pleasing image of herself. In the evil trinity religion bids us renounce, "the world, the flesh, and the devil," the "world" stands for the faults that spring from solicitude for one's social image, such as worldly ambition, affectation, vanity, vainglory, boastfulness, and arrogance.

Spiritual Hygiene

The mirrored self is a poor thing to stake one's happiness on. Like one's image in a still pool one's pleasing reflection in the minds of others may vanish with a breath. Ambition, to be sure, may lift the sluggard from his bed, the clod from his rut, the sensualist from his sty; but it overstimulates the mettlesome while the sensitive fret themselves ill over their standing in the eyes of others. That is why "withdrawal from the world" has always found some favor among choice spirits. The woods, the sea, or the cell afford asylum from the sharp suggestions that prick the flanks of ambition. One wearied of perpetually scoring to keep his prestige alive, his credit from being smirched by jealous rivals, longs to quit the "world" at least for a season.

Professor Cooley observes:

> To the impressible mind life is a theater of alarms and contentions, even when a phlegmatic person can see no cause for agitation — and to such a mind peace often seems the one thing fair and desirable,

so that the cloister or the forest, or the vessel on the lonesome sea, is the most grateful object of imagination. The imaginative self may be more battered, wounded, and strained by a striving, ambitious life than the material body could be in a more visible battle, and its wounds are usually more lasting and draw more deeply upon the vitality. Mortification, resentment, jealousy, the fear of disgrace and failure, sometimes even hope and elation, are exhausting passions; and it is after a severe experience of them that retirement seems most healing and desirable.[15]

A finer remedy is to quit the game without withdrawing from that common life which is, after all, the place for most of the work that is to better the world. Thus Thomas à Kempis exhorts: "Son, now I will teach thee the way of peace and of true liberty. . . . Study to do another's will rather than thine own. Choose ever to have less rather than more. Seek ever the lower place and be subject to all; ever wish and pray that the will of God may be perfectly done in thee and in all. Behold such a man enters the bounds of peace and calm." [16]

Sex Contrasts Respecting Dependence on the Mirrored Self

Being less aggressive in their make-up, women as a rule are more dependent than men on their immediate social image. They are more sensitive to present attitudes, cannot live so well on hoarded corroboration, and slow down sooner when opinion sets against them. How much gifted women will accomplish depends quite as much on the measure of encouragement they receive as on the degree of freedom they enjoy. American women have done so well, not chiefly because they are freer than their sisters in other lands, but because none cheer a woman's achievement so generously as American men.

While boys are taken up with what they are doing, girls live much in their imagination of how they appear to others. They blush more readily, until the arrival of adolescence they are more bashful than boys, and their clothes consciousness is more acute. It is no such task to get a girl in her early teens to keep herself presentable as to get a boy to do so. The girl catches subtle shades in the personal attitude of others which the boy misses, is more subject to affectation, falls more readily into acting rôles, will make greater sacrifices to convention, and lives more in terror of being "talked about." Women have too much divination to fall into certain egotistic attitudes common to men. Thus women

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

[16] Quoted by Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

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are rarely pompous, and no one ever saw a woman strut. In mating the emotions of the sexes are not the same. "The desire of the man is for the woman, but the desire of the woman is for the desire of the man." Woman's jealousy like her love is usually less physical in its object than man's. She is stung by the *disloyalty* of that intrigue with another which the average male resents as a trespass upon his property.

How Society Takes Notice of the Mirrored Self

In many ways society formally recognizes the value to one of his mirrored self. Damages for libel allow for the "mental anguish" of being brought into public contempt; for breach of promise to marry take into account the mortification of the jilted. Although the duel has been outlawed, insult not only goes a long way toward excusing violence but more and more it affords a ground of legal action, the German courts having gone farthest in this direction. It is contended that peaceful picketing does not exist, seeing that the pickets' tongue-lashing of the "scab" is a weapon of intimidation. The designating of workmen by numbers instead of their names is held to be intolerable. Many old punishments — such as stocks, pillory, cucking-stool, scarlet letter — assumed social sensitiveness in the culprit. Like tar and feathers, whipping at the cart's tail hurt spirit more than body, and ears were cropped not so much to pain the offender as to make him a butt. The teacher may discard rod for dunce's cap and at a certain point in the child's development the parent can punish harder by looks and words than by thwacking. Malicious prison keepers "break" the more sensitive prisoners with indignities rather than hardships, while shrewd wardens offer the removal of stripes and numbers as an inducement to good conduct.

CHAPTER XI

DOMINATION

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IN the life of societies no phenomenon is more general, persistent, recurrent or frequent than *domination*. Not only has each social group brought adjacent social groups under its power so far as it could or dared, but each element within the group subjects other elements to its will so far as it can. The motive to dominate is chiefly lust of exploitation, but it may also be love of mastery or the desire to extend a religion or a civilization.

The chief types of domination are:

Parents Dominate Their Children

1. *Parents over offspring.* Whenever by means of positive institutions or of ethical and religious ideas parents have been able to retain their grown children subject to their will, most of them have done so. The pastoral life fosters patriarchal authority because (1) in quest of fresh pasture the family with its herds wanders away from the tribe and hence, for the sake of safety, it must become a compact unit under one-man direction; (2) there is economy in guarding and caring for the live stock of grown sons in a single herd rather than in several small herds. However, China shows that agriculture is not at all incompatible with parent domination. By the constant stressing of filial piety as a virtue Chinese parents as a rule enjoy more authority and consideration than do parents in the West. Marriage, of course, draws their daughters into another family, but they count on the earnings of their sons to keep them in their declining years. A couple look upon their sons as their old-age pension. I recall a Foochow teacher forty years of age, with a family, who turned over his monthly salary check to his father as a matter of common duty. Hence, in China the parents of many sons are congratulated and envied, while a boy baby is never drowned or sold, as a girl baby may be.

Perhaps this explains why there are more smooth brows, calm eyes and carefree faces among old men in China than among old men in America. Too often among us old age is clouded by the

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depressing sense of being shelved or being a burden. Chinese ethics gives the parent more claims and lays upon the grown sons more duties than our ethics. Coming on the up-curve of life, the duties are easy to bear, while, coming on the down-curve, the corresponding rights are a real solace. In a word, the added happiness to the old folks far outweighs the inconvenience to the sons.

Collectively the Old Dominate the Young

2. *Old over young.* Among many savage and barbarous tribes the elders gain a control over the young by maintaining secret male societies to which the young are admitted by stages marked by awe-inspiring ceremonies. By this leverage numerous food taboos are imposed in the interest of the old men. In one tribe boys will be told that if they eat of forbidden food they will be struck by lightning. In another young men who eat the flesh or eggs of the emu believe that sores will appear all over the body. Elsewhere youths are assured that if prior to initiation they eat wild turkey, swans, geese, or black duck, or their eggs, their limbs will shrivel up. It is common to subject the young to a novitiate during which they turn over to the old the choicest kinds of food they find.

In the same way the old men monopolize the pretty girls while the only female available as a mate for the young man is an old widow or some cast-off hag discarded for a younger wife. Moreover, during a period of probation which may last some years, the youth may not look at a woman or even speak to one.

After the primitive stage the secret tribal societies yield to other forms of organization, but still the Old plot and scheme to hold in subjection the Young. In advanced societies we see the Elders trying to keep the Young under and retain in their own hands the control of social machinery. The Old urge their claim to the helm in the name of "reason," "experience," "record," "distinguished services," "safe and sane," while the Young charge their intrenchments crying "Old fogyism," "New blood," "Inject ginger and energy," "Give others a chance." In clubs, churches, fraternal orders, joint stock companies, political parties, professional and commercial organizations, legislative bodies and government boards we see struggles involving the control by the "old crowd."

3. *Husband over wife.* Under the early maternal system of reckoning kinship the wife remained among her kinsfolk so that

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The Husband Dominates the Wife

her offspring should belong to her clan. The husband being an outsider was in a weak position. Unless he succeeded as hunter and provider of animal food for his wife's family he might be told to leave. Wife domination appears, however, as a rare and passing phenomenon. The customs of wife purchase and of wife capture, as well as the enforced separation of the family from the wife's clan, gave the husband the upper hand, which he has kept through nearly all the stages of social history. Generally law and custom have merged the wife's property with his, given him control of her earnings, her occupation, and her place of residence, denied her freedom of contract, made him responsible for and therefore master over her conduct, tolerated in him more sex liberty than she might claim, and given him control over the children. According to the Hispano-American law codes to-day the husband owes his wife protection, while she owes him obedience. She has no voice as to place of residence but is bound to follow him whatever may be the peril to her health or life. Without her husband's consent she may not sue, make or dissolve a contract, forgive a debt, take or reject a gift, inheritance or legacy, buy, alienate or mortgage productive property. Should the husband object, the deserted wife may not pawn her jewels to buy herself bread nor may she hire herself as servant, needlewoman, mill operative or stenographer. Divorce granted for unfaithfulness costs the erring wife all right to profits from their joint property, but it is not so in the case of the erring husband. The husband may with impunity kill his wife surprised in *flagrante delicto* but the wife has no such right against her unfaithful husband.

4. *Men over women.* In Old Japan the woman's lot was summed up in the "three obediences," viz., unmarried, to the father; married, to the husband; widowed, to a son.

Collectively Men Dominate Women

In China woman's lot is in no wise of her own fashioning, but has been shaped by male tastes without the least regard to what the women themselves think about it. The ancient sages — all men — moulded the institutions which bear on woman and it is male comment, not real public opinion, that enforces the conventionalities which crush her. By wit, will, or worth the individual woman may slip from under the thumb of the individual man, but never is the sex free from the collective domination of the male sex. The men have all the artillery — the time-hallowed

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Masculinism in China

institutions — and all the small arms — current opinion and comment. It is not so much that the individual man selfishly rules the woman or even that one sex has deliberately brought the other into subjection. Perfectly certain of their own superiority in wisdom and virtue, men have settled what is fit and proper not only for themselves, but also for woman.

I once held a conversation with a Chinese gentleman who was promoting a revival of Confucianism. "You 'll admit," I remarked, "that we Occidentals have juster ideas as to the treatment of women." "Not at all," he replied. "The place Confucianism assigns to women is more reasonable than that of the Christian West."

"But why should women be so subordinated?"

"Because women are very hard to control. You can never tell what they will be up to. At the bottom of every trouble there is a woman."

"Is n't that due to your depriving women of the educational opportunities which they once enjoyed?"

"No, it was precisely experience of the difficulty of keeping women under control when they are educated that led our forefathers to lessen their schooling."

"Then you would shut girls out of school?"

"No, I would n't go as far as that. Let them be taught to read and write."

"Nothing more?"

"Possible. But it should be very different from the education given to boys."

"For example?"

"Why, teach the girl household arts and ethics so she will know her duties as daughter, wife and mother."

"Would you teach her her rights as well as her duties?"

"No, no. That is quite unnecessary."

Child Marriage in India

In ancient India girls might choose their husbands. To-day, however, not only are girls disposed of by their parents, but they are married so young that in British India alone there are nearly ten million wives under sixteen years of age, of whom a third of a million are widows! This pernicious custom of child marriage, which is said to cause one-fourth of the women to die prematurely while another fourth are made invalids for life,

developed out of the hyperbolic notions of the Brahmins regarding purity. Their idea is that no wife is pure who has ever felt love for another man than the one she marries. In order therefore that the man may have a wife whose thoughts have never dwelt even momentarily upon another, the girl must be married before the dawning of her sex consciousness.[1] CHAP. XI

Self-immolation of Widows

The prohibition of remarriage, which bears with senseless cruelty upon some hundreds of thousands of child widows who have not even entered on sex life, reflects male egoism, which cannot endure that the female who has lost her mate should form another union. The custom which obtained in India and China until suppressed by law, that the widow should be consumed on the funeral pyre of her dead husband, likewise sprang from the jealousy of males. The seclusion of women which obtains through most of the Moslem world is another outcome of the man's craving for female sacrifice. In our own society the withholding of stimulants and narcotics from women, the double standard of sex morality, the insistence that women shall stay in her "sphere," the resistance to the entrance of woman into the better paid occupations (the professions), the obligation of the wronged wife to suffer more and pardon more than the wronged husband, the greater obligation of women to "please" men than of men to "please" women, constitute a considerable residue of male domination.

The Fighters Dominate the Workers

5. *The fighting portion of society over the industrial portion.* In the agricultural stage a tribe gains defensive power by telling off a portion of the strongest and most valiant men to train themselves in arms, while the women and the less capable males feed and provide for them. While the dedicating of a special group to militant activities is prompted by concern for the general security, the balance between the fighting class and the industrial class cannot be preserved, for the warriors are able to turn against the cultivators the very weapons and skill intended for the enemies of the tribe. Hence, the warriors make themselves masters of society. During the European Dark Ages *scholae,* or brotherhoods of fighters, wandered about offering their arms and their knowledge of warfare for the protection of harassed settled populations. It was only too common, however, that a com-

[1] See Ketkar, "History of Caste in India," Vol. I, p. 32.

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munity which had engaged one of these bands and agreed to feed it in return for protection became gradually the serfs of these defenders.

In old Japan the military class — nobles and *samurai* — comprising 4 or 5 per cent. of the people absolutely dominated the rest. They went always armed and the slightest offense by one of the swordless was paid for with a stroke. The peasant might be cut down by passing swordmen for no other purpose, than to test the edge of a new blade. The elaborate politeness of the Japanese is reminiscent of the time when an obsequious manner was a matter of life or death. Whenever the higher nobility travelled the common people were expected to fall upon the ground in obeisance. Failure to do so met with instant death at the hands of feudal retainers.

Nomads Dominate Fellahin

6. *The well-situated over the ill-situated.* In central Arabia the numerous oases are divided from one another by stretches of waterless steppe. The steppe men are therefore masters of the situation and the *fellahin* of the oases have to submit to their assumption of greater nobility and accept the rule of a Bedouin sheikly family which leads its life between a fortress in the oasis and the black tents of the desert. From such families spring the sultans or emirs who, owing to their ability to combine oasis with oasis by virtue of their command of the intervening tracts, gather a treasure sufficient to attract and maintain a standing force which may bring under other Bedouins and more distant oases.

Alliance Turns Into Empire

7. *The strongest among allies over the rest.* In the course of the Greek resistance to Persia, Athens became the head of a maritime confederation of city states. Gradually, however, owing to the great lead of Athens in ship building and seafaring, the Athenians come to provide and man the common fleet. Athens began then to dictate the money contribution of each of the allies and presently the confederation became an Athenian military empire in which the former allies became subjects, then victims of exploitation, and finally revolters. In like manner the numerous peoples with which the Romans in their expansion made alliance passed gradually into the position, first of dependents, and then of subjects. The history of the relations between Great Britain and the native states of India illustrates afresh

how inevitably alliance between unequals passes insensibly into a relation of domination. CHAP. XI

8. *Conquerors over conquered.* Domination of this kind is the commonest thing in history. The fact is that the historic state came into existence, replacing the old organization of the elders of the clans, as the instrumentality devised by the conquerors for holding down the beaten and enabling the masters to extract profit from them. In the attractive parts of the earth wave upon wave of wild spearmen has rolled over the settled peoples — in Mesopotamia, Babylonians, Amorites, Assyrians, Arabs, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Parthians, Mongols, Seljuks, Tartars, Turks; on the Nile Hyksos, Nubians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks; in Italy Romans, Ostrogoths, Lombards, Franks, Germans. The great cities of the ancient world were by no means founded on commerce and manufactures, as are our great modern cities, but were the fortified seats of tribute-takers, radiant points of dominion, fortresses holding in awe a subject tribute-giving agricultural population. The nucleus of such a city was the court — the monarch together with the warriors, priests, nobles, officials and courtiers, who consumed tribute and held down the tribute-payers. Conquest the Recurrent Note in History

The earlier empires took tribute and troops from their subjects. No ancient monarch, except, perhaps, some of the Ptolemies, aimed to benefit their subjects generally. Found, however, to be shortsighted and comparatively unproductive, the rapacious type of domination gives way to a more considerate policy which aims to stimulate the subjugated by leaving them some freedom and hope. Rome had large views. She aimed to give the conquered good administration and even under the Republic attempts were made to check abuses by provincial governors like Verres, altho certainly a great deal of extortion and malfeasance went on under Roman proconsuls. With the establishment of the Empire administration greatly improved. The Emperor felt more responsibility for the welfare of the provinces than the sordid Senate had ever felt.

A like development occurred in the domination of the British over India. The memorable trial of Warren Hastings so fixed the attention of the English nation upon the administering of India as to secure for wholesome principles of conduct a recog-

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nition which was never after forgotten. Since India came under the Crown in 1858 the British domination has taken into account the *welfare* altho not (until lately) the *will* of the subjects.

The State Lords It Over Its Subjects

9. *The masters of the State over the subjects of the State.* Only in highly democratic societies like Switzerland, Oregon, Kansas and New Zealand is government really an instrument for promoting the general welfare as conceived in the reigning ideas of the time. In many parts of the world government is a means of domination either by the actual holders of office (rulers or bureaucracy), or by a class whose creatures and servants they are.

For example, altho the governments of South America are republican, the needs of the common people receive from them but scant consideration. The hand workers do not understand their true interests and have therefore slight political importance. The large proprietors use their control of government to draw to themselves the lion's share of the advantages of the social union. In tropical South America the conversion of political power to personal advantage is the shortest road to fortune. Like gold-mining or rubber-gathering with enslaved forest Indians, the capture of the proceeds of taxation is a splendid get-rich-quick enterprise appealing strongly to the *conquistador* imagination. Government is a mode of acquisition sufficiently predatory, profitable and perilous to appeal to the taste of the born gentleman. There is nothing in politics for the common people save the excitement of participating in a dangerous sport.

MEANS OF DOMINATION

The means of maintaining ascendency constitute a graduated scale reaching from pure coercion to something like partnership.

Force and Fraud Are the Earliest Means of Domination

1. *Physical force.* Assyrians, Huns, Goths, Tartars, Mongols, Moguls, Manchus, Mahdists, and Turks have ruled by the naked sword. Under the old regime in Russia and in certain contemporary states of tropical America government is sustained by soldiers and by little else.

2. *Political inequalities originating in the exercise of force.* Under the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns the cards were very skillfully stacked against the dominated peoples and classes. By property qualifications for the suffrage, by unequal representation of tax-paying classes, by special political privileges accorded

to dominant races or nationalities, and to the propertied classes, and by political discrimination against subject races or nationalities and against toilers, governments were constituted which would respond to the will of dominant elements rather than to public opinion.

The Purchase of Political Power with Money

3. *Corruption.* For cash or other immediate personal advantage poor and ignorant voters will often turn over their votes to the political party of the very element which oppresses and exploits them. At times in some of our commonwealths a party representing only selfish interests has been able to keep itself in power by the aid of votes purchased with money or favors. The naturalized foreign-born have been very susceptible to timely attentions and kindnesses shown them during their early difficult years in this country and hence social work on a large scale originated with Tammany Hall in New York and kindred political organizations. In Chile, despite a democratic suffrage, the large landed proprietors preserve their control of the state by systematic corruption. Vote buying is open and general. The democratic or workingmen's party makes no small noise in the campaign, but on election day many who have shouted, paraded and worked for it sell their votes to the Conservatives for the wages of a week's work. This is why a deputy will have to spend from $3000 to $6000 on his election, while a senator, having a larger district to handle, spends from $10,000 to $16,000. As such an outlay is prohibitive for the individual, no one aspires to a Conservative seat in Congress unless the rich landowners about Santiago will stake him with a corruption fund. Hence, it is the Santiago oligarchy that determines who shall stand for a given province on the Conservative ticket and finds the money needed to elect him. Small wonder that the Chilean Congress doggedly refuses to enact a corrupt practices act!

Patronage Gives Leverage for Domination

4. *Patronage.* The English in India and the Dutch in the Far East have dominated the natives largely by recognizing and patronizing the native princes and sultans. The potentate retains his title and dignities, has his former income assured him and is made secure on his throne by European machine-guns. In return he becomes a puppet of the European resident adviser, who is often known as the "Elder Brother" of the native sultan or regent and has the elder brother's privilege of giving advice which the younger brother is expected to follow. Thus

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the real masters keep in the background while the dominated people imagine that they are still governed by hereditary rulers of their own race.

In eighteen-century England George III built up in Parliament by the lavish distribution of offices, sinecures and pensions a party known as "the King's Friends," which could be relied on to stand by the king's ministry thru thick and thin. The system, of course, could not have been maintained without a large number of "rotten boroughs," whose representatives in Parliament had no constituents to answer to. When organized labor began to be a force in the United States it was long kept politically null by the device of giving certain Federal offices to its leaders. For instance, the post of U. S. Commissioner of Immigration went to "labor," no matter which party was in power. By this cheap device the labor vote was kept subservient. It is fear of thus being put off with a sop that has made the Socialist party in many countries refuse to allow any of their leaders to accept office under another party.

Spiritual Power Is Used to Hold People in Subjection

5. *The political use of spiritual power.* The early sultans at Constantinople perceived that the keen wit of the Greeks might be made an instrument of their designs, so they contrived to turn the Eastern Church into an instrument of Turkish dominion. The lower clergy, throughout the Christian lands conquered by the Turk, generally remained patriotic leaders, but the bishops and other higher clergy became slaves and tools of the Turk. Greek bishops ruled Slavonic churches and so formed another fetter in the chain by which the conquered were held down.

In a Briton's description of a Greek archbishop in Cyprus we see what arrows fill the ecclesiastical quiver.

"Geronymo held many weapons in his hands. First, as head of the church, he was the chief owner of land in this island, and could therefore raise the rent on hundreds of farms at any moment and on any pretext. Second, as head of the church, he was the biggest trader in the island, and could therefore raise the price of articles in the bazaars of every market-town. Third, as head of the church, he was one of the chief exporters of wine, salt, and brandy, and could therefore easily derange the shipping trade and annoy the ports. These temporal means of mischief could be strengthened and inflamed by spiritual allies. He could stop the Sacrament and suspend the rites of marriage and sepul-

ture. He could shut up church and cloister, put the altars under mourning, and deny a suffering people all the solaces of religion, from the act of baptism to the final offices of grace." [2]

Under the old regime in Russia, the Tsar through the *Oberprocuror* of the Holy Synod held the Church captive and by means of twenty thousand village priests was able to disseminate among his credulous subjects any lie which suited his purpose as, e.g., that the massacre of 1500 on "Red Sunday" in 1905 was caused by English and Japanese spies who incited the Petrograd workmen to march upon the palace simply in order to have them killed!

It is scarcely necessary to recall how characteristic has been alliance between throne and altar during the struggle of the European peoples against absolutism, how centralized churches have preached the Divine Right of kings, urged unquestioning obedience to constituted authorities as God's will, and opened their bosoms to the greatest dynastic tyrants and mass murderers, while hurling their heaviest thunders upon nearly all the heroic self-sacrificing lovers of their fellowmen, who have contributed to bring in the new day.

Both the Absolutist State

6. *Ignorance.* The spread of secular knowledge unsettles dominion in so far as it rests on ideas. The Romanoffs generally cherished the brutish ignorance of their subjects as the brightest jewel of their crown. They did what they could to make difficulties for the *zemstvos* in their policy of planting schools among the common people. Tsarism feared all teaching it did not control and no association or individual might open a school without express authorization. Gymnasium and university were subject to the most high-handed interferences in order that the young scholars they turned out might be "reliable" and "safe."

and the Absolutist Church Keep the Lamp Turned Down

In South America neither the ruling proprietary class nor the Church desire to dispel the darkness which reigns in the minds of the masses. The *hacendados* fear lest schooling make the children of the agricultural laborer — the *peon* or *inquilino* — grow up demanding, or restless, and migrant. They want the son to stay on in his father's mud hut content with the old hard rough life, attached to the *hacienda* and its master and deaf to the call of opportunity elsewhere. As one put it to me, "We don't want the children of our *inquilinos* disturbed in their minds."

[2] Hepworth Dixon, "British Cyprus," p. 47.

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The Church loves popular enlightenment as little as the master, but for reasons of her own. The priest wants the *peons* ignorant in order that he may hold them submissive to his authority, keep their feet from straying from the path of eternal salvation, and be relieved from the necessity of defending his doctrines, combating heresies and meeting the competition of the Protestant missionary. If, however, popular education must come, by all means keep it out of the hands of secular authorities, let the Church provide it herself in her own parish school where, as I was assured, "Religion saturates the entire course of study."

The Dominated Admitted to Partnership with Their Masters

7. The sharing of the benefits from domination. When an empire has a superior culture to impart, its domination may be profitable to both parties. To the peoples she brought under her sway Rome offered peace, internal order, security of industry and property, Roman law, public works and the classical culture. Her rule was iron but broadly just and provinces like Spain and Gaul, which had resisted her yoke with desperation, later flourished wonderfully and became intensely loyal. Spain brought into the Americas many elements of advancement and might have retained her colonies had she been less avaricious and cruel in her policy respecting them. The British *raj* in India and still more in the Malay States has brought great benefits to the subject peoples. The American rule in the Philippines still more resembles a partnership between dominators and dominated.

RESULTS OF DOMINATION

Continued Domination Spoils the Character of the Dominated

Subjection to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of the decay of national character. Take, for example, the Hindoos. A Greek writer, Arrian, declares that "they are remarkably brave, superior in war to all Asiatics; they are remarkable for simplicity and integrity; so reasonable as never to have recourse to law suit and so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements. No Indian was ever known to tell an untruth." This portrays the precise opposite of modern Hindoo character and the change can be accounted for only by the long subjection of the race to the rule of the foreigner.

The character of the Greeks a century ago at the time of their struggle of liberation from the Turks was in glaring contrast to that of the classical Greeks. The generations which have come

on the scene since then show in growing measure the virtues of freemen. The Syrians and Armenians are undoubtedly fine people but life under oppression has tainted them with the vices of lying and trickery. Not until the second generation after the breaking of the Turkish yoke will they recover the normal character of the race. The East-European Hebrews also show much moral deformity from subjection to the will of aliens. The effect of male domination upon the character of women is well known. Just as the Turks regard Armenian trickiness as a race trait instead of the result of their own violence, so the deceit and cajolery by which women gain their ends under the masculine yoke are looked upon as sex characters instead of natural products of domination. The Saracenic civilization was intensely male and hence it is not surprising that the tales of the "Thousand and One Nights" harp continually on the "malice and craft" of women.

Even a domination which is just and benevolent may stunt the spiritual growth of a people. The British domination of Egypt makes for the material prosperity of the people but does not advance them appreciably toward the plane of self-government. The élite of the Hindoos feel that the alien dominion has a blighting effect upon the higher life of the people of India. The definitive removal from the sphere of activity of a people of most of the matters calling for collective thought or will depresses and effeminates. A share in government, and finally self-government should be held out to a dominated people as an inducement to "make good." The American diffusion of education among the Filipinos taken in conjunction with the promise of eventual autonomy stimulates them with hope and causes them to progress rapidly.

Domination Is Justified in Some Cases

No large simple maxim like "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent" or its opposite, "The backward races are the white man's burden," gives trustworthy guidance in the question of domination. The people of Turkestan were immensely benefited by being brought under the Tsar's scepter. It is fair question whether the people of Venezuela or Ecuador would not be better off under European domination than under the government they actually get. On the other hand, the Japanese have certainly developed farther than if, like the Indians or the Burmese, they had fallen under alien rule. The

CHAP. XI subjection of the Chinese to foreign domination would be in the end an incalculable misfortune for them. No doubt it is important that all men everywhere be put quickly in possession of civilization; but the case of Japan shows that appropriation of a higher culture does not call for the surrender of political independence. Nothing is more poisonous than the doctrine that some one people has been "chosen" to disseminate the true faith or the true civilization among the rest of mankind without heed to the wishes of these dwellers in darkness.

CHAPTER XII

EXPLOITATION

THE leading purpose in dominating is to exploit, i.e., *to use others as means to one's own ends.* Of exploitation we may distinguish various kinds.

KINDS OF EXPLOITATION

Four Chief Kinds of Exploitation

1. *Sexual.* This has been one great object of women capture. "Booty and Beauty" have been the two spurs pricking the young men of the tribe to warlike undertakings. Sometimes a beaten people is bound to deliver to the conquerors not only a tribute of produce but also a tribute of maidens. In certain Malay states the sultan not only exacts taxes of his subjects but requires the subject's daughter to pass thru his harem.

2. *Religious.* The conquerors may require the beaten to become worshippers of their god, to furnish youths to be sacrificed or maidens to be dedicated to the service of the god. They think thus to ingratiate themselves with the deity.

The Gluttonous Ego

3. *Egotic.* The ego dilates and glories in signs of abasement and devotion on the part of others. The Roman master exacted of his on-hangers (*clientes*) that they should attend him when he showed himself in public and thereby greaten his dignity. Later the great senatorial landowner required of his tenants-at-will that they should periodically pay him their *obsequium* or humble respects. The feudal king exacted *homage* of his fief-holders, Louis XIV of France, the "Sun King," expected his loyal courtiers to gather at the Ox-Eye window of his palace to observe his going to bed and his getting up. The rise of the monarchy on the ruins of feudalism in the seventeenth century involved the transformation of the lord living on and governing his fief into the *courtier*, who obtained for his son a place in army, state or church, for his daughter a good marriage, only by settling at the royal court and contributing to the pomp and glory of the m rch.

Taken toge , however, all these species of exploitation

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amount to little. The one omnipresent and overshadowing kind is

4. *Economic.* This means *making others work for you or taking for your own use the fruits of their unrequited toil.* The temptation to exploit was especially strong before the era of machinery and mechanical power because if a man could not force others to accept the heavy work of grinding, dragging, carrying and delving, he had to do it himself. No doubt the modern sentiment against all forms of forced labor is owing in great part to our success in harnessing the forces of Nature to our service. Men do not like to exploit their fellow-men, but generally they have hated hard work more than they have hated the exploitation of others.

The Law of Personal Exploitation

All about us we see one human being making use of another, the wife becoming a barren parasite, the husband becoming a loafer on the earnings of his wife, the grown son hanging about home living on his parents, one brother or sister absorbing the earnings of another, friend taking advantage of friend and such like. The thing is common and its rule is simple. *In any sentimental relation the one who cares less can exploit the one who cares more.* In the man-woman relation and the mother-child relation we see this very plainly.

Whenever the law perceives in a personal relation a golden opportunity to exploit, it tries to supply safeguards. It scrutinizes suspiciously gifts from ward to guardian and looks into the circumstances surrounding the death-bed willing of property to those about the testator. It limits freedom of contract so that infatuated persons may not divest themselves of their fundamental rights or mortgage their entire future in favor of another. Still, the law with all its benevolent intentions cannot prevent many temporary exploitations arising between individuals from differences in the strength of their mutual love, in the strength of their character and in the strength of their situation.

Exploitation by means of Institutions

The exploitation which most calls for examination is not that which exists despite the law, but that which being established in custom and law, has become *institutionalized.* It may be defined as *any profiting of one element in society at the expense of other elements, which would disappear if the elements came to be equal in power.* Under this definition the fact that many thoughtful persons regard the taking of rent for land or profits for capital

as exploitation does not make it so. We should have to know whether the workers would abolish all return to the property owners in case they were in no wise dominated by this class.

LINES OF EXPLOITATION

Exploitation appears between a great variety of elements. The principal forms are:

1. *Offspring by parents.* Surviving patriarchal ideas as to the prerogatives of the parent coupled with the money value which machine production confers on the labor of the weak has led to an extensive exploitation of young children which in the United States shows least restraint in the mountain population of our South and in our immigrants from the more backward parts of Europe. Happily the law has interposed to shield the child from selfish exploitation by its natural guardians.

2. *Women by men.* In the words of a native Australian "A man hunts, spears fish, fights and sits about." He does little else in primitive society, for practically all the work devolves upon the women. It is they who dress the skins, pitch the tent, make the garments, prepare the food and manufacture pottery, baskets, and mats. The Indian never touches the game he has brought in after he has dropped it at the tent door. The Eskimo man will not even draw the seal from the water after he has speared it. The division of function between the sexes is sharp — everything in the nature of exploit going to man, all mere drudgery going to woman. In the hunting stage, this adjustment is not so unfair. But as game becomes scarcer and more and more the food supply comes from the little patches of corn or yams or manioc cultivated by the women, the men become parasites upon their wives. Hence, innumerable peoples in the lower agriculture show women exploited by men. "The Wallach," says Palmer, "has an inveterate horror of any labor that can be avoided — as for the unavoidable, he has a very high ideal of the 'dignity of man' and considers that it is only right and fitting that he should spend the long summer days in a delicious siesta while his wife does all the work upon his little holding!"[1]

In Primitive Society the Men Have all the Exploit, the Women all the Drudgery

Hogarth observes women in Turkey "carrying and laying the bricks of a rising house watched by a ring of squatting men"

[1] "Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country," p. 105.

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and adds "I have seen a mother pass and repass a rapid stream, carrying in succession a husband and two grown and on the bare stones of Taurus all the women of a migr horde trailing their bleeding feet after the camels, horses asses which bore their fathers, husbands and brothers." [2]

Among the Hakkas of southern China as among the Dya Borneo the idleness of the men arises from the power of tion over the division of labor between the sexes. Formerl men hunted and fought but, now that there is no hunting ar fighting, they have become little better than loafers. Inhe ideas as to what is "woman's work" keep the men from "l ling to." In Turkey, no doubt, woman's lot has been made by the influence of Mohammedan theology.

Machine Industry and Female Parasitism

The migration of industrial processes from the home h late worked to the advantage of the home-staying woman even called into being a new type, the parasite wife, who ne works nor bears children, and imagines that she is conferri inexpressible boon when she allows a man to support her. "society" compensates him for everything, while *his* "soc is not deemed of any value to her.

3. *Poor by rich.* Wealth above present necessities is *pot social power*, inasmuch as it may be the means of establi an exploitive control over other men. The wily Jacob acqu the famishing Esau's birthright for a mess of pottage is a bol of how a temporary surplus may be converted into a pe nent advantage.

Wealth Inter-convertible with Other Kinds of Power

Wealth, which is economic power may be converted into other kinds of power — political, legal, social, ecclesiastical ligious, etc.; but these in turn can be converted into w Rich men may use their money to get into politics, but once they may use their political power to gain more money. may use their money to acquire for themselves more legal r and then use their legal rights to gain more money. They use their money to win a control over needy men and use control to gain more money. Thus the formula for the ex ive utilization of riches is Wealth — Power — More Wealth

Wealth as an Acquisitive Element

By bribery the wealthy shift the main burden of taxation those too poor to bribe. Thus the great landowners of the man Empire bought or wheedled for themselves individu

[2] "A Wandering Scholar in the Orient," pp. 67–8.

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collective immunities from visitation by the tax gatherers. From their tenants they raised small armies and drove away the revenue officers. They bribed the officials until the tax registers became a tissue of frauds. If fresh taxes were imposed they saw to it that the burden fell on others. If the emperor granted a remission of taxes they saw to it that the lion's share of the benefit fell to them. In the same way a few years ago American multimillionaires residing in New York City were paying taxes on from a twentieth up to a tenth of what their fortunes proved to be when probated. The attorney most conspicuous in the formation of "trusts" in industry admits that by means of a present he induced the assessment official to let him write in the figures on which the numerous combinations he represented paid taxes.

The rich may harass the small proprietor until he sells out cheap. In the Roman Empire the law was unable to protect the small landowner against the aggressions and encroachments of his senatorial neighbor. Consequently he abandoned his holding, sold it at a nominal price, or donated it to the great man with the understanding that he might remain on it at the pleasure of his master. This tenure was known as *precarium*.

Weak Law Often Makes Rich Men Strong

The same technique contributed to the extraordinary concentration of wealth in the United States. The numerous owners of anthracite coal lands in eastern Pennsylvania were forced to sell to the big coal companies because the latter by controlling the coal-carrying railroads were able to levy upon their competitors exorbitant charges for carriage. In the end the little holders let their coal lands go for a pitiful price. A like control over the carriers enabled the dominant petroleum concern to acquire our Eastern oil lands at fraction of their value. Often in the American West the big rancher used his numerous cowboys and gunmen to ruin the "homesteader" and chase away the small cattleman in order that he might himself grow rich on grazing stolen from the public lands.

In the grazing country north of Lake Titicaca the large landowner uses his hirelings to terrorize the neighboring native proprietors into the payment of *quasi*-feudal dues. The Indian who "joins farms" with a white man must annually deliver his neighbor a quintal of alpaca wool (worth $22.50) at the customary price of $8.00. He must also furnish one sheep worth sixty

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cents, for which he receives twenty cents. Then, too, he must help the white man during sheep shearing and sheep killing without other wages than food, coca and rum.[3]

Converting a Temporary Misfortune into a Perpetual Hereditary Obligation

The institution of *debt slavery* permits the rich to take advantage of the misfortunes of the poor by loan contracts which sink the borrower and his descendants into perpetual bondage in case the loan is not repaid at the appointed time. Centuries before the tsars bound the peasants to the soil, many Russian cultivators had lost their liberty of removal from one manor to another in consequence of owing money to the landlord. They were chained to the estate, unless they found some other landlord willing to pay the money they owed and thereby acquire the right to remove them to his own manor. In tropical America the institution of *peonage* permits the planter to bind the agricultural laborer to his *hacienda* by means of a small advance of cash or goods.

A few years ago investigation by the U. S. Immigration Commission disclosed the fact that immigrant peonage existed in every State in the Union save Oklahoma and Connecticut. Altho in the South and West many aliens were being held to labor against their will under intolerable conditions, it was in the lumber camps of Maine that the commission found "the most complete system of peonage in the country."

The Leverage of Usury

An exorbitant charge for the use of capital is another means by which the monied man exploits the poor. We read of Java: "It is not the large European capitalist, but the small native or Oriental capitalist, who is the most conscienceless exploiter of peasant labor. Many of the Javanese peasants have their crops mortgaged for three years in advance, and are forced to pay interest at the rate of from 10 to 50 per cent. a month." "Were it not for the protection afforded to the natives by their land laws a considerable part of their land would soon pass into the hands of Chinese usurers through mortgage foreclosures."[4]

The Power of Wealth More Primitive than Governments and May Be Greatest When the State Is Weakest

There is no greater error than to suppose with the anarchists that the state is the one great engine of exploitation. Often government offers the sole check upon the power of the rich to hire armed men to work their will upon small proprietors whose lands they covet. The anarchy in France under the weak Mer-

[3] Ross, "South of Panama," p. 152.

[4] Bulletin U. S. Department of Labor, "Labor Conditions in Java," p. 933.

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wings of the seventh century did not make for liberty. Not only did the slaves fail to rise, but the proportion of slaves in the population actually increased. Many sold themselves in times of distress, others were kidnapped. The weak had to implore the favor of the strong, so that dependence and subordination spread. Not always does the strong state crush down the masses. It may preserve a wholesome equilibrium between petty and great, poor and rich. For once public authority abdicates, the poor or friendless man has to submit himself to him who has armed kinsmen or retainers at his beck.

The Problem Is Not to Keep the Many from Exploiting the Few

4. *The few by the many.* Conservatives pretend that this is the most imminent and menacing form of exploitation and extol class privilege, restricted suffrage and constitutional limitations upon the scope of action of the legislature as means by which the propertyless Many may be restrained from despoiling the propertied Few. The fact is there is no social system under which the Many regularly exploit the Few. Obliged to live by labor the masses are not apt to become infected with the idea of living off the fruits of other men's toil. It is an infection transmitted from parent to child in the propertied families. Save when they are set upon some religious or racial minority in the population — such as Moors, Jews, or Armenians — it never occurs to the Many to despoil those whose lot is like their own. If ever they ravish away the goods of the possessing Few, it is because the idleness, luxury, pride and aloofness of this class have destroyed all sympathy with them. So long as they exhibit the ordinary economic and social virtues, the capable are in no danger from popular envy and cupidity.

The Kept Classes Hatch Exploitive Schemes

5. *The industrious by the leisured.* The industrious are not too virtuous to exploit others, but they are too scattered and busy to hatch schemes of exploitation. It is *the leisure class* which has the time, the organization, the continuity, and the resources for putting through an exploitive enterprise. One of their great strokes was getting the European State to release the holders of the fiefs from their feudal obligations, so that great parcels of land granted originally as a means of endowing the defense of the realm became on easy terms private property pure and simple. Another was the wresting of land from the old European village communities. Kropotkin denies that the agricultural communities died a natural death, but insists "The village communities

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had lived for over a thousand years; and where and w peasants were not ruined by wars and exactions they improved their methods of culture. But as the value was increasing in consequence of the growth of industi the nobility had acquired under the state organization which it never had under the feudal system, it took pc of the best parts of the communal lands." [5]

Perhaps the nearest modern counterpart is the appr of the natural wealth of Mexico by the "Cientificos President Diaz in the thirty years preceding 1910 and t ing of farm land from the peasants until agricultural came to consist of nothing but great estates.

The Ignorant are Exploited by Means of Trade

6. *The ignorant by the intelligent.* Relations freely into between intelligent persons will benefit both, where person is ignorant the same relation may lead to his exp by the other. The European trader goes to the uncivil tive of the tropics and induces him to part with every has for spirits or opium, or tempts him with goods o The trader offers gay cloth, knives, gongs, guns and gu to be paid for by some natural product of the jungle crop not yet planted. The ignorant native has not suffici thought to take only such goods as he can pay for and no energy to work early and late to get out of debt. The he sinks deeper and deeper into the morass of debt and for years or for life a debtor and almost a slave.

The enganche System in Peru

Or consider how the Indians of the Sierras are gulle mining companies in Peru recruit most of their unde labor through agents who go about and "hook" (*eng* the guileless native. The "hooker" turns up in a villa weeks before the annual *fiesta* in honor of its patron sa such an occasion the Indian is wont to "blow" himself his entire emotional, recreative, and social life centers al *fiesta*. What with presents of vestments or jewels to t of the saint, fees to the priest for masses, and a feast numerous relatives and friends, he is in a mood to en reckless spending. Comes now the wheedling "hook offers him from $30 to $50 cash, provided only the In sign a bond to repay the debt by labor. The Indian si after sobering up from the *fiesta*, he reports to the "

[5] "Mutual Aid," p. 236.

and is sent up to the mines to dig ore at perhaps 14,000 feet above sea-level. The Cerro de Pasco Mining Co. alone has 4000 natives in its employ under the *enganche* system. The miner gets, say, seventy-five cents a day, of which a third keeps him while the rest is applied on his debt. On the average four months of labor is necessary to make him a free man again. The estates of the *montaña* region east of the Andes, as well as those of the coast, snare the natives of the highlands by this method.

Often the Indian signs the contract when drunk and usually he fails to realize where he is to work and how. He thinks he is to work for the "hooker," whereas he may be sent a hundred miles away to toil in a freezing mine gallery or a hot cane field. Buried far from home in a coast sugar *hacienda* or a *montaña* coffee estate, the poor fellow finds himself a slave without a shred of legal protection and quite at the mercy of his employer.[1]

It is so much easier to rob the blind than the seeing that all exploiting classes resist the extension of popular enlightenment, or if, for efficiency's sake they educate the common people, they give this education a strong dynastic or ecclesiastical flavor, as they did in the case of the Prussian *Volksschulen*.

The Later Roman Republic Was Organized Exploitation

7. *The unorganized by the organized.* In the last two centuries of the Roman republic the territory won by arms, altho the property of the state, was in the hands of four or five hundred magnates whose citadel of power was the Senate. Beneath them lay several millions of freemen, Italians or provincials. The former held great blocks of the land of the state by "precarious" tenure; the latter were in turn precarists of the former. Thus there was a hierarchy of tenants and sub-tenants, all holding directly or indirectly of the state. But since the magnates were usually senators, i.e., the government itself, their dependence on the state was nominal. They even rid themselves at last of every payment for the use of their immense stretches of public land. On the other hand, the dependence of the suboccupants upon these magnates was real and strict, so that the latter realized the full worth of the use of the land. It is thus that a well-knit phalanx handles the multitude.

The European powers have had a like "purchase" upon their

[1] Ross, "South of Panama," p. 153.

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tropical colonies. Between 1827 and 1864 Spain drew from Cuba a revenue of eighty-seven millions of dollars. "The Dutch East India Company," says Ireland, "was a company of brisk and energetic tradesmen who with profits as their lode-star and greed as their compass obtained through the chance of events absolute control of one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the earth and unhesitatingly sacrificed it to their low ideals."[1]

"In the thirty-five years of the full operation of the culture system in Java it contributed over $200,000,000 to the treasury of Holland, representing chiefly profits on the sale of government coffee and sugar, after paying all the expenses civil and military of Netherlands India."

The "Cohesive Power of Public Plunder" Exemplified in American Cities

The unparalleled looting of many large American cities in the years before the great civic awakening beginning about 1905 exemplifies the leverage afforded by organization. The "grafters" were not numerous but they paid no attention to party lines or to the line between public business and private business. With the saloon keepers, gamblers and keepers of houses of prostitution, the gas, electric lighting, water, tramway and railway companies, together with certain favored contractors, bankers and business men, the politicians formed a "ring" buttressed by the votes of blind partisans, selfish job-holders, naïve naturalized immigrants and venal "floaters," reinforced by electoral frauds. The robbed taxpayers were far more numerous, but they were for the most part unaware of how they were exploited or else divided on lines of party, nationality, occupation and social class. An immense effort of exposure and agitation through several years was necessary before the citizens could be aroused to the point of banding together against the *plunderbund;* but once they rose in their might the ringsters were swept away like chaff before a gale.

Making Religion Profitable

8. *Laity by priests.* Among the rural people of India there is no domestic incident which does not entail its tax of offerings or food for the Brahman. Nothing happens without the Brahman being "feed and fed." To sustain the spiritual life of the people is not their concern. As Brahmans their business is to eat, not to teach. Says Strachey, "The universal acceptance of Brahmans, and the recognition of their divine right to be fed by the rest of the community, is the one link between the count-

[1] "The Far Eastern Tropics," p. 173.

less shapes of Hinduism; this, to the great majority of Hindus, constitutes in practice the chief part of their religion." CHAP. XII

When Cyprus came under Britain the rôle of the Greek Church there was evident.

"Pasha and archbishop had always much in common. By their birth and training they were Oriental and their notions of government were those of Oriental men. Each fleeced his flock; one shearing with his hanjar and the other tearing with his crook. Hanjars are sharper instruments than crooks; but in the hands of skilful shepherds, crooks can comb out lots of wool. So long as pasha and primate could agree about the times for fleecing, little was left for the poor sheep, except to stand up quietly to the knife." [8]

In Roumania the superstitious peasants believe that if a man dies without a lighted candle in his hand he will not reach Heaven. But since many persons *do* die without the lighted candle in hand, the country priest charges the dead man's family eighty francs to get him into Heaven and a certain annual sum to keep him there.

In South America the Indians of the Sierra are still exploited by their *curas* by means of practices which were outlawed as long ago as the Council of Trent. They collect their baptismal, marriage, and burial fees *in advance* and these fees are not fixed but are assessed according to the means of the family. Thus they contrive to absorb the entire surplus of the natives, so that a gross ignorant half-breed *cura* may extract from the poor herdmen of the Bolivian highlands an income which would do credit to one of our metropolitan pulpits. The fault is not with the Church but with the poor material available for *curas*. In Argentina the moral character of the Catholic clergy is high and there is no complaint that they exploit their flocks.

Means of Preventing Exploitation by Religion

The emotions associated with religion are so intense that the greedy priest may easily play upon them to his own profit. The means of safeguarding the laity against such exploitation are: a high plane of lay intelligence, wide diffusion of natural truth, the competition of different forms of religion within the same field, direct access of worshipper to deity (whereby the priest becomes a mere pastor instead of an indispensable middleman), and a church organization penetrated by spiritual aims, which

[8] Dixon, "British Cyprus," pp. 43–4.

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can restrain the conscienceless priest from taking advantage of the faithful.

9. *Conquered by conquerors.* Throughout history, since the stronger ceased to eat the beaten or to kill him in order to appropriate his women, the omnipresent motive in conquest has been economic exploitation. In ancient Mexico, chiefs belonging to the conquering tribe became resident proprietors of the best lands of the conquered. Homer's Greeks made war for the sake of booty but later generations became adept at squeezing tribute out of the weaker. The revenue derived by the Roman Republic from her eastern conquests made it possible from 167 B.C. on to exempt the Romans from paying taxes to the state. By Caesar's time Rome had become a great wen. Two-thirds of the population of the capital were in receipt of wheat largesses. Three hundred and twenty thousand citizens representing at least 600,000 persons had become dependent on the weekly dole of wheat and oil — and sometimes wine — extorted from the provinces as tribute. These, however, were the petty parasites. Rome was also the feeding and roosting place of the greater vampires — the governors, senators, capitalists, landlords and slave merchants, who were using the Roman legions to bleed the Mediterranean world. As for conquered peoples too poor and backward to pay tribute, they paid the "blood-tax," i.e., furnished conscripts for these legions.

Rome Became a Huge Collective Parasite

In the words of Ferrero:[9]

"As little by little the treasures of Mithridates, conquered by Lucullus in the Orient, arrive in Italy, Italy begins anew to divert itself, to construct palaces and villas, to squander in luxury. Pompey, envious of the glory of Lucullus, follows his example, conquers Syria, sends new treasures to Italy, carries from the East the jewels of Mithridates, and displaying them in the temple of Jove, rouses a passion for gems in the Roman women; he also builds the first great stone theatre to rise in Rome. All the political men in Rome try to make money out of foreign countries; those who cannot, like the great, conquer an empire confine themselves to blackmailing the countries and petty states that tremble before the shadow of Rome; the courts of the secondary kings of the Orient, the court of the Ptolemies at Alexandria — all are invaded by a horde of insatiable senators

[9] "Characters and Events of Roman History," p. 19.

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and knights, who, menacing and promising, extort money to spend in Italy and foment the growing extravagance."

Exploitation the Cornerstone of Ancient World

Presently for very wearisome work, such as mining, moving heavy objects, turning grinding mills and bringing wild land under cultivation, free labor was not to be had, so that it was necessary to coerce men to work. Free men preferred beggary, or parasitism on the rich, which was greatly developed in the ancient world. Hence the demand for slaves was insatiable. "The later campaigns on the Rhine and the Danube, were really slave hunts on a gigantic scale." Manstealing was a regular trade. With the least relaxation of vigilance on the part of the state the sea was beset by pirates and the roads by brigands, who distributed their human catch through distant markets, especially Delos, the great slave market of the Graeco-Roman world.

Avarice of the Crusaders

There is no sign that the greed of the Crusaders was damped by their Christian faith. Under them the bulk of the rural population of Syria sank into a slavery more grievous than they had known under the Arabs. In the inventories of the estates of Frankish barons they were listed among the live stock. In fact history shows no more relentless exercise of the rights of conquest. Even the Syrian Christians were enslaved. In 160 villages of the Knights Templar near Safed they had 11,000 slaves. Against insurrection by its thralls the small population of Franks protected itself with an iron hand.

Nor were the Crusaders less brutal in their treatment of the town populations of Syria. Very often they slew all the Mohammedan citizens, sold their wives and children and seized the masterless property. It was a rule among the champions of the Cross that he who first entered a house became owner of it, and everything in it. There was no respect whatever for the private rights of the conquered. Thus many a penniless ruffian became wealthy, and founder of a "noble" house.

Conduct of the Conquistadores in South America

For coldblooded heartless exploitation of the weak the conduct of the *conquistadores* toward the natives of Spanish America remains unmatched. For two centuries probably no Spaniard came nearer to manual labor than superintending from his saddle the movements of native workmen. Some thousands of Indians would be granted to a Spaniard on the theory that he was to provide them instruction in the things of the holy Catholic

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faith. As a just recompense to him for thus saving their souls, they were to serve him with their bodies. Under this pious cloak the invaders seated themselves firmly on the backs of the natives, and remained there while their serfs washed gold for them or tended herds or grew food. Besides sending great quantities of produce to their masters who lived in the cities the villagers had to send one seventh of their number to serve the masters directly, while the state took another quota to work in the silver mines. In the latter case the loss of life among those translated from the valleys or lowlands to pits and galleries at an altitude of 15,000 feet was frightful. The poor creatures drawn by lot bade farewell to their families like men stepping upon the scaffold. In the neighborhood of Potosi the Indian population fell within a hundred years to a tenth of its original number.

Why Violent Exploitation Is Waning

Open wholesale exploitation of this sort is now rare not so much because our enterprising element is morally above it as because all the peoples watch each and the whole world may ring with the atrocities committed for the sake of rubber on the hapless natives on the Congo or the Putumayo. Then too, machinery and steam lessen the demand for forced human labor, so that it is chiefly in the extraction of the natural wealth of the tropics that the old brutal exploitation survives. Crude national and race parasitism appears therefore to be on the wane. To-day the motive to conquest is not the capture of muscle power but the seizure of lands and deposits or the control of markets.

10. *The governed by the rulers.* The state may be an independent exploiter. In ancient India the king was master and owner of all the land. In the ceremony of inauguration he is expressly said to be "the devourer of his people." In the First Book of Samuel [10] under guise of prophecy the practical significance of an Oriental state is brought out.

The State as a Machine for Exploitation

"He will take your sons and appoint them unto him for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and they shall run before his chariots; and he will appoint them unto him for captains of thousands, and captains of fifties; and some to plough his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war and the equipment of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. And he will take your

[10] VIII; 11–17.

fields and your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his servants. And he will take your menservants and your maidservants and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to work. He will take the tenth of your flocks, and ye shall be his servants."

In the later Roman Empire the burden of taxes and conscription became such that many Roman subjects settled beyond the frontier among the barbarians in order to win clear of recruiting officer and tax gatherer. Under the Merwing kings of France taxes were no longer looked upon by the people as contributions for protection, but as mere organized pillage. Queen Fredegond repentant recognizes in the gathering of taxes not the support of necessary public functions but "the hoarding of the tears of the poor, the sighs of widows and orphans." To collect taxes is to "amass curses."

Under Charlemagne and his successors the count charged with administering a district in the name of the king dispensed justice, raised taxes and levied troops without any legal restrictions on his acts. He had to be wary of the great landowners and bishops but he was held in check by no assembly of any sort. He became therefore a local tyrant. His cupidity was whetted by the fact that often he had bought his countship. Unsalaried he paid himself out of fines, taxes and payments for exemption from military service. Hence, the abuse of power was profitable to him and he made justice as severe, taxes as heavy, and military service as exacting, as possible. Small wonder that the rich purchased of the king immunity from the count's jurisdiction and by thus honey-combing the authority of the state helped to bring in the feudal system.

The Spirit of Native Asiatic Government

In the Malay States before the advent of the British resident one found, "A system of taxation under which every necessary as well as every luxury of life was heavily taxed; law courts in which the procedure was the merest mockery of justice, the decisions depending solely on the relative wealth or influence of the litigants; . . . a system of debt-slavery under which not only the debtor but his wife and their remotest descendants were condemned to hopeless bondage; an unlimited *corvée* or forced labor for indefinite periods and entirely without remuneration; and the right of the raja to compel all female children to pass through his harem."

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The Turkish state amounts to a plundering organization of officials. Judges sell their sentences, police officials clap innocent men in prison in order to extort ransom, the tax collector raises or lowers the dues at his discretion, the official expects a commission on every contract. He who is charged with any sort of supervsion extracts a profit. In short, each employs the bit of authority granted him to intimidate the subject and extract money. At the top is the sultan, one of the richest sovereigns in the world. The shores of the Bosporus are sprinkled with his decaying palaces, built to satisfy a caprice, and the pashas imitate the greed and luxury of their sovereign.

Why Exploitation by Government Is Dying Out

Such state exploitation is dying out because one can see with half an eye that it kills the goose that lays the golden eggs. Government must not be thus rapacious if the people are to develop intelligent industry and enterprise. Modern government therefore does not exploit directly but protects and enforces the property and contract rights by means of which the dominant class (or classes) exploits others. It stands back of the legal rights of the landlords, the *amos,* the *hacendados,* the *pomieshtchiks,* the wool kings, the cattle kings, the mine operators, the usurers, the monopolists, the big employers, and other groups which enjoy some measure of exploitive advantage.

Significance of American "Good Government"

A social class which controls government in order to legitimate and safeguard its privileges and property claims is not primarily interested in having the salaries of offices or the spending of taxes. The government which amply meets its requirements may be quite honest, economical and efficient. What is known as "good government" in American cities often means nothing more than the clearing out of useless placemen, along with the elimination of "graft" from public works and the purchase of public supplies. It may have nothing in common with self-government or popular government, but may signify simply that a roused commercial or propertied class has wrested control from the shady politicians and crooked business men in order to restore government to the functions they are interested in. It is significant that the failure of Democrats in power usually takes the form of the multiplication of offices filled by inefficients and the lavish outlay of money in jobbed public works. On the other hand, the failure of Republicans in office more often takes the form of adopting laws and policies unduly favoring certain

business or property groups and neglecting to curb interests which prey upon the public. CHAP. XII

THE LAWS OF EXPLOITATION

Those Bred to Leisure Are Resolute to Exploit

1. *The social elements differ in original disposition to exploit.* Those whose will to *resist* aggression is much stronger than their will to *aggress* will let pass opportunities to exploit which the aggressive will promptly seize. For example, hand-workers are less eager to live off others than those engaged in pecuniary employments, such as traders, manufacturers, bankers and financiers. None are so resolute to exploit as those bred to leisure, for they feel they have a God-given right to live delicately at the expense of others. A class reared to despise work is in sooth the most dangerous element in society, for in order to avoid self-support it is willing to sacrifice morals, religion, popular liberty and national independence. No political movement is so bloody, sordid and unpatriotic as a White Terror.

Consciousness of Kind Is an Obstacle to Exploitation

2. *Exploitation is more open, ruthless and stubborn between the unlike than between the like.* One part of a kin group does not prey upon another part. Strong tribal, or national, or sectarian consciousness checks exploitation within the tribe, the nation or the religious body. Exploitation is worst just after conquest and every step in the assimilation of conquerors and conquered is followed by a let-up. People like the South African Boers, who are quite without predatory traditions, bring themselves to enslave aborigines very unlike themselves. African slavery was tolerated by European opinion long after white slavery had been outlawed in Europe.

Exploiters invent or exaggerate unlikeness in order to justify themselves. The Southern master insisted the negro had no soul or made out his bondage to be God's punishment laid upon the descendants of Ham who failed in respect to Father Noah. Aristotle justifies slavery by imagining a difference in the natures of masters and slaves. For centuries the English have striven to convince the world that the Irish are incapable of governing themselves. Islam prohibited the enslavement of the faithful but approved that of "infidels." The treatment of the Indians of Mexico and Peru as bondmen found warrant in their heathenism, for in rendering life-long service in return for a knowledge of the true faith they made a good bargain. The

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religious orders in the Philippines excused their neglect to provide for popular education by representing the natives as little better than monkeys.

Exploiters Make Much of Difference

Difference has, indeed, such validating power that the very ignorance, rudeness and degradation caused by exploitation will be offered as a justification for its existence and continuance.

3. *An element is ready and whole-hearted in exploitation in the degree that it constitutes a self-conscious group.* Islam knit together the Asiatic intruders into southeastern Europe in their collective exploitation of the Christians. In the Middle Ages Christianity gave the population the solidarity it needed in order systematically to exploit the Jews. On the march to Peking in 1900 race consciousness gave the allied armies the warrant they needed for common maltreatment of the peaceful Chinese along their route. The less self-conscious is a group, the greater the power of public opinion over its members. But public opinion will always be less favorable to infra-social exploitation than the opinion which forms within the exploiting group.

Parasites Never Willingly Go to Work

4. *The will to exploit lasts as long as the power to exploit.* Exploiters never tire of exploitation. A kept class never loses its taste for consuming the fruits of other men's toil, nor does it ever give up exploiting out of conviction of sin. Its manner of life becomes completely adjusted to its parasitism and it never fails to develop moral standards, theories and ideals which chime with the economic basis of its life. Individual members of a kept class may come to feel that their exploitation is indefensible, but the class merely disowns them, dresses its ranks and moves on.

Exploiters Never Cease from Compunction

Nevertheless, the spirit of the age reverberates even in the members of an exploiting class and in some cases they have been brought to feel compunction respecting their relation to those who support them. This feeling expresses itself never in a movement utterly to give up parasitism, but in insistence on greater humanity toward the exploited or in the recognition of "duties" and "responsibilities" toward them. Toward the end of feudalism there was a movement among the lords to better the lot of the serfs. Southern slaveholders developed higher standards of humanity in the treatment of their slaves and punished atrocities by the more ferocious masters. Employers adopt "welfare" work and "safety first" for their employees, while capitalists urge the "Golden Rule" in business and espouse such

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doctrines as the "stewardship of wealth" and "the Christianization of capital." Imperial countries admit an obligation to spend a part of the revenue extracted from a tropical colony in improving the colony, while kings by Divine Right acknowledge their duty to promote the welfare of their subjects. But never do the exploiters of their own motion abolish serfdom, or slavery, or absolutism, or turn loose the dependency, or socialize the great estates, or adopt progressive taxation, or extend public ownership. Slavery, serfdom, peonage, landlordism, industrial feudalism, absolutism and monopoly have never been ended by consent. Tolstoi, who knew his class, describes the manifestations of a new-born social conscience in the Russian landowner. The nobleman came to feel sorry for the *moujik* under him. He would change his position to make himself a little easier to carry. He would speak kindly to the *moujik,* would even bend down and wipe the sweat from his brow. His conscience had become so sensitive that he was willing to do *anything* for the poor fellow — anything, that is, except get off his back!

Foreign Rule Spells Home Exploitations

5. *Foreign domination is likely to suppress infra-social exploitation.* If the foreign masters exploit the dependency they will be jealous of the native exploiting groups and if they do not they will be disgusted by them. The Romans followed the principle of *Parcere subjectis, debellare superbos* in order to create in the dependency an interest loyal to their rule. In India the British have either done away with the insatiable native princes or else curbed their rapacity. One reason for the unappeasable discontent there is that the elements which in the absence of the British would be able to exploit the masses are denied their opportunity. The Americans on occupying the Philippines found the parasitism of the friars, who owned one fifteenth of the cultivated land, so odious that they soon packed them off.

Exploitation Is Endangered by Intruding Elements

6. *A new element menaces the continuance of an exploitation unless that element be made a sharer of its benefits.* Outsiders spoil the game. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries negro slavery was more inhuman in the self-governing English colonies in the West Indies than in the Spanish and the French West Indies, which were governed from Europe. Lay churches, like the Protestant denominations, were more complaisant about slavery than t Roman Catholic church. In Virginia, Jamaica

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and Barbados, where the masters controlled both state and church, the slaves had the fewest rights. Eastern opinion working through the Federal Government has checked the frontiersmen's grabbing of the land of the Indian and the traders' robbery of him by selling him whiskey. By arousing public opinion in Holland with his story "Max Havalaer" the novelist Dekker dealt a finishing stroke to the exploitation of the Javanese by means of the "culture system." Aroused British opinion put an end in 1833 to slavery in the English colonies, while Northern hostility, aroused chiefly from 1835 on, was the cause of the downfall of slavery in the United States. The coming of Hawaii under American law in 1898 automatically terminated the system of indentured labor which the planter class had established on the sugar plantations.

Only Masked Exploitation Has a Good Prospect of Life

7. *Masked exploitation outlasts open exploitation.* In an enlightened democratic society the only considerable exploitations that can survive are clandestine. Jobbery in municipal contracts is secret. The white slave traffic is furtive. Peonage is remote and wears an innocent air. Monopoly endures not in virtue of royal grants or favoring law, as in olden time, but by reason of hidden rebates from carriers or secret understandings among commercial rivals. Tax dodging by railroad companies is cloaked by substituting for the general property tax a specific tax on gross earnings under pretext that it is impossible to value railway property. Having no standard of comparison the public acquiesce in a tax of 4 per cent on gross earnings when the rate ought in fairness to be perhaps 7 per cent. A race-track gambling game wears the guise of an amusement enterprise or an encouragement of horse-breeding. The periodical shearing of "lambs" in the stock market is tolerated only because the process is not understood by the public.

In Modern Society a Great Struggle Rages About Publicity

Hence, what latter-day exploitation most dreads is — *being unmasked!* What it fights most desperately is investigation or publicity. It centers its pressure on newspaper men, newspapers, magazines, prosecuting attorneys, legislative committees, professors of the social sciences, clergymen, agitators — in a word, on those who may expose it or direct public attention its way. It follows that alarmed resistance to publicity on the part of a business affords just ground for suspicion.

8. The favorite mask of an exploitation is a *counter service*

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To-day all Exploitation Looks Like a quid pro quo

or return which falls far short of being an equivalent. The virtual slavery of the indebted peon is camouflaged by crediting him with wages for his labor and charging him outrageous prices for the scanty supplies he obtains from the planter's store. His laboring like a slave for mere food and clothes appears as a double transaction of purchase and sale. The ghastly slavery of the Indians on the Putumayo in eastern Peru hid itself in the books of the British company as the exchange of raw rubber at an incredibly low price for food and clothes at a price five or ten times their real worth. Under the system maintained formerly by the Dutch government in Java "Each native was obliged to plant six hundred coffee trees and keep them in bearing and deliver the crop cleaned and sorted at the government warehouse at a fixed price — nine and twelve florins the picul previous to 1874, although forty and forty-five florins were paid in the open market of the ports." [10]

Forced labor being unknown to American law the operators of Southern lumber or turpentine camps until lately provided themselves with the negro labor they could not attract by wages by having able-bodied negroes arrested on some flimsy or trumped-up charge. By paying their fines when they were sentenced to the chain-gang to work out these fines the operators gained control of the negroes' labor power at a trifling expense.

A few years ago it was common for the American street railway company to blind the public to the great value of the franchise voted it by its creatures in the city council by assuming a rather formidable number of petty obligations as, e.g., to keep the tracks clear of snow and to pave the street between the tracks and for eighteen inches on either side!

In the same way the tribute extracted from a dependency takes the guise of a payment for "protection" by the suzerain. In Ecuador the tithe has been taken away from the clergy but the fact that the least charge for the performance of the marriage ceremony is eight dollars, a sum which it will take a peon at least a month to save, manifests the exploitive spirit.

A Complex Society Is Full of Lurking-places for Exploiters

9. *Opportunities for masked exploitation multiply as social relations become involved and social interdependence more extended.* Once every man offered his sacrifice himself, but the custom of letting the priest do it opens the door to sacerdotal

[10] E. R. Scidmore, "Java," Ch. VIII.

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abuses. Once every man might conduct his own cause, but the custom of appearing in court only by attorney delivers the litigant to the legal profession. Reliance upon bought food or milk gives the adulterator his chance. In the South a too-commercial farming has often enslaved the cultivator to the storekeeper with his mortgage and crop liens. Producing for the market instead of home consumption exposes the farmer to the exactions of elevator men, grain buyers and common carriers. The remedy is "Raise your own stuff." The investment of capital gives an advanced people a means of exploiting a backward people quite as productive as the brutal extraction of tribute. The spread of the opium evil among the Chinese under the stimulation of British traders, who even forced a war rather than be interfered with, illustrates the perils which lurk in trade.

Exploitation Ends When No Element in Society Is Weak, Ignorant, or Unorganised

10. *Whatever equalizes social elements in respect to intelligence, courage, organization, discipline or situation narrows the power of the one to exploit the other.* Gunpowder levelled up the townsmen with the barons and knights of the Middle Ages The appearance of intelligence and capacity in the French commoners before the Revolution made the privileges of the nobles and clergy an anachronism. Many negro leaders believe that if the Southern negroes gain industrial skill and accumulate property they will not for long be kept out of their rights. Popular education is an anti-exploitation policy. Organization among farmers causes a prompt change of attitude in exploiting middlemen and carriers. From Ireland to Argentina organization among rural tenants has quickly broken landlord oppression. Labor organization is rightly hated by employers for its destroys much of their economic advantage. Modern economic analysis weakens the kept classes because, by tracing their high social position to privilege rather than to intrinsic superiority, it dissipates their prestige. The doctrine that all are equally sons of God undermines the conviction that "God will think twice before he damns a person of quality."

OPPOSITION

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CHAPTER XIII

OPPOSITION

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Inborn Opposition

THERE is a natural spirit of opposition. The "contrary" type is well exemplified by that Scotch worthy of whom Macaulay wrote, "His hostility was not to popery or to Protestantism, to monarchical government or to republican government, to the house of Stuart or to the house of Nassau, but to whatever was, at the time, established." Such "born kickers" pose as champions of threatened rights, knightly defenders of the minority, when, in fact, what animates them is the spirit of contradiction. Simmel detects in himself a "gentle, often scarcely conscious, and even immediately vanishing, impulse to say No to an assertion or appeal." He infers that often one personality in encountering expressions of the personality of another cannot assert itself otherwise than by some form of opposition.[1]

INTERFERENCE OF INTERESTS AS A CAUSE OF OPPOSITION

Clash of interest, even when it does not breed hostility, begets opposition in case either party has in prospect an advantage. So long as either believes that by expending x it can force its opponent to cede it x +, there will be strife unless the other party yields without resistance. In case both become convinced that an advantage of x can be extorted only by an expenditure of x +, there will be an armed peace until the situation of the moment is crystallized in some agreement, treaty, law or institution, after which opposition ceases.

Struggle on a Concave Field Ends in an Equilibrium

Whether conflict will end thus in an equilibrium or will continue until one or the other contestant is disposed of, depends on the nature of what may be called the terrain. If the struggle takes place, as it were, in a bowl, then the farther the stronger pushes the weaker, the harder it is to make him yield still more ground. This is illustrated by two well-matched states when,

[1] "The Sociology of Conflict," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. IX, pp. 490, 672, 798.

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after an initial advantage, A invades B. The farther the invading army penetrates, the longer the line of communications it has to protect and the greater the resistance offered by the enemy population. Or take the recent diplomatic duel between Japan and China. In realizing on her temporary military and financial superiority to China, Japan comes to a point at which the popular boycott on Japanese goods provoked by her high-handed methods threatens to neutralize the commercial advantages she has extorted.

Struggle on a Convex Field Ends in the Triumph of One Combatant Over the Other

If, conversely, the terrain is, as it were, an *inverted* bowl, the situation does not stabilize itself. The farther the stronger pushes the weaker the easier it is to make him yield still more ground. Such a case results in the complete triumph of the one and elimination of the other. This is exemplified by maritime rivals — Rome and Carthage, Genoa and Pisa, Venice and Genoa — which fight until one or the other is overcome. Here there is no stabilizing frontier as there may be between land powers. For sea powers there can be no frontier. The same sea is in all ports and wherever the sea flows the hostile ships may sail and meet and fight.

Some combatants grow weaker as they lose while others grow stronger. A military empire held together by self-interest or fear crumbles under heavy blows. On the other hand, when loyalty is roused and sentiments of sympathy and justice stir others to act on behalf of the losing side, an equilibrium is in sight. In class struggles public opinion often rallies to the aid of the weaker side when the other presses its advantage to the utmost. Before the American Civil War the West preserved a balance of power between North and South. In the strife between labor and capital the farmers and professional men lean to the side that is being crowded to the wall.

Conflict May Become Chronic After Hatred Has Been Aroused

Interference of interests is likely to engender hatred, for our innate pugnacity is stirred against those who continually come between us and our goal. Rationalists, like statesmen, politicians, and business men, may harbor no ill will toward those who persist in getting in their way, but the masses are more emotional. The animosity of the white workers of California toward the immigrant Chinese, of the English-speaking coal miners of Pennsylvania toward the Slavic immigrants who displaced them, of Northern wage earners toward the negroes from the South who

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are used for wage-cutting, of strikers toward "scabs" and strike-breakers, illustrates how we come to hate supplanters. In such cases conflict is not limited by cool calculation of the gains and costs of strife, but may persist even after the opposing forces have come into equilibrium, so that further strife is futile.

IMAGINATIVE HOSTILITY AS A CAUSE OF OPPOSITION

Better Acquaintance May Not Allay Hostility

Opposition may be inspired not only by this instinctive hostility to competitors but as well by that imaginative hostility which arises when we attribute an inimical idea to another mind. Against this feeling closer association and fuller knowledge of one another offer no security. "Whether intimacy will improve our sentiment toward another man or not depends upon the true relation of his way of feeling and thinking to ours."[2] Hence, we cannot accept Victor Hugo's line, *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner*. No doubt we would hate rivals and foes less could we know them as men like ourselves. But it is not so with the antipathy which roots in difference. There are individuals who do not improve on acquaintance. Mark Twain had the type in mind when he drawled, "The more I think of him, the less I think of him." This is why refinement, culture and taste do not of necessity lessen hostility. "They make a richer and finer sympathy possible, but at the same time multiply the occasions of antipathy."

Resentment is a species of hostility springing from menace to the mirrored self. It rests "upon a feeling that the other person harbors ideas injurious to us; so that the thought of him is an attack upon ourself." Indignation is a higher sort of imaginative hostility "directed toward some attack upon a standard of right and not merely an impulse like pique or jealousy." It claims a general or social foundation and is always ready to justify itself in open court.

Hostility Is More Contagious Than Amity

It is a pity that hostility is a highly suggestible attitude. It seems to be easier for the orator to sway the mob *against* some one than to sway it *for* him. Simmel holds that "it is much more difficult to influence the average man in general to take an interest in or to feel an inclination of sympathy for a third person previously indifferent than to develop in him mistrust and an-

[2] For this and other quotations see Cooley, "Human Nature and the Social Order," Ch. VII.

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tipathy"; and points out that a *damaging* prejudice about some one may be created in our minds by insignificant persons, whereas a *favorable* prejudice requires a source in some person of authority or some one in whom we have confidence.

Feuds May Be Cherished for Their Pungent Flavor

When life is rather bare of interests, grudges are cherished and handed down from fathers to sons as precious heirlooms. Feuds between clans in our Appalachian Mountains, between gangs in city slums, between villages in China and in the Caucasus, constitute the pungent seasoning of a humdrum existence. But when life becomes full of interests such conflict is avoided as pointless and wasteful. Again, hatreds die as society becomes fluid. The worst foes sometimes are bickering farmers whose fields join and who cannot get apart. In the city, relationships are more easily shifted, with the result that city denizens feel more indifference for one another than country dwellers, but less often cherish active hostility. One *avoids* the person he has found to be antipathetic, but does not *hate* him.

One benefit of the introduction of a village improvement society, a grange, or a social center into a neighborhood is that, by giving people something else to think about than one another's faults and irritating ways, it sweetens the entire community.

The Bitterest Conflict Comes Between Those Who Have Been Mates

Conflict is sharpest and most passionate when it comes between those who have been united. Thus the old Hebrew law permitted bigamy but forbade a man marrying two sisters, on the ground (probably) that they would be more stung by jealousy than two stranger wives. After the Reformation sectarian controversies so embittered the Protestants that often it was said "It is easier to hold with the Papists than with those of the other sect." The hatred of apostates and renegades is far sharper than if no connection had ever existed. Family quarrels are proverbial for the intensity of bitterness they develop, and next come church quarrels.[2] In American politics the hatred of the Republicans for the "Mugwumps" is a case in point.

One reason for such bitterness is that each hates the other as rending or even ruining the group. The closer the previous community, the more opposition is resented as a disloyalty to something held dear.

A battle not for self but for a cause or a principle is fought out without the embitterments, but also without the mollifyings,

[2] Simmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 513–14.

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Making Conflict Impersonal Does Not Lessen Its Intensity

which come from the presence of the personal element. Disinterestedness may intensify conflict, as we see in scientific controversies in which the issue is the establishment of truth. In such a case every forbearance in exposing the errors of an opponent would be treason to that end for the sake of which the personal element is excluded from the conflict.

The Marxian theory that the class struggle does not spring from the personal aims of laborers and capitalists but is determined by the present productive system itself has lessened the acrimony of the class struggle without diminishing its intensity. On the contrary, the struggle has become more self-conscious and aggressive from the conviction of the individual that he struggles not for himself alone but for a vast super-personal end.

Opportunity to Protest May Be the Salvation of a Group

In a way, open opposition preserves society. Without the power and the right to oppose what we believe to be tyranny, obstinacy, caprice, or stupidity, we should terminate our relations with persons who betray such characteristics. Protest affords relief, gives us the feeling that we are not completely crushed in relationships which otherwise we should find unendurable, and from which we should extricate ourselves at any cost. In any voluntary association the corking up by the dominant element of the protest and opposition of the rest is likely to lead to the splitting of the group. Shrewd statesmen realize that it is well to tolerate criticism of government in Parliament and in the press as a vaccine against revolt. Free remonstrance is a safety valve, letting off steam which, if confined, might blow up the boiler. The government carries out its policies, to be sure, but its opponents submit more gracefully once they have aired their objections. This, indeed, was the real rôle of the Reichstag in the German Imperial system.

OPPOSITION AND THE FIGHTING GROUP

Fighting Groups Become Compact and Centralized

Opposition between groups hardens and toughens those which can stand the strain. Warfare has been the great state maker. The Eskimos, so pacific that one avenges himself on his enemy by singing satirical verses about him and thereby getting the laugh on him, are quite state-less. The first power to be passed up to a newly formed political union is the war power. A foreign war will either make or break a state distracted by factions and internal dissensions. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 unified

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Japan but shattered Russia. Likewise a hard-fought strike strengthens a labor union if it survives. When a union, in which in quiet times it is difficult to collect ordinary dues, is in a fight with its employers, it is an easy matter to collect dues and special assessments. Opposition brings out the latent fighting qualities in a union as in an individual and dispels the lassitude which frequently appears after a long period of peace.

Sometimes each group not only centralizes itself for effectiveness, but wants its opponent centralized. A belligerent dreads a military success so overwhelming as to shatter the opposing government and leave it with a guerilla warfare on its hands. It wants its opponent to be strong enough to make and execute a treaty of peace. The British Labor Commission of 1894 reached the conclusion that a firm organization of employees in an industry is a good thing for the employers and *vice versa*. The strategic disadvantage of having your opponent unified is more than offset by the advantage of having the struggle concentrated and brought entirely within the field of vision, so that a general and permanent peace may be concluded when the time is ripe.

The Fighting Group Sucks the Will Out of Its Members

Every fighting group would, if it could, confiscate the wills of its members. The state calls it wrong not only for the citizen to prefer his interest to its interest, but for him to put any duty above his duty to it. The Church makes a like demand for unqualified obedience. The labor struggle sharpens class lines. Says Brooks: "I have seen a man wholly unruffled under such words as 'liar,' 'coward' and 'thief,' but the monosyllable 'scab' had an instantaneous effect like a dash of vitriol in the face."[4] Special fighting groups like the Molly Maguires, the Camorra, the Mafia, as well as ordinary bands of law breakers, demand of their members unlimited self-devotion.

The Fighting Group Is Likely to End in Some One's Vest Pocket

Once the directors of a fighting group have succeeded in making it an object of idolatry, they no longer need to make the group serve the interests or aims of its members. Since the members regard themselves as existing for the group, the heads are free to commit it to any policy, however monstrous or destructive. The outcome of neighboring peoples blindly yielding to the insistent demands of their respective governments for patriotic self-sacrifice is needless and meaningless war. State worship is the more dangerous, the less the people control the state.

[4] "American Syndicalism," p. 38.

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The "our-country,— right-or-wrong" attitude is least harmful under popular government.

Opposition is the very breath of life to the fighting group and often it goes to pieces when it no longer has antagonists. A political party after a too-overwhelming victory is liable to lose its cohesion. The disappearance of one opposition party soon brings on the break-up of the survivor. Party leaders lament a victory that leaves them with a big, "unwieldy" majority, for they realize that a formidable enemy is the best prop to their party discipline. In England under James II and under William and Mary, the non-conformist groups — Independents, Baptists, Quakers, etc.— repeatedly rejected approaches on the part of the government, for they realized that such concessions would undermine that unanimity of opposition of the members which alone preserved the cohesion of the sect. Vain is it, in the absence of bitter opposition, to preserve "the protest of Protestantism and the dissidence of Dissent."

KINDS OF OPPOSITION

Save Under Rare Circumstances, Every Kind of Opposition in Society Interferes with Every Other Kind

The chief oppositions which occur in society are between individuals, sexes, ages, races, nationalities, sections, classes, political parties and religious sects. Several such oppositions may be in full swing at the same time, but the more numerous they are, the less menacing is any one. Every species of conflict interferes with every other species in society at the same time, save only when their lines of cleavage coincide; in which case they reinforce one another.

Suppose at a given moment there is a certain strain along the line between Christians and Jews. If now, a strain appears along a quite different line, e.g., that between employers and workmen, the religious opposition will be less intense. For Jewish bosses and Jewish workmen will be estranged; likewise Christian bosses and Christian workmen. On the other hand, Jewish and Christian capitalists will recognize that they are "in the same boat," while Jewish workers and Christian workers will sympathize with one another as brother victims of exploitation.

Again, take the case of a tension between blacks and whites: Suppose now embitterment arises between labor and capital. If the lines of cleavage cross, each opposition will weaken the other. But if, as sometimes happens, all the employers are white men

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and all the employed are black men, then one antagonism helps the other and the rift in society is deeper than ever.

These various oppositions in society are like different wave series set up on opposite sides of a lake, which neutralize each other if the crests of one meet the troughs of the other, but which re-enforce each other if crest meets crest while trough meets trough.

A Group Full of Oppositions Is Not Necessarily Fragile

A society, therefore, which is riven by a dozen oppositions along lines running in every direction, may actually be in less danger of being torn with violence or falling to pieces than one split along just one line. For each new cleavage contributes to narrow the cross clefts, so that one might say that society *is sewn together* by its inner conflicts. It is not such a paradox after all if one remembers that every species of collective strife tends to knit together with a sense of fellowship the contenders on either side.

The principle that, as a rule, the various social oppositions interfere one with the other does not imply that the total opposition within society is constant, nor that it is a matter of indifference what its volume is.

The fact is, *all* oppositions, save only the healthy rivalries, are not only wasteful of energy, but they prevent cooperation between opponents. The wise have therefore always deplored opposition and have discovered various means of forestalling it.

Means of Lessening the Total Opposition Within Society

1. No individious discriminations. In all save private and domestic relations let a man's color, race, ancestry, religion and politics be ignored.

2. Contrariety of belief and opinion, instead of being taken as proof of depravity or perversity, may be looked upon as the natural consequence of individual differences, or of difference in education, occupation, experience or associations. Goodhumoredly the differing may "agree to disagree."

3. The fondness of the young for strife on account of its richness in thrills may be lessened by providing them with harmless and amicable forms of contest.

4. Concord may be promoted by the dropping of acrimonious controversy and the adoption by group spokesmen of the objective scientific attitude toward matters of dispute.

5. So far as society equalizes opportunities for the young, strife is less bitter because opponents contend, not for their children's chances, but only for their own.

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6. Interests may contend in good humor provided there is not on one side an assumption of superiority and an air of disdain. In Europe social conflicts have been needlessly envenomed by the arrogance of the intrenched. The one-time *hauteur* of American railroad officials greatly exasperated their complaining patrons, while the nothing-to-arbitrate attitude of employers has helped inflame the working class.

7. In so far as government speaks for all, it enjoys greater moral authority, and it can do more to mollify infra-social struggles.

8. Organized society may prevent a struggle between conflicting interests by prescribing in an impartial spirit their relations. In case their relations do not admit of being thus prescribed from outside, it may equilibrate the contenders by throwing its weight into the scales on the weaker side.

9. Free access of an aggrieved element to some forum — court of law, administrative commission, legislature, electorate — where it may have a fair hearing, is likely to avert bitterness and violence.

10. By preserving freedom of communication society invites the aggrieved to bring their cause before the court of public opinion.

11. Whether discord or harmony is to prevail depends not only upon economic and social conditions, but, in part, upon mental attitudes — whether men accept or reject a religion of brotherhood, regard contention or fellowship as the natural state of man. Therefore, disproof of that toxic pseudo-Darwinism which presents strife as universal law contributes to social peace.

Opposition Is Sometimes a *sine qua non* of Social Progress

If strife is anti-social, is the stirring up of a spirit of opposition in a social element always to be condemned? Certainly not if there is no other way of removing some oppression or handicap from which that element suffers and which keeps it in a state of backwardness or degradation. The emancipation of American women since the memorable Seneca Falls convention in 1847 was not brought about without inspiring a certain sex antagonism now happily on the wane. It is very unlikely that the emancipation of Oriental women will occur without a transient hostility between the sexes. The position of labor in the social order could not be improved without promoting class consciousness among the wage earners and marshalling them against their employers.

CHAPTER XIV

STIMULATION

THE good side of opposition is that it stimulates. Even in strife the extra energy thus evoked may exceed the energy expended. The gain is clearest, however, when the object of endeavor is not to overcome resistance but simply to excel. The eagerness to get ahead is so universal that students of human nature count it among the instincts. Thus Thorndike declares:

Opposition Stimulates Because of Our Inborn Desire to Get Ahead of Another

"Original emulation or rivalry is, in the first place, a group of tendencies to respond more vigorously in trying to get some one's attention upon perceiving a fellow creature's attempts to get it, in chasing some animal upon perceiving a fellow creature chasing it, in pulling toward one's self a thing when a fellow creature is pulling it toward himself, in running toward an object toward which he runs, and the like." [1]

MacDougall regards emulation as evolved "by a process of differentiation from the instinct of pugnacity." "The emulative impulse has acquired in the course of the evolution of the human mind an increasing importance." "Our educational system is founded upon it; it is the social force underlying an immense amount of strenuous exertion; to it we owe in a great measure even our science, our literature and our art; for it is a strong, perhaps an essential, element of ambition. . . ."

In Social Life the Emulative Impulse Is Gaining on the Combative Impulse

"The emulative impulse tends to assert itself in an ever-widening sphere of social life, encroaching more and more upon the sphere of the combative impulse, and supplanting it more and more as the prime mover of both individuals and societies. While the combative impulse leads to the destruction of the individuals and societies that are least capable of self-defence," "the natural tendency of the emulative impulse is to preserve, rather than to destroy, defeated comptitors; for their regards bring a fuller satisfaction to the impulse." [2]

[1] "The Original Nature of Man," p. 99.
[2] "Social Psychology," pp. 293, 294.

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Many persons achieve their best only when vying, just as a spirited horse makes its best speed when "paced" by another horse. Says Cooley: "Human rivalry appears to have much of this instinctive element in it; to become aware of life and striving going on about us seems to act immediately upon the nerves, quickening an impulse to live and strive in like manner. . . ."

"The motive of rivalry, then, is a strong sense that there is a race going on, and an impulsive eagerness to be in it. It is rather imitative than inventive; the idea being not so much to achieve an object for its own sake, because it is reflectively judged to be worthy, as to get what the rest are after. . . ."

". . . Rivalry supplies a stimulus wholesome and needful to the great majority of men, and . . . is, on the whole, a chief progressive force, utilizing the tremendous power of ambition, and controlling it to the furtherance of ends socially approved. . . ." [3]

MEASUREMENT OF THE STIMULUS FROM COMPETITION

Effect of Rivalry Upon Mental Work

This stimulus admits of laboratory measurement. Triplett noted that the records for bicycle riding made in competition averaged 4½ per cent. faster than the records made against time. A German schoolmaster, Moede, tested seventeen pupils in a class, working individually and working in competition. The eight poorer students did better in competition than alone. The seven better students sometimes did not so well as when alone, altho, as a whole, the speed of the class increased. In other kinds of effort the better students were helped by competition, but not so much as poorer students were benefited. In learning by heart the latter were helped eleven times as much as the former. The cause of the difference seems to be that the better pupils work so hard when alone that they are little quickened by rivalry when associated, while the group in some degree disturbs them. The poorer pupils, on the other hand, work with nothing like maximum attention and concentration until association keys them up to do their best.

No Stimulation Unless the Competitors Are Nearly Equal in Powers

These experiments were made upon competitors very different in power. In experiments upon two competitors of nearly equal powers, competition always heightened speed, the gain being about 10 per cent. when the two are in keen competition, uncertain as

[3] "Human Nature and the Social Order," pp. 275–277.

to which will win. On the other hand, *both show a decrease,* when the difference is so great that the conclusion is foregone. The better pupil is enervated by the weakness of the poorer, while the poorer, discouraged at the prospect of sure defeat, is incapable of his best. These experiments seem to justify the old practice of ranging the pupils in a class in a row according to their performance. The dull pupil might not aspire to attain the head of the class but he was stimulated to get by the one next above him and to keep above the one next below him.

MEANS OF GENERALIZING RIVALRY

Classification or Handicapping Necessary if Many Are to Be Stirred to Compete

They also prove the futility of competition between the very unequal. For example, when an athletic contest is open to all students, many feel there is no chance for them and stand by idly watching a few stars compete. Unless they can be drawn in by getting up a number of different contests involving a great variety of aptitudes, they should be formed into a number of groups according to strength or skill, so that all within the same group are enough alike to be stimulated by competing among themselves.

In the American army camps games were adapted to large numbers. New games were built incorporating movements used in the major sports. The competitive spirit was roused by pitting group against group and awarding points. There is no end to the number of men or groups which can be directed simultaneously. On the same principle business men, in stimulating their selling force, do not award prizes or honors to those men making the biggest sales, because this narrows the contest to the salesmen in "easy" territory. But every man is brought into the contest when careful estimates are made of the coming year's sales in each district and the winners of the competition are the salesmen who most surpass these estimates.

Broadening the Scope of Contest

Often the athletic rivalry between high schools breeds nothing but contests between small teams of picked men. The great body of pupils derive from such matches no stimulus to self-improvement. The remedy is a system which spurs each lad to score what points he can in the various athletic events. The sum of these individual scores is the total for the school and this divided by the number of boys enrolled gives the average athletic excellence for that school. In this way school can compete with school, even

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with those too far away to meet, and every pupil may feel enlivening prick of rivalry.

Rivalry for physical efficiency may be generalized by givin pupils who pass the tests engraved certificates, setting forth record of the individual in the various events. The Public Sc Athletic Association may give in addition a seal to affix to certificate; a gold seal for high-grade performance, a blue seal those attaining a mark between eighty and ninety, and a red for a mark between seventy and eighty.

Stimulating the Practice of Hygiene by Means of Rivalry

In many schools all of the important hygienic precepts are into a score card whose aggregate is 100 per cent. The pu in physiology and biology are expected to check each day items which they have lived up to and at the end of each term their average is entered in the teacher's record book. posting the names of those averaging above 80 per cent. posting the averages, a health contest is under way encoura the best averages, hence the best health.

METHODS OF UTILIZING THE INSTINCT OF RIVALRY

Making of Self-development a Race

Shrewd athletic directors deliberately stir up rivalry in orde quicken interest in self-development. By means of competi games and contests they enlist the young, who would accomp nothing if they were shown gymnasium apparatus and urge get to work in order to improve themselves physically. Ano method is to encourage comparison of all-around individual ciency. Perhaps ten tests are given each lad and the results posted on a special bulletin board. If Johnny sees that Harr jumping higher or lifting more than he is, he will practice after day in the hope of beating him the next time the tests given. They would never work so hard for mere health.

The United States Steel Corporation has methodically empl rivalry among its plants in order to stimulate production. S the *Pittsburgh Survey*,[4]

Playing Upon the Instinct of Rivalry in Order to Stimulate Production

"When a mill broke a record the men who accomplished feat were praised, their names published in the trade jour while superintendents of other mills taunted their men with disgrace of having been beaten. This would arouse all the sk men to greater activity and another mill would establish a record. For years a piece plate cut to the shape of a huge br

[4] Vol. III, p. 184.

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cept suspended above the Edgar Thompson blast furnaces
addock, as a symbol that all competitors had been swept
and that these furnaces were producing more pig iron a day
any others in the world. This made a strong appeal to the
and they were constantly on edge to retain that record." [5]

Making Solicitation Play

late a technique has been worked out for benevolent insti-
ıs by which the soliciting of members or contributions be-
s a sport. The soliciting force is organized into two divi-
each headed by a general and consisting of a number of
ns" with their captains. The generals pick their captains
he captains pick their workers. The effort is concentrated
"campaign" to end on a fixed date. Every noon the force
es together, each team at its own table. After luncheon the
ins report and the results of the day's work are chalked up
big bulletin board. Each worker is racing with every other
:r on his team, each team with every other team in the divi-
ınd each division with the other. The spirit of rivalry is
d just enough to make the distasteful task play but never to
oint of leaving disappointment or bitterness in the beaten.

The Utilization of Rivalry in Order to Stimulate Intellectual Effort

ıether intellectual effort should be stimulated by competition
ollege honors or election to Phi Beta Kappa is a much-
:d question. After long experience a distinguished school-
:ondemns the whole system of incentives as "abnormal, un-
able, false and immoral. Their entire tendency is to tem-
y result, to stifle interest, to the recognition of an unnatural
s to an end, to the development of the selfish spirit and to
nest practice, as well as to over-pressure and over-nervous
hysical strain." On the other hand, public recognition of
:st scholars of each college class is general and few deans
its efficacy. Generally the objections relate to abuses, such
ıing easy courses in order to win high marks, rather than
: principle of employing rivalry as stimulus. Those who
emulation as a low motive for study in comparison with
st and thirst for self-improvement do not realize how strong
ıiversal is its appeal.

en the men in a mill made a new record, that amount of production
:neeforth expected of them. However, "the superintendent passed
!

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RIVALRY AS A SOURCE OF MORALE

War Prisoners Roused by Challenging the Instinct of Rivalry

Toward the end of the World War, the Russian soldiers, having no tradition of active stimulating sports, became the prey of sloth and boredom in the quiet sectors and suffered great moral deterioration. The English and American soldiers, on the other hand, brought with them an interest in sports and preserved their morale by games and athletic matches. The Young Men's Christian Association workers in the prison camps no doubt saved thousand of war prisoners from moral collapse, melancholia and death by applying the prick of emulation. Encouraging these half-starved, homesick, miserable captives to organize competitive games calling for strength, skill and quickness seems a mockery till one marks how the eye kindles, the form straightens and hope revives as their dejected hearts respond to the challenge of a chance to beat.

Rivalry Rouses Men to Do Their Best

In Borneo the rivalry of young men for the favor of girls leads to wanton murder, because no youth is regarded seriously until he has taken human heads. But rivalry may tend to good as well as to evil. Says a writer on Hungary: ". . . The Magyar peasant, like the Magyar noble, never forgets that he belongs to the dominant race. There is often a touch of good-humored insolence in his treatment of peasants of other nationalities and especially in his relations with the Jews and with the Gypsies. Partly, perhaps, from this feeling of pride, though never afraid of hard work, the Magyar is seen at his best when employed with men of other nationalities. In such a case he throws his whole strength and energy into his work and would feel himself deeply humiliated if it were not evident that he has done more in a given time than the men of "inferior" race. This element in the Magyar character is one of no little national importance, and . . . the variety of races inhabiting the country, notwithstanding all its disadvantages, leads also to a healthy competition in almost all the walks of life that plays no small part in the progress the nation is making. . . ."[6]

STANDARDS GROWING OUT OF RIVALRY PREVENT OVERPOPULATION

Man tends to multiply up to the food limit, at which point all margins for pleasure, beauty and leisure have been swept into

[6] Palmer, "Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country," pp. 58, 59.

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Rivalry Has Been the Prime Motive in Diversifying Wants

the hopper for the production of population. Almost the only thing that has ever arrested the growth of numbers well inside the food limit is the diversification of wants. The chief motive behind this diversification has been rivalry. At first this, that, or the other thing is wanted for vanity's sake. One thirsts to outshine or outpace others. One cannot endure to be surpassed by another in trophy, ornament or display. In the course of time the new wants acquire a firmer basis. Vanities are pruned till they become comforts and decencies, enter into the inherited standard of living, and become indispensable to self-respect.

SERVICES OF ECONOMIC COMPETITION

Bracing Effect of Economic Competition

Wasteful as economic competition often is, let us not overlook its magical effect upon the business man who has gotten into a rut. An editor who, a dozen years ago, gave his best thought to adapting his newspaper to the needs and tastes of the community has failed to notice how silent, gradual changes have transformed the community's interests. Not until a neighboring journal cuts seriously into his circulation is he roused to the necessity of making over his paper to suit his new constituency. So it is with the manufacturer, the merchant, the railroad man. They are absorbed in routine, become strangers to effortful thinking and fall below their possibilities until the danger of loss of business lashes them into intense mental activity.

In a static time hard work and conscience may suffice to keep one up to the mark. But in a time of rapid development rare is the man who will serve the public best by continuing to work diligently on familiar lines. There is need of changing frequently the character of one's goods, one's services, one's methods. But few will do this of their own free will. The impulse of the conscientious man is to work hard in the accustomed way. It is not that he is lazy but that he is habit-bound. Nothing but fear of being supplanted by a competitor will goad him to the point of adapting his product to the changed needs of the public.

ROUSING EFFECT OF WAR

Even war, the most destructive of all forms of opposition, is not without its value as stimulus. It may impart courage to heave aside old obstacles and may release energies which remain fruitful long after the war has ended.

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War May Call Forth in a People More Energies Than It Consumes

Commenting on the state of Holland at the opening of the sixteenth century, the historian observes: "The long struggle for existence had filled the people with a new spirit, and, so far from bringing in their train exhaustion and misery, the very burdens of the war had been productive of unexampled prosperity. Nothing in history is more remarkable than the condition of the United Provinces, and especially of the Provinces of Holland and Zeeland at the end of thirty years of incessant warfare." After dilating upon the marvellous expansion of ship building, sea-carriage, foreign trade and the textile industries and reviewing the daring voyages and explorations of Dutch adventurers, he concludes: "Thus, then, their war for life and death had stirred the sluggish blood of the Dutch people and had aroused in them a most extraordinary spirit of energy and enterprise." [1]

Corroborative testimony is offered by Ramsay:

The Americans Were Energized by Their Struggle for Independence

"The American Revolution, on the one hand, brought forth great vices, but on the other hand, it called forth many virtues, and gave occasion for the display of abilities, which, but for that event, would have been lost to the world. When the war began, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, mechanics and fishermen; but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and set them on thinking, speaking and acting, in a line far beyond that to which they had ever been accustomed. The difference between nations is not so much owing to nature, as to education and circumstances. While the Americans were guided by the leading strings of the mother country, they had no scope nor encouragement for exertion. All the departments of government were established and executed for them, but not by them. In the years 1775 and 1776 the country, being suddenly thrown into a situation that needed the abilities of all its sons, these generally took their places, each according to the bent of his inclination. As they severally pursued their objects with ardour, a vast expansion of the human mind speedily followed. This displayed itself in a variety of ways. It was found that their talents for great actions did not differ in kind, but only in degree from those which were necessary for the proper discharge of the ordinary business of civil society. In the bustle that was occasioned by the war, few instances could be produced of any persons who made a figure, or

[1] "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. III, pp. 630-633.

who rendered essential services, but from among those who had given specimens of similar talents in their respective professions. Those who from indolence or dissipation had been of little service to the community in time of peace, were found equally unserviceable in war. A few young men were exceptions to this rule. Some of those who had indulged in youthful follies broke off from their vicious courses and on the pressing call of their country became useful servants of the public; but the great bulk of those who were the active instruments of carrying on the revolution were self-made, industrious men. These who by their own exertions had established or laid a foundation for establishing personal independence, were most generally trusted and most successfully employed in establishing that of their country. In these times of action, classical education was found of less service than good natural parts, guided by common sense and sound judgment.

"Several names could be mentioned of individuals who without the knowledge of any other language than their mother tongue, wrote not only accurately but elegantly, on public business. It seemed as if the war not only required but created talents." [1]

[1] Ramsay, "History of the American Revolution," Vol. II, pp. 600-602, quoted by Callender in his "Economic History of the United States."

CHAPTER XV

ANTAGONISTIC EFFORT

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All Conflict Involves Antagonistic Effort

IT has been shown that conflict is stimulating and that in forms it is virtually equivalent to cooperation. Neve less, there is in conflict as distinguished from wholesome co tition an element which is altogether bad and deplorable. may be called Antagonistic Effort, i.e., equal efforts expend opposite directions, so that A is neutralized by B and B is tralized by A. It is illustrated in the "tug of war" which exhausts the rival teams before a decision is reached; in the straining of locked wrestlers neither of whom can overcom other until both are nearly spent; in the interchange of blow which well-matched pugilists may pound each other into pul the advertising campaigns of competitors which exactly each the other but leave them both nearer the poor house; i alternate price-cutting of two rival producers which pushes closer and closer to insolvency; in the lawsuits and appeals which litigious men wear themselves out and in the retali tariffs by which two nations beat each other's commerce t knees.

CONFLICTS OF ATTRITION

Equal Antagonistic Efforts Are Resultless

Nothing Is Decided Till One Side Puts Forth Effort the Other Cannot Match

So long as the antagonistic efforts are in balance, nothi accomplished. All exertions which are promptly met and tralized by counter-exertions are wasted, for they decide not It is only the margin of superiority that counts. Hence th culiar ruinousness of opposition which assumes this form. exhibited in a railroad "war" when rates are slashed far b the cost of service and both competitors slide slowly to bankruptcy. The railroad with the longer purse will win; it may never recoup itself for its losses by higher rates, fo beaten road, though bankrupt, does not cease to be a compe It is seen in the costly electioneering campaigns of rival pol candidates. The total outlay of time and money may be abs out of proportion to the salary of the office they are see

Neither would make the canvass could he have foreseen how he would become involved. Yet they plunge deeper and deeper into expense because each realizes that all he has already expended is quite thrown away unless he wins the race. Each is hoping to win by a spurt at the finish, so they go on and on, winded but afraid to quit.

The Blindness of the Pugnacious Gives Him an Advantage in Negotiation

The greater the amount of effort which must be put forth before the telling margin appears, the more costly is the conflict and the greater is the incentive to seek a means of avoiding it. The expenditure of strength and resources in antagonistic efforts may leave both contestants ruined, the victor being no better off than the vanquished. The more clearly they foresee this possibility, the more they will rather compromise than pay the price of fighting to the bitter end. But if one opponent realizes what a struggle is likely to let him in for he will be at a disadvantage in negotiating with one who is blind to the cost of conflict. The former will have to make most of the concessions if the disastrous conflict is to be avoided. In dealing with the clear-sighted, the blindness of the pugnacious may be a trump card.

MOST CONFLICTS COST MORE THAN WAS EXPECTED

Opponents Rarely Foresee the Drain Conflict Will Lead to

As we review the pitiful squandering of human life, strength and resources not only in the wars of nations but also in the struggles between labor and capital, in commercial "wars," in political contests, in lawsuits and in private quarrels, it becomes apparent that the impulses of anger, jealousy and greed should not bear all the blame. Even the cool and calculating enter into a disastrous conflict thinking it will be decided by a sudden thrust or a clever stroke and failing to foresee the long drain on energy which they must endure before a victory can be won. Convinced of superiority, one fails to compute the sacrifices which may lie between superiority and triumph. It is the besetting fallacy of militarists to picture war to their people as a sharp, brief struggle between prepared forces terminating in the victory of the force which is braver, more intelligent or better led. They refuse to recognize how normal it is that war should become an expenditure of antagonistic efforts which wears down the belligerents till both are prostrate.

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THE CONVERTIBILITY OF RESOURCES

Conflict Will Be Exhausting in the Degree that All Kinds of Power Are Convertible into Fighting Power

In general, the more nearly matched are two combatants, the more prolonged and exhausting their conflict is likely to be. Again, the struggle will be prolonged in proportion as their strength is convertible into the particular kind of effort essential to a decision. If citizens can readily be trained into soldiers the conflict does not end when one belligerent has used up his original army but continues until one belligerent approaches the end of his man power or, at least, of his morale. In case the ban on the use of women on the battlefield is broken down, the final outcome of the conflict will be the same but it will be delayed and the prostration of the belligerents will be more complete when it arrives. If the factories are capable of being speedily converted into munition plants, the war is not decided by original stocks of munitions but becomes a matter of comparative coal, iron, copper, food production, woman power, child power, etc., and may go on until the complete economic collapse of one belligerent.

FORCING A QUICK DECISION

Each Opponent Dreams of Forcing a Quick Decision by a "Knock-out" Blow

Lest conflict lapse into a process of competitive annihilation opponents strive to force a quick decision. The "winded" pugilist studies how he may deliver a "knock-out" blow. By a secretly planned advertising campaign the business man seeks to bankrupt his competitor before he has time to prepare a counter-stroke. The railway company tries to administer a *coup de grace* to a parallel line by cutting fares 80 per cent. at a stroke. Regardless of expense, the litigant puts his cause into the hands of the leader of the bar. The aggressor state plans by surprise attack, by speedier mobilization, by having ready the larger number of trained soldiers or aviators, by accumulating in advance the greater stock of guns, aircraft, or submarines, or by springing some new and, at first, irresistible weapon — forty-two centimeter howitzers, or Zeppelins, or poison gas, or tanks — to win the war before its enemy converts his potential strength into actual strength. Since the conversion of resources into telling effort calls for time, a protracted conflict becomes inevitably one of "attrition" and tends toward the utter prostration or impoverishment of both parties. As a rule, it is only the short decisive conflict that does not cost the victor more than victory is worth.

COMPETITIVE PREPAREDNESS

Eagerness to Obtain a Speedy Victory Leads to Competitive Preparedness Which Is a Variant Form of Antagonistic Effort

When resources can be converted only slowly into weapons and the combatant wins who gets a broad "running start" over the other, fear begets *competitive preparedness*, which is only another form of antagonistic effort. It is, to be sure, less violent than actual conflict but it may be nearly as exhausting. In the Caucasus the safety tower of each farmstead evidently absorbed more labor than the habitation itself. In Afghanistan the time wasted in standing guard in the sentry tower that overlooks each field exceeds the time spent in tilling the field. In Albania the male, being occupied in protecting his family, is parasitic on the female who alone produces anything. Just as in war each people is duped into believing that *this* levy of troops, *this* big gun armament, *this* "victory" loan will win a decision, forgetting that until the breaking strain arrives its every prodigious exertion is counterbalanced by a corresponding supreme exertion by the enemy, so in peace time they are victimized by the "preparedness" fallacy. They do not notice that their every sacrifice in the way of *more* ironclads, *more* guns, or *more* soldiers becomes the basis of an appeal by the preparedness party in each rival state to insure its safety by *more* ironclads, *more* guns, and *more* soldiers. And such sacrifices made by other peoples "for security" become in turn the basis of appeals at home for even greater sacrifices "for security." So the munition makers' game goes merrily on until armament-capping becomes well-nigh as ruinous as war itself. When a people realizes that the major part of what it produces goes into the bottomless pit of competitive preparation and finds such "security" is economically nearly as exhausting as war, it is tempted to attack its rival, in the hope of destroying it and thereby ending an intolerable situation.

THE AVOIDANCE OF ANTAGONISTIC EFFORT

Antagonistic Effort Has No Redeeming Feature

Antagonistic effort is, then, the utterly evil element in conflict. It is a pit into which heedless man is precipitated by his aggressive and self-assertive instincts. It is the lurking devil which all glorifiers of war and struggle overlook. It is the Adversary baffling, betraying and tormenting a too-pugnacious and too-sanguine race. It devastates society as its counterpart, hatred, devastates the soul. Small wonder, then, that the supreme concern of all

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seers, prophets and founders of religion has been to draw mankind away from hatred and strife into the paths of amity and peace.

Limitation upon the Expenditure of Antagonistic Effort

It is possible, however, to eliminate or curb this noxious feature without suppressing contest itself. Intercollegiate athletics may be kept from degenerating into a matching of purses by barring players who receive financial inducement to attend college and by so limiting the training period as to avoid an excessive loss of time in preparation. The anti-intellectual tendencies in public joint debate are held in check by rules forbidding "personalities" and excluding everything foreign to the question. The law denies appeal from a court decision when the value in dispute is small. Party managers agree to buy no votes. Laws which limit the amount of campaign expenditure save opposing candidates from ruining themselves in a political contest or becoming bound to selfish moneyed interests which contribute to both parties. Rival railroads agree to close their needless downtown offices. "Legalized pooling" or commission-fixing of *minimum* as well as *maximum* rates restrain them from rushing into receivership *via* rate "wars." After a series of industrially lean years caused by "cut-throat" competition among producers the game of "beggar-my-neighbor" ends in a "combination" or in the absorption of all the weaker firms by the financially strongest. Missionary boards come to the understanding that none will plant a mission in a native center where a Christian mission already exists. Rival colleges avoid the waste of circularizing the same constituency or cultivating the same secondary schools by dividing territory if they are far apart or by specializing in different lines if they are near each other.

Finally, war-worn exhausted states may do what has been done hundreds of times by jarring communities — form an organization for peace, create tribunals, with power to decide disputes, renounce their armaments and relinquish their liberty to make war at will.

CHAPTER XVI

PERSONAL COMPETITION

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Competition More Like a Race than a Fight

COMPETITION implies the seeking of the favor of certain individuals or bodies with reference to a single desirable object by two or more persons. Metaphorically speaking, alternative attractions, e.g., different religions, systems of law, types of education or ideals of life, which make their appeal to the same people or within the same field, may be said to compete. Competition resembles racing rather than fighting, since it turns on comparison of merits, rather than on antagonistic effort. In a fight it is quite proper to knock out your opponent; but putting your competitor out of the running is regarded as bad sportsmanship. It is like tripping a rival sprinter.

Unlike emulation, the aim of competition is not simply to win, but to win something in itself desirable.

THE FUNCTION OF COMPETITION

Competition Assigns Us Our Places in the Social System

Altho competition for customers, or patrons, or clients, or subscribers, or employment, or office, or for friends and backers, is prompted by individual aims, it discharges the broad social function of assigning to each his place in the social system. Since we do not come into the world with our future calling and station stencilled on the forehead, we discover what we are fit for by the experimental method. By a series of competitions we test the impression we make on others, rate our powers in terms of other men's powers, and determine whether or not we may aspire to the more eligible occupations and posts. Competition in this sense need not be conscious or contentious. From our school days on judgments are formed about us of which we are unaware, but which go to determine our careers. For example, several men may be under consideration for the same appointment. Their entire record is scrutinized so that they are made competitors throughout their past, altho at the time they were not in the least conscious of it.

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If Not Competition, then Hereditary Status Determines What Each Shall Do

The chief alternative to competition as a means of assig persons to their place in the social system is hereditary st In the later Roman Empire the well-placed families prot their position by allowing none to aspire to a calling abov father's. In Prussia, before the Emancipation Edict of both lands and occupations were built into the caste sys "Noble" land *(Rittergut)* could not be bought by non-nc nor "peasant" land *(Bauerngut)* by non-peasants. Ne noble nor peasant could take up occupations which belong the burgher class. In India to-day the principal occupation in the hands of hereditary castes and it is expected that the of the village priest, smith, or accountant will succeed t father's office.

This artificial system clashes so harshly with the natural d to get on and is so repugnant to popular ideas of justice, th must have come into existence as the device of those in the h offices and occupations to relieve their children from the co tition of the children of the lower-placed.

In Olden Time Status Gave the State Stability

However, when social unity is low and control weak, s makes for order and continuity in the social system. In the ropean Dark Ages anarchy and civil war were likely to f the death of the king and the principle of legitimacy, viz., the crown passes automatically to the king's eldest son, was h with relief. Now that electoral devices have made the hea of the state selective without risking a breakdown in the s organization, the state has no further need of status.

THE INTENSITY OF COMPETITION [1]

Competition Is Intense When Much Energy Is Expended in Getting to One's Final Place in the Social System

The relative amount of activity absorbed in the selective ess measures the intensity of competition. In a stationar ciety where, as a rule, children stick where they were born follow the occupation of their father, where certain trade reserved for certain castes, where the great places in the stat hereditary and electoral campaigns unknown, where peasant not vie with burgher or burgher with retainer or retainer lord, a man devotes a minimum of his energy to finding his in the social system. Where, on the other hand, as in the U

[1] On this and the preceding point I am much indebted to Pro Cooley's monograph, "Personal Competition," published by the Am Economic Association in 1899.

States, at least a third of native adults are found by the census taker in some other than their natal state, where a large proportion have tried some other occupation than the one they follow, where schools are free and skill is not ordinarily acquired from one's father, where protected occupations do not exist and where politics are an absorbing interest, the expenditure of energy in placement will be relatively large.

The intensity of competition varies

1. With the degree of personal liberty.
2. With the rate of social change.
3. Inversely as the efficiency of the selective agents.

Personal Liberty Intensifies Competition

The freer the individual to roam about over the social field, set up in this or that calling, try for the better-paid or more honorable offices and get a decision on his merits, the less often one encounters racial, religious, or class discrimination, the prompter are customers or clients or patients in transferring their patronage, the more frequently the well-established will be subjected to the competition of outsiders, and the harder must they exert themselves to keep from being ousted.

Social Change Puts Men on Their Mettle

Again, social change opens new opportunities to many who fancied themselves settled in life. The automobile industry has in fifteen years absorbed half a million Americans, few of whom inherited or stumbled into their jobs. In the same time the new profession of play director has given employment to nine thousand young men and women, nearly every one of whom has been placed by competition. The creation of a vast army for the World War set hundreds of thousands of young Americans vying to settle which of them should obtain military commissions.

Good Selective Agencies and Methods Lessen the Cost of Getting the Right Man into the Right Place

The better the selective agencies the more quickly, economically and accurately competitors are sifted. The time will come when an hour with graded tests of mental ability will fix an applicant's caliber far better than a bushel of estimates by his acquaintances. One's school and college standing will be scrutinized as well as one's record in actual work. Compare the cost of trying for a political appointment under the old system of bringing to bear "influence" with its cost under the merit system. Or consider the intense competition for an elective office. Candidates will spend on a political contest as much as the salary of the office comes to for the entire term. Two men running for

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the office of county superintendent of schools will waste perhaps two months of their time electioneering. If the selective agency were a competent board of education, the tax on their time might not exceed two days.

Systems of education which discover and develop the special capabilities of each individual as well as offer specialized training for each calling enable choices among competitors to be prompt and just. Likewise, the laying down of definite requirements for those who would follow teaching, nursing, law, accountancy, etc., saves much fumbling and disappointment.

RESTRICTIONS UPON THE METHODS OF COMPETITION

Competition Needs to Be Restrained by Commercial Rules,

In the absence of binding rules or accepted standards of fairness competition assumes extravagant or vicious forms. In the commercial sphere the wastes from competitive publicity, window-dressing, salesmanship and delivery have been long recognized and go far to reconcile us to the replacement of competition by combination. Courts and administrative boards have outlawed a great number of practices as "unfair" because they tend to the success not of the better caterer to the wants of the public, but of the inferior one. The criterion of "fairness" is whether the practice contributes in the long run to supplying the consumers with the greatest abundance of good wares or services at the lowest cost. By this touchstone are condemned local price-cutting, the operation of bogus "independent" concerns, the use of "fighting" brands, rebates and preferential arrangements, exclusive sale or purchase arrangements, conditional requirements, espionage, coercion and intimidation, black-lists, and interference with the contracts and business of competitors.

Among workingmen "scabbing" and strike-breaking, pace-making and tattling are generally reprobated as methods of commending one's self to the management. On the other hand, it is accounted legitimate for the working man to get himself in line for promotion by showing superior skill, devising better tools or processes, or making valuable suggestions.

by Professional Standards,

The organized professions have long paid heed to the methods of competition followed by their members and have frowned on such as handicap modest merit. No doctor or lawyer in good standing will advertise, solicit employment, pay commissions for business, undertake cases on a contingent fee, show a client how

to get around a statute, or give him advice which is immoral or anti-social in its tendency. Aside from the reputation of satisfying his patrons, he has no legitimate way of bringing his merits to the attention of the public other than scholarly activity in his profession or free work for needy individuals or for the community.

and by Election Laws

The electoral canvass is a species of competition and with the growth of popular government has come a need of defining what constitutes improper electioneering. Vote buying, personation, treating voters, betting in order to influence an election, deceiving illiterate voters, contributing to churches or charitable institutions during a campaign, providing conveyances for voters, forging campaign literature, publishing false statements of the withdrawal of candidates, keeping electors from the polls, intimidating electors, influencing employees — these and other pernicious practices of political contestants have been prohibited either because they drive good men out of politics or because they enable a minority candidate to win.

The Spoils System Versus the Merit System of Recruiting Public Servants

In our time we have seen a great clarification of the citizen's mind as to the proper basis of competition for appointive office. Long ago nepotism fell into bad. odor. Then patronage, the right of private irresponsible individuals to name office holders, came under a cloud. Afterward was challenged the awarding of offices for party work or party contributions, or on the promise of such contributions. The merit system of recruiting civil servants, under which applicants are rated according to training, experience, and proficiency, as revealed by examination, raises the plane of competition and improves the quality of office-holders. Many who aspired under the spoils system now have no prospect and many who formerly had no prospect now aspire. The superiority of trained intelligence over party work as a qualification for office-holding measures the improvement brought by the merit system.

On What Basis Shall Promotion Be Made?

Since organization is growing like Jonah's gourd, it becomes a matter of great moment on what basis promotion shall be made. In private business the superior, on account of his presumed personal interest in the success of the enterprise, has generally been free to promote whom he would. But in large concerns, where the superior is often a salaried man and not financially interested, his choice is likely to be affected by family, social standing

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and personal liking. Here, as in the public service, "free promotion" often gives the relative, the fawner or the wire-puller the advantage over the modest man of worth. On the other hand, where, as in church or university, promotion goes by group or collegiate choice, there is less chance for "influence."

Seniority as a Basis for Promotion

The great rival principle is that of *seniority*. This is simple and certain and leaves no room for favoritism and prejudice. It prevails in nearly all armies and navies, because the officers are not greatly dissimilar in ability and training, while length of experience is of great importance. Its principal merit, however, is that it insures that the loyalty and obedience of subordinates shall not be impaired by the jealousies and resentments which spring up like devil grass when promotion appears to be arbitrary. In the civil service, it has less place, but it finds favor with all unions of government employees because more complicated systems lend themselves to manipulation. American railroads after futile attempts to instal a system of efficiency ratings have been forced by the organizations of their employees to promote on the seniority principle.

Its Good Points and Bad Points

The great merit of the principle is that, being automatic, it not only eliminates such improper motives of promotion as personal favor, family influence and political "pull," but it excludes the suspicions and heart-burnings which so undermine the morale of an organization. On the other hand, it is a deadening principle. Not only is the oldest man in point of service not necessarily the most efficient, but, by checking competition for promotion, it takes away one incentive for acquiring efficiency. Furthermore, by putting age in the saddle, it subjects society to the reign of blind conservatism. The open-mindedness, enthusiasm, and decision of young men are needed to break the crust of custom continually forming in society. Under a system of promotion by seniority only rarely is it possible for a young man to attain to a responsible position.

Efficiency Rating as a Basis for Promotion

We see therefore that seniority is *status* and the negation of competition. "Free promotion" is competitive, but unfair in so far as advancement turns on irrelevant things such as favor and influence. Everywhere, therefore, the attempt is being made to work out some scheme of efficiency ratings by which the employee makes as he goes along the record on which one day will be decided whether he or another shall be advanced to greater

responsibility or reward. During the World War our army and navy sought to base promotion upon the frequent and detailed reports of superior officers as to the professional zeal, ability and attainments of their subordinates. The method of rating merit is too technical a matter to go into here, but it is agreed by all that it is possible to promote on a basis which will stimulate efficiency yet work to the satisfaction of the force.

Where Shall the Line Be Drawn Between Proper and Improper Methods of Competition?

May rival colleges in their circulars make invidious comparisons? May the theatre owner with propriety call the public's attention to the greater fire risk of a rival place of amusement? Is it "hitting below the belt" for a baking-powder manufacturer in advertising to cast doubt on the wholesomeness of other brands? Is it "foul" for an applicant to submit truthful matter reflecting on the qualifications or worthiness of another applicant? May the Protestant and the Catholic clergy proselytize from each other, or shall they confine themselves to winning the unchurched? While evidence as to comparative merit is always pertinent, the judgment of a competitor is so subject to bias that invidious comparisons by him should be ruled out. Generally "war to the knife" between rivals proves ruinous to both good morals and good manners.

The Principle of Relevancy

The general principle to follow in drawing the line between proper and improper methods of competition is *relevancy*. Men have a just horror of "political influence" in official circles, but do not object to learned bodies and institutions being heard from when it comes to filling an important post calling for technical knowledge. Their influence is *relevant* to the problem. The physician may not advertise, for self-laudation in print is *irrelevant* to merit. Not so is his appointment as lecturer in the faculty of the local medical college. It is *relevant* for preparatory schools to list the institutions which admit their graduates on certificate and to call attention to the performance of these graduates in college and university. Boastful comparisons are *irrelevant* to the competition of religious denominations, which ought rather to be decided by the type of character which they produce in their members. The awarding of public office on the basis of services to the political party is intolerable, because party work is *irrelevant* to the successful conduct of the office.

In other words, we resent a success won by some other prowess than the one called for. We are disgusted by the fight that

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becomes a " foot-race " and by the foot-race that becomes a fight, by the slugging match that becomes a joint debate and the joint debate that becomes a slugging match. We resent that social tact irrespective of scholarship should govern a university appointment and equally that scholarship irrespective of social tact should govern a diplomatic appointment.

COMPETITION AND MORALS

Does Competition Demoralize Those Who Take Part?

It depends chiefly upon the kind of practices tolerated whether or not a competition will lower those who take part. If paid puffery, kowtowing, assurance, blowing your own trumpet, female influence and such like regularly win, then the field will be abandoned by every one who will not stoop to such methods. The greater the number of attractive fields in which such methods prevail, the greater the proportion of ambitious young people who will relinquish their high standards and sink to a lower moral level. It is of little avail for parents to plant moral scruples in their children if in many of the alluring arenas of competition success is seen going to the tricky and ingratiating. Let clergymen take note that *raising the plane of competition* may accomplish quite as much in saving souls as successful evangelism.

Raising the Plane of Competition

In the early frontier communities and in certain isolated American communities to-day biting and gouging are accepted methods of fighting. In earlier American political contests, " rough-and-tumble " was the rule, while rival newspapers resorted to a scurrility now unknown. In old societies on the other hand the recognized forms of competition are hemmed in by standards, so that in most arenas honorable young men may compete without losing their self-respect. The rearing of a ring fence about every competition indicating just what is and what is not permitted is a moral achievement which takes time. These restraints originate with the better element in society, the capable, the sensitive, the high-spirited, in a word, with the élite, and only slowly do they find one another out and arrive at a consensus. No young society has such restraints any more than it has mossy manses and ivy-clad church towers.

COMPETITION AND SYMPATHY

Some assume that competition regularly begets ill-will and imagine that medieval society with its fixed strata knew more con-

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tentment and good feeling than modern society. The fact is, there is no fatal connection between competition and hostility. In a society like ours, where any man may try to be anything, there will be much disappointment but not necessarily much hard feeling. A graduate of a law school joins the bar of a town with a score of lawyers. At the end of a year or two he may have to give up the law, but very likely he cannot hold any particular competitor responsible for his shipwreck. So it is with business men. The failure realizes he has been eliminated by general conditions rather than by a rival.

Competition Need Not Engender Ill-will

Even when the loser of a competition knows the winner he need not hate him, provided that the competition has taken place under reasonable rules, which have been loyally observed. Bitterness there will be when one believes that the rules have not been lived up to by one's rivals or that one is the victim of malicious discrimination. In large organizations there will be bad blood if it is suspected that favor governs promotions. If, on the other hand, the patently efficient man is promoted, the congratulations and good will of his competitors may go with him as he rises. In the field of college sports the most intense rivalry to "make the team" will not generate personal bitterness provided that the coach is competent. In case justice rules the competitive struggle, people like the British and the Americans, who have absorbed much of the spirit of sportsmanship, will attribute their failures to something in themselves. But no little envy and ill-will attend personal rivalries among peoples like the Poles, the Italians or the South Americans, who inherit an ideal of sensitive aristocratic pride and have little experience of competitive sports.

THE LIMITS TO COMPETITION

Limits to Competition in Japan

In Japan the code of the jinrikisha men forbids one runner to pass by another going in the same direction. The young and strong runner is not to dash past the old and feeble runner lest the latter be so much the sooner eliminated from the calling. When you have had a house built in Japan you have entered into a relation which cannot lightly be broken off. Whatever repairs may be needed during the life of the house must be arranged for with your builder, never with anybody else. None but he has the right to send for the plasterer, the roofer, the tinsmith. So is it with a garden. The maker looks after it season after season and

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no other gardener can be hired to touch it unless assured that the original relation has been dissolved by mutual consent.

Humanity Demands that Competition Be Muffled

Such muffling of competition survives from the old communal organization of Japan. We individualistic Americans, on the other hand, have been willing to allow competition to permeate every part of life. Our commercial traveller cannot see why with his better goods and prices he cannot get orders the first time he visits South America. The loyalty of the South American merchant to the European house from which he has been buying seems to him unbusinesslike and unreasonable, while the merchant concludes that to Yankees money is everything.

Competition Without Limits Is a Sign of Inexperience

Relentless competition is welcomed only in a young society that has not yet learned to take the long view. With ripeness comes the recognition of limits to competition. Certain great American railroads have deliberately adopted the policy of not replacing elderly servants with younger and more vigorous men but retaining them until they are superannuated and retire on a pension. Some of their employees are past their peak of efficiency, but, on the other hand, by holding out the prospect of a life career these companies attract a higher grade of ability than the same money would command under a ruthless system.

What irony that, at a time when intelligent business men are striving to build up a stable and loyal force, university presidents who have been bitten by the efficiency bug or imbibed the inhumane spirit of high finance recommend that professors be replaced as soon as the university has skimmed off the cream of their strength! The tendency of our time is just the other way — attracting good men by holding out a certain life career instead of throwing them away like squeezed lemons at the end of their prime, without caring what becomes of them. We now perceive that ease of mind is a condition of mental and especially originative work and this condition cannot be realized without security of tenure.

Society will reap all the advantages of competition if every man until thirty or thirty-five years of age is liable to be passed or ousted by a better man. But after this probationary period it is well to consider a man's value to the employer as settled and to make him feel safe from displacement so long as he continues to "make good."

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Marriage Excludes Competition for the Sake of Stability

The value of status after a period of competition is illustrated by marriage. Young people vie eagerly for the favor of individuals of the other sex, but marriage should put an end to such rivalry. Love is subject to competition with other interests in life, so it is still worth while for spouse to woo spouse, but neither should be exposed to the competition of younger or more attractive members of the same sex. "Trial marriage," by reintroducing competition, would subject the mated, or at least one of them, to a tormenting uncertainty and take away the blessed sense of security matrimony ought to bring.

Security Releases Energy

The folly of keeping men on tenter-hooks after this period was illustrated in the university whose president, having imbibed big-business ideals, let it be known that no man, not even a world-renowned professor, "owned his job." The mature scholar might be displaced if he proved unproductive. Each professor was expected to report annually what he had published in the past year. The result was that professors dared not embark on a large and important research project which might not come to fruition for years, but busied themselves on a succession of small investigations which would yield something to publish every year. Thus did the "efficiency policy" defeat itself.

Value of Stability in Personal Relations

The intimate confidential relation which grows up between patient and practitioner — resulting in the trusted "family physician" — muffles competition, to be sure, but few would care to see it disappear. The same is true of the assumption of permanency in the relation between pastor and flock. No doubt the clergyman who, after some experience, settles into a life pastorate is happier and gives his parishioners better service than if he held a succession of pulpits. On the other hand, professional men without a permanent or responsible employer — such as newspaper men and stage people — are exposed to the full force of competition with the young and after their powers begin to decline their lot is often tragic.

No Good Public Service Without Security of Tenure

It is agreed that the public service must be made a career before the public will have able, trained and loyal servants. This implies security of tenure and dismissal only for cause after a certain period of novitiate. Such stability absolutely excludes the idea that offices — save those at the top which determine policy — should be treated as the spoils of party victory. Public

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servants will never be rewarded as well as the servants of business concerns. All the more, therefore, should they be assured security of tenure.

We ought to applaud the recognition by the courts of property in the "good will" of a business, for it encourages the business man to build up lasting relations with a group of satisfied customers. Were not good will something one can protect and sell, a merchant would have no motive to preserve it after he contemplated removal, change of business or retirement. As it is, his interest in keeping his patrons pleased remains undiminished.

Significance of the "Dead Line"

As the principle of security of tenure becomes established appears inevitably the "dead line." If it is taken as a matter of course that the employer — church, university, corporation or state — will retain the faithful servant during his declining years, the employer will naturally insist that it must in return have him for most of his prime. If clergymen and others find increasing difficulty in obtaining permanent placement after the age of forty-five, it is not that the employer is harder-hearted but that employment entails heavier responsibilities.

Old-age pensions or allowances follow quite logically upon the policy of undisturbed tenure. The time comes when it is cheaper to retire the old servant on half or third pay than to continue paying his former salary for services of little worth.

While competition thus happily is being mitigated for certain groups of brain workers, it is a shame that the great army of manual laborers should be afforded no shelter whatever from the competition of the younger and more active. Something might be done to stabilize employment by a law requiring the employer to pay the employee dismissed without fault a dismissal wage proportionate to the length of time he had been in the employer's service. As public industry extends, it will be possible to introduce permanency for all classes of employees. But if private enterprise continues to occupy a large part of the total field of employment there seems to be no remedy but state old age and invalidity insurance.

The Muffling of Competition Not an Injustice to the Young

The question may be raised whether the tempering of competition in the interest of those established is not a discrimination on behalf of age against more efficient youth. But the policy may be justified even to the young. Their being held back a little may be looked upon as the payment of premiums for insurance to

protect their own inevitable period of decline. For example the young scholar at thirty might well take over the professorship of the scholar of sixty. But the old scholar holds his chair until he reaches the age of sixty-five and the young man continues five years more as assistant professor before the chair falls to him. When he in turn reaches the point of declining energy the rule will now work to his advantage. On the whole, then, has the blunting of competition helped him or hurt him? Viewing his life as a whole, one can hardly doubt that he makes a good bargain when by foregoing his early supplanting of the older man he saves himself in turn from being supplanted at a time of life when check or discouragement may be fatal.

CHAPTER XVII

SEX ANTAGONISM

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BETWEEN men and women (taken collectively) there smolders an antagonism which, under provocative circumstances, bursts into flame. The sources of this antagonism are various.

MEN AND WOMEN DIFFER IN INSTINCTIVE EQUIPMENT

Men and Women Differ in Instinctive Endowment

Woman has at least one instinct peculiar to her — the maternal — while man is unlike her in the strength of his instinct of pugnacit. Besides, it is not at all likely that certain other instincts, e.g., the hunting instinct, the instinct of display, the instinct of domination and the instinct of self-abasement, are apportioned equally between the sexes. It is, perhaps, such differences Nietzsche has in mind when he says, "Men and women are alien — never yet has any one conceived how alien." The fact that by nature the sexes react differently to certain situations makes each of them seem queer sometimes to the other. In the refined classes the sexes are from childhood carefully trained to react in definite conventional ways; but among natural people each sex harbors a certain pitying contempt for the other. The prevalent opinion among rough old farmers when they are by themselves and talking freely is that women generally are touchy, unstable, flighty, vain, irresponsible and sly. But their women folk gathered about a quilting frame agree that for the most part, men are coarse, sensual, self-willed, violent, egoistic and unreasonable. Each opinion has something in way of solid fact to go on. Owing to this congenital difference between men and women in way of reacting to life situations, there is a chasm between the sexes, in respect to morals and esthetics, which may cause clash in matters of public opinion and politics.

MAN HAS MONOPOLIZED THE AGENCIES OF CONTROL

As chief trouble-maker and protector of his own from trouble, man has arrogated to himself the sole determination of the large

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Men Have Fixed the Framework of Law Within Which Women Live

outer events in the life of the family, the community, the tribe and the state. For the thousands of years his decisions related to little else than war, peace and security, women consented to their exclusion. But since man-made law, instead of custom, has fixed in detail the rights and duties of spouses and since the man-made state has come to touch in an intimate way the family, children, education, recreation, industry, public health and public morals, the male monopoly of control of law and of the state is more and more resented by thinking women.

MAN HAS MADE IDEALS FOR HIMSELF AND FOR WOMAN TOO

Men Have Made Ideals for Themselves and for Women Too

Among most peoples, the ideals men follow have been worked out by men, but the ideal for women has not been worked out by women. In its chief lines it has been fixed by masculine taste. In Japan, for example, it is as plain as print that the mould into which the daughter's soul is poured is man-made, whereas the mould in which the son's character is shaped is by no means woman-made. The female is to be adorned, modest, self-abnegating, gentle, retiring and domestic because it suits the male to have her so. The world over, presumptuous man has not only formed his own conceptions of what women ought to be and to do, but has even brought about an emotional acceptance of these conceptions by woman herself. The wide divergence in the meaning of "virtue," "honor" and "modesty" as applied to different sexes is a masculine invention. How much it costs the human female to be the creature he requires her to be, how many of her possibilities are sacrificed, and whether she is happy in the rôle he forces on her, are questions which never occur to the self-confident male.

As women perceive how man has moulded the character and destiny of their sex to suit *his* pleasure and comfort, to embody *his* notions of what woman and the family should be, they become deeply resentful. Since a thing so intangible offers nothing to strike at, they struck so much the harder at man's political domination. The bitterness and exasperation that lay behind the equal suffrage movement, especially in England, came not so much from man's monopoly of the state as from his claim to make woman after his own image. What really was at stake was not the ballot so much as the right of women to form for themselves womanly standards of judgment and character as

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the pre-condition to their eventual equal cooperation with men in shaping and regulating the life of the family, the community and the state.

PROTEST OF THE UNMARRIED SELF-SUPPORTING WOMEN

No Place Has Been Made in Society for the Unmarried Woman as for the Wife

Such place as has been deliberately made in society for woman is a place for the married woman. What with her legal right to be supported by her husband and her conventional right not to labor outside the home, the wife is by no means badly-off. But the adjustment between the sexes has been disturbed in countries of male emigration (England, e.g.) by the growth of a great army of celibate, self-supporting women. Without a realm of their own as the wife has, they set up claims to be admitted to all man's occupations and prerogatives and to influence inter-sex laws and relations, altho having no such relations themselves. The result is strife between marrying and non-marrying women and marked antagonism between the latter class of women and men.

SEX ANTAGONISM UNNATURAL AND TRANSIENT

Sex Antagonism Can Be but a Transient Phenomenon

Thus, in spite of the ancient biological adjustment between the sexes, in spite of Nature having had to make the ways and traits of each sex attractive to the other, in spite of the innumerable love affairs between individual men and women, it happens at times that the sexes come into conscious opposition and their members become solidary along sex lines. A tension so unnatural and painful is bound, however, soon to be relieved. It has arisen from loss of belief in the rib story in Genesis, in the legend of Eve and the serpent, in the witchcraft superstition, or in the doctrine that because of menstruation woman is "unclean," or has developed out of a novel situation such as that created by the social functions of the modern state, by the migration of industry from home to factory or by the rise of a numerous class of celibate women. All the serious causes of trouble can be removed by readjustment of the ideals of womanhood, of the division of labor and responsibility between the sexes, of woman's place and prerogatives in the home, in industry, in society, in the state. A thorough adjustment once effected may continue to give general satisfaction for generations, until new knowledge or a new social situation brings on another period of strain.

CHAPTER XVIII

CLASS STRUGGLE

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Economic Interests Are Involved in Class Struggle

INTER-GROUP struggle may arise out of disagreement as to the best means of attaining a common end, as when political parties wrangle over the question of federalism or unity, of centralization or state rights. It may arise out of contradiction in way of feeling or thinking, as we see in warring schools — idealism *versus* naturalism, mediaevalism *versus* modernism, romanticism *versus* realism. But class struggle springs out of interference of economic interests aggravated usually by the fact that one class holds itself higher than the other and assumes to exercise over it some kind of domination which the other resents.

WHY CLASS STRUGGLE COMES AND GOES

Economic or Technological Changes Hurl One Class Against Another

A class struggle is precipitated by an economic or technological change which throws up a new class or threatens to ruin an old one. The Roman public land (*ager publicus*), the spoil of conquest, brought on the struggles with which the Gracchi were identified. Later the saturation of Italy with enslaved war captives called forth the convulsive efforts of the dying small-husbandman class. Cheap access to foreign breadstuffs led, eighty years ago, to the struggle between the landlords of England and the factory lords over the question of the "corn laws." In the closing decade of the last century the appreciation of gold precipitated among us a struggle between debtor and creditor groups which quickly died down when, after 1897, gold began to depreciate. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin near the end of the eighteenth century caused an immense cotton-planting interest to grow up in our South about African slavery, which until then seemed to be waning. A low price for agricultural produce resulting from too-rapid bringing of Western public lands under cultivation caused the Middle Western farmers such hardship half a century ago that they locked horns with the nearest group which might be held responsible for their plight, namely

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the railroads. A heavy inflow of low-standard alien workers brings on a series of struggles by native labor aiming to resist the inevitable economic effects of the immigration.

Some Changes Relieve Tension

On the other hand, there are economic developments which allay class oppositions. The drive of manufacturers for a high protective tariff weakens when some of them who invade foreign markets with their goods begin to care more for "free" raw materials than for "protection" to their product. The spread of rural cooperation may put an end to the outcry of small farmers lest they be swallowed up by large capitalistic farming. Cooperative stores may end the friction between the public and the retail merchants. With a fuller knowledge of the conditions of factory efficiency intelligent employers drop voluntarily certain exploitive policies which peculiarly exasperate their workers.

ALTERNATION OF SOCIAL PEACE WITH SOCIAL STRIFE

Class Struggle Flares up and Dies Down

A class struggle is too exhausting to be let run on forever. As a rule it leads to an adjustment in customs, moral standards, institutions, law, or the constitution of the state. Each gains a part of what it has contended for, so that the opposition between classes dies away or becomes secondary to certain common interests or feelings. Ere long this adjustment is accepted as if it were a part of the order of nature, and later generations can hardly conceive of any other arrangement. Thus there was social peace in England from the abolition of villenage until the beginning of the enclosures. But the hour strikes when some economic or technological change ruptures this concord and class strife breaks out afresh. This in turn may lead to anarchy, alternating revolutions, foreign intervention or domination, or else to a new adjustment ushering in another June of social tranquillity.

Not the Same Theories of Society Prevail Under Social Peace as Under Social Strife

In the course of a long period of social peace the consciousness of class fades, national or cosmopolitan feeling becomes strong, and society is deemed an outgrowth of natural fellowship and the spirit of cooperation. Morals, law and state are regarded as consistent one-piece creations of conscience or reason. Conversely, a period of sharp conflict establishes the idea that society is not born of good will, but is the arena of contending groups which, however, have more to gain by sticking together than by going asunder. The social order is looked upon

as a balance of opposing forces, while laws and institutions are seen as compromises rather than products of logic. CHAP. XVIII

TACTICS AND WEAPONS OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Each Class Marches Under the Banner of "the General Interest"

In order to win the sympathy and support of other elements each class camouflages its self-interest in the struggle by standing for some high-sounding principle or broad social interest. The landed proprietors demand the shutting out of cheap foreign-grown foodstuffs in order that a rugged rural population be preserved as the nation's reservoir of potential military strength. The feudal lords never admit that they covet the fruits of other men's toil, but ever harp upon willingness to die for "throne and altar." Landlords confronted by a tenants' union set themselves up as defenders of the rights of all property-owners. Manufacturers solemnly declare that their sole purpose in seeking high tariff protection is to be able to pay "an American wage." To beat the labor unions employers pose as champions of "industrial freedom," as unselfish upholders of the "open shop" principle that the workman may work where and for whom he pleases and under such conditions as he deems fit. In resisting the demand for a legal working day they profess disinterested solicitude for the freedom of the wage earner to contract for such length of day as may seem good to him. Workingmen pressing for the exclusion of Oriental low-wage labor assume the noble role of protectors of Christian civilization against the heathen. The wealthy resist progressive taxation, not frankly because it would flatten their purses, but on the ground that it would "penalize industry and thrift." Every threatened privileged class exploits the occasional breaches of the peace which invariably accompany popular movements in order to strike the fetching pose of champion of "law and order."

Economic Weapons in Use

Each class arouses the class consciousness and kindles the fighting spirit of its members by shrieking that its very existence is at stake, or by circulating shameless lies relative to what members of the opposing class have said, or attempted, or done. If possible, it makes an economic thrust at its opponent. Landlords evict tenants who will not pay the higher rental demanded. Tenants reply by agreement not to pay the higher rental and to rent no premises from which a tenant has been evicted. Workmen strike; employers lockout or blacklist. Farmers build

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their own grain elevators and stockpens. Manufacturers' associations obtain an ordinance against picketing and menace with ruin any employer who signs an agreement with union labor or runs a closed shop. Workingmen by refusing to work alongside non-union men compel them to join the organization. By union labels a special market is created for goods of the "fair" employer, and by sympathetic strike the employer who uses "scab" product is embarrassed, or by boycott the market for his products is curtailed. By "striking on the job," the "Italian strike," or "sabotage," the productiveness of the concern is greatly reduced without the bosses being able to detect who is responsible.

If Law Is Weak the Methods of Warfare Are Imported into Class Struggles

Each side has its spies to worm out the secrets of the other. Workingmen intimidate non-strikers and beat strike-breakers or else hire sluggers to do it. Employers hire gunmen, mine guards and watchmen to beat up labor leaders and provoke violence. They make "plants" of explosives in order to "get something" on the labor leaders. Bomb outrages are met by deportations. Each side gets together funds to defend its own law violators and to convict the law violators of the other side. If public sympathy or support is decisive, then the fighting class embarks on a campaign to win the favor of the public. It pleads the purity of its motives and the rightfulness of its claims, demonstrates that they are identical with broad social interests and brands its opponents as predatory, lawless and desperate. In case the class has political representation and can gain some of its ends *via* politics, it tries to establish a political front and lends its aid to other groups on such terms as to secure from them the utmost possible help in realizing its own purposes.

THE STAKES OF CLASS STRUGGLE

What They Struggle About

In the *economic* field the strife of classes rages about rentals, length of lease, ownership of tenant's improvements, prerogatives of landlord, wages, length of the working day, Sunday labor, avoidable risk in industry, "speeding up," method of payment, collective bargaining, the closed shop.

In the *social* field it involves recognition of the union, methods of hiring and "firing," shop discipline, and the question of the workers' share in management.

In the *political* field it concerns itself with:

a. Constitutional rights, franchise, sharing of offices, appoint-

ment or election of officials, remedies for their misconduct, selection and powers of representatives, rights of assemblage, of association, free speech, free press, etc. Composition of army and the courts, position of church and school in the state. CHAP. XVIII

b. Class privileges and their abolition. Equality before the law.

c. Distribution of public lands, of landed property, of taxes, of tariff benefits; rights of property, of inheritance, of contract, vested rights, legal position of master, of employer, of creditor; nationalization of industries.

FACTORS WHICH AGGRAVATE CLASS CONFLICT

No Jury

1. In case the opposing classes include nearly everybody there is no great impartial public to appeal to. The issue lies with the interested parties themselves, which means that not argument will settle it, but force or threat of force.

2. The interests of two classes may be so intertwined that either is in a position to inflict upon the other extreme economic injury. In this case there is a prompt and unscrupulous resort to drastic measures in order to end an intolerable situation. Compare a mine strike or a dock strike with a mill strike.

Domination of the State by One Class

3. When one of the classes predominates in the state, the opposing class can get no justice and expects no consideration before legislatures, courts, or officials. Conscious that the cards are stacked against it, it renounces agitation and from the very outset contemplates resort to ruthless economic pressure or to violence.

4. Inequality of classes before the law and the enjoyment by one class of hereditary rule, of the right to vote or to hold office, while the members of the opposing class lack these rights.

5. The denial to an aggrieved class of free speech, free press, free assemblage, free association and the right of petition, destroys its hope of obtaining redress by lawful means and makes it feel that any weapons and any tactics are justified if they promise success.

6. Control by the intrenched class of the agencies for forming public opinion and influencing the action of the public authorities — the newspapers, the churches, the schools, the clubs, the commercial organizations, the party machinery, the platform, polite society — so that the spokesmen of the aggrieved class are

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cried down and ridiculed, stigmatized as malicious disturbers, wanton trouble makers, adventurers, or professional agitators, while their utterances are twisted and garbled so as to appear foolish, monstrous or dangerous. When one side can get no fair hearing, it dispenses with appeal to the general sense of right and seizes the weapons at hand.

7. Differences in social level, betraying the "better" element into a display of contempt and arrogance which the humbler class bitterly resents.

No Path Up

8. When there are no gangways from the inferior to the superior class, the members of the former may present a solid front, since none of them cherishes the hope of rising some day into the envied class, or seeing his son do so.

Want of a Social Binder

9. Loss of religious faith or cultural interests and growth of materialism sharpen oppositions which arise out of clash of economic interests.

10. Weakening of the spiritual ties which hold together and restrain classes whose material interests collide. Such are race-unity, remembrance of common descent, religious fellowship, pride in a common past, patriotism, faith in the nation's mission and devotion to ideal social aims.

FACTORS WHICH MITIGATE CLASS CONFLICT

Loyalty to Nation Competes with Loyalty to Class

1. A popular war tends to close social seams and chasms. The sharpening of national consciousness dulls class consciousness. Patriotism triumphs over class egoism. As a French soldier puts it, "Here we are, peasant and mill hand and marquis, in the trench together, sharing the same hardships and dangers and living like brothers." In the same way common oppression, as in the case of Poles and Bohemians, strengthens the national spirit and delays the growth of class spirit.

2. Any riving of society along other lines — racial, tribal, sectional, creedal — lessens its cleavage along the line of class.

New Economic Opportunities Soothe Angry Classes

3. Class contention abates to the degree that other goods or chances than those contended for come into the focus of attention. Lazarus fraternizes with Dives if abundant opportunities of improving his lot are opened up by conquest, state colonization, emigration, or easy access to public lands. The pushing outward of national frontiers, the discovery of rich and accessible gold deposits, the opening of new markets, the rapid industrial

development resulting from heavy investments of capital, damp class strife. Had Germany realized her program of conquest, her class struggles would have died away before the dazzling prospects of loot, dominion and exploitation presented to Germans of every social degree. Failure, on the other hand, quite logically brought on the social revolution.

Interest in Non-economic Goods Lessens Strife Over the Division of Wealth

4. The switching of the people's interest to non-economic varieties of good allays the strife between Haves and Have-nots. When men imagine a rosy future to be won by ridding themselves of wasteful or weakening vices or by achieving good health thru the practice of personal hygiene, their minds are taken off questions of wages and profits. The gospel of "Cut out booze!" soothes labor. The same is true of the pursuit of self-improvement, the quest of culture, etc. Then immersion of both classes in a common current of suggestion and discussion qualifies their antagonism. Attention and like reaction to wars, calamities, adventures, heroic deeds, athletic contests, momentous inventions and discoveries constitute a binder for classes which are being thrust apart by economic developments.

5. Class strife is damped by the shifting of attention to spiritual blessings, which are never "a bone of contention" because there is always "enough to go around." A Catholic economist observes that "By equalizing all men, rich and poor, as partakers of the same religious mysteries, it (Christianity) teaches them to regard inequalities of wealth and power as minor matters." Employers do well to finance the evangelist with the message, "Get right with God!" The rich have good reason to want the masses to be deeply concerned about "salvation."

A Lower Class Will Long Remain Quiet if Continually Its Leaders Escape into a Higher Class

6. A huge exploited class may be kept inert, provided there are enough ladders by which those who would agitate and lead it may climb out of their class. The American labor movement was retarded by the fact that the frontier afforded haven to the strong discontented spirits among the wage-earners — the natural leaders who would have welded and wielded their class had they stayed with it. Then too, in an early day there was a chance for a workingman to "get ahead" and become an employer. The ending of free land and the concentration of industry in the last decade of the nineteenth century closed these exits, altho there is still the chance of being promoted to foreman or superintendent or making a career in politics. The average wage-

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earner, however, has given up hope of becoming a capitalist and has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-earner. Here is the secret of the great growth of class consciousness among wage-earners in the last twenty-five years.

Knighthood or ennoblement of a few successful commoners has a magical effect in tranquillizing a commonalty. Educational opportunities, politics, access to the professions, facilitate the escape, from peasantry or working class, of individuals who would have been its inspirers, organizers and leaders. Moreover, for one who escapes upward there will be ten hopers making no outcry over their lot. There is, then, nothing like *diffusion of opportunity* to keep questions of social justice from being raised.

Charity an Emollient

7. Undoubtedly the practice of charity, the relief of distressed members of one class by philanthropic members of the opposing class, has a mollifying effect. A great capitalist testifying in 1914 before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations said, "If it were not for what has been done and what is being done we would have revolution in this country."

Growth of a Mediating Element

8. As society becomes complex there are more on-lookers to inject impartial mediating opinion into class struggles. In the European Dark Ages a trading class interposed itself between lords and serfs. Later the growth of the town burghers blurred the clear-cut distinctions of the feudal system. Formerly the Christian Church as arbiter between contending classes exerted a restraining influence. In modern times the conflict between proprietors and laborers has become like a law suit before a jury, owing to the rise of the liberal professions, the coming up of the "fourth estate," i.e., the newspapers, the formation of an army of educators and the appearance of a corps of independent moulders of opinion — writers, lecturers and artists. This causes the issue to turn less on economic or physical power and more on reason and justice. Still, there is no denying that such juror groups as newspapermen, lawyers and engineers, are more or less dependent on the capitalists.

The State as Impartial Keeper of the Lists

9. The social tension is relieved when law and State rise above the suspicion of being the tool of any class. Manhood suffrage ends the open political advantage of one class over another. The servants of the state instead of being drawn from the favored class are now trained men recruited from every social level and therefore in some degree impartial. As umpire the democratic

state sees to it that the opposed classes fight it out according to the rules laid down. Consequently one thinks as citizen rather than member of a class. A study of the votes on the twenty-six most radical social-reform measures which in five years were submitted to the voters of Oregon shows that in four cases out of five capitalists and laborers voted alike. In other words the average difference between their support of radical measures was twenty votes in a hundred.

The boards of education in American cities are composed chiefly of business and professional men. Nine-tenths of their members fall outside the class which makes up five-sixths of the population. This want of representativeness is a misfortune in some respects, but it is neither intended nor resented. If it were, the voters would speedily correct it.

Class Contentions Brought Before the Bar of Science

10. The submission of the pleas and claims of contending classes to the objective scientific investigation of government and private bureaus and of university scholars is another hopeful modern tendency. It blunts the weapons of falsehood, camouflage and sophistry, enforces closer agreement between the classes in their assertion of fact and strengthens the side less able to state its case.

THE STRUGGLE OF CLASSES IN MODERN SOCIETY

The Machine as Root of Discord

The modern "social" question has been created neither by labor agitators nor by capitalist greed. It arose inevitably out of the development of machine industry. About the middle of the eighteenth century began a series of inventions which caused the textile industry to be translated from the worker's home or shop to the factory. Instead of owning his tools he worked the machinery owned by others and became a wage-earner. Since then the factory system has extended to branch after branch of manufacturing, until the handicraft system is dead and we are committed without reserve to industrialism.

Enormous Expansion of the Capital Factor in Production

Moreover, in nearly all branches the mass of equipment utilized in aid of production has enormously increased. The volume of capital per worker is constantly greater and from this flow very interesting consequences. To-day when a hundred cotton-mill operatives strike they tie up perhaps ten times as much capital as a hundred operatives who struck eighty years ago. Stoppage is ten times as costly to the capitalist as it used to be

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and therefore he is more restless when tied up by a strike and resorts to more ruthless measures to break the strike. The strikers realize this and become heedless of public interests in their endeavor to foil the strike-breakers. Of necessity, then, the parties to the labor conflict tend to become more reckless and lawless in their tactics.

Along with the growing prominence of the capital equipment, goes a tendency toward larger production units. Every census shows that the average plant in almost every branch contains more capital and employs more men. Automatically this diminishes the importance of the individual workman to the employer and augments the importance of the employer to the workman. In a ten-man shop, the employer loses one tenth of his force and of his profit, if one disgruntled workman quits him. In a hundred-man shop, he loses only one per cent., so that, as units grow, the protesting workman is less and less considered. On the other hand, the bigger the units, the fewer, so that it becomes less likely that the workman, without changing his residence, can find another factory in his line to employ him.

The Individual Workman Becomes a Midget

This automatic belittlement of the individual wage-earner gives rise to an irresistible movement toward the organization of labor. Those who work in factories not theirs, with machines not theirs, on materials not theirs, under conditions they have no voice in determining, and turn out a product that belongs to some one else, discover that they have an interest in common. Only when combined can they compel the employer to pay heed to their grievances and claims. The union of the employees of a single concern may equalize them with their employer as respects power to inflict loss, but it does not equalize the two parties in respect to holding-out power. Hence, the workers unite themselves into wide unions in order to insure themselves financial support during a strike.

Workers and Capitalists Become Distinct Classes

The hope cherished a generation ago that by cooperative production the workers would in time come to own the equipment with which they work has quite withered. There is no prospect whatever that the ownership of industrial capital will be disseminated through the working class. On the contrary, there is a clear tendency toward the concentration of wealth. The parties interested in machine industry more and more segregate into two groups very unequal in size — the capitalists, who con-

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tribute no personal exertion to industry, and the much larger body of workers, who may own their homes but hold merely a trifling amount of share capital.

Precarious Position of the Capitalist Class

Since the capital factor in industry constantly expands, the share of the total product going to ownership grows. The time may come when half or two thirds of the social income will be claimed in the name of property. Moreover, less and less is this sharing automatic. It is affected by the temper of the workers, their degree of organization, their feeling about their union, the state of the law, the spirit of the courts, the attitude of public officials, the tone of the press, the pulpit, and the platform, and the tenor of the instruction of the young. Hence, the more active portion of the capitalist class endeavors to spread over society an invisible net of control. The class has lost most of its political defenses — hereditary upper houses, restricted suffrage, indirect election, party control, the unlimited use of money in politics — but it is not without secret compensating gains. The agitation for the total overthrow of private capitalism and the substitution of an untried public capitalism naturally alarms capitalists and stimulates their endeavors to control opinion. As quietly they draw together and develop weapons and tactics to repel attack, their leaders and agents become more formidable, not only to attackers, but to inoffensive individuals and interests which stand in their way. So the capitalist class not only defends itself, but aggresses at a time when aggression is madness. This is why the position of social-minded persons identified with neither class, who wish to investigate and consider until it becomes clear what economic system will be best for society as a whole, becomes constantly more difficult. Industrialism, child of the power-driven machine, moulds society with appalling power and causes its members more and more to cluster at opposite poles of the social spindle. The situation is grave and no one can tell how much graver it will become before an adjustment will be found which will pull this thorn from humanity's flesh.

CHAPTER XIX

INSTITUTIONAL COMPETITION

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The Established Tries to Destroy Its Competitor

UPON the appearance of a serious competitor the first of any organization or institution is to *destroy th petitor*. The "trust" regularly cuts the price of its p to a point below cost of production in localities in wh "independent" seeks to sell. A shipping combine wil "fighting ships" which are called into play when a new ship line enters their trade. As soon as the competitor ann a sailing date the combine advertises a steamer to sail on this date and offers a freight rate below the actual cost riage. In this way the competitor is prevented from sec cargo.

The Real Motive of Sumptuary Laws

The highest social class hobbles by minute sumptuary tions the classes which aspire to come up abreast of it. In Japan, for example, a man might not use his money as he The farmer, craftsman, or shopkeeper could not build a h he liked or procure himself such articles of luxury as h might incline him to buy. The richest commoner might no certain things to be made for him, might not imitate the h assume the privileges of his betters. Although urged on ec grounds, sumptuary restrictions are doubtless intended to the monopoly of prestige by the higher social orders.

Slavery Attacked as a Menace to the Free-labor System

The spread of anti-slavery feeling among the producing of the North during the generation before the America War was due to their perception that slavery is a menace free-labor system. In accounting for the early abolit slavery in Massachusetts John Adams remarks: "Ar might have had some weight . . . but the real cause w multiplication of laboring white people who would not suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much t injury."

Monogamic marriage, tolerant enough toward monas Shaker celibacy, which put yet greater strain on human

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suppresses as a dangerous rival every laxer form of sex relation —"free love," the "complex marriage" of the Oneida community, Mormon polygamy, etc. Nor has it acknowledged any right of groups of men and women to order their relations according to their own convictions and judgment.

Monogamy Strikes at Every Easier Form of Sex Relation

After representative government with its inevitable strife of parties has been established, the parties controlled by the propertied strive to crush the rising party which asserts working-class interests. To avoid meeting it in the arena of public discussion they hypocritically denounce it as anti-patriotic and subversive, a movement with criminal aims led by scoundrels and assassins, which is not entitled to the belligerent rights of a legitimate political party but deserves only to be stamped out by suppressing its propaganda and hounding its leaders. Thus was outlawed the socialist party in Germany during Bismarck's ascendancy. On the other hand, labor organizations oppose all proposals looking to state health-insurance, because many of them have developed insurance schemes of their own and they fear lest their power to hold their members will be weakened under compulsory state insurance.

Bourgeois Political Parties Will Not Fight Fair Against a Working-Class Party

The whole history of religious persecution is the history of an organization trying to establish itself as a monopoly by ruthless destruction of the spokesmen of competing doctrines and movements. In Diocletian's time Roman religious beliefs were weak while the Christian beliefs were vigorous and spreading. In desperation the old system made a ferocious attempt to exterminate all Christians. A thousand years later the church stamped certain sects out of existence and strangled heresies in the cradle. Says Coulton:

A Threatened Religion Always Persecutes Its Rival if It Can

> . . . What Darwin took at first for a smooth unbroken grass land proved, on nearer examination, to be thick-set with tiny self-sown firs, which the cattle regularly cropped as they grew. Similarly, that which some love to picture as the harmonious growth of one great body through the Middle Ages is really a history of many divergent opinions violently strangled at birth; while hundreds more, too vigorous to be killed by the adverse surroundings, and elastic enough to take something of the outward colour of their environment, grew in spite of the hierarchy into organisms which, in their turns, profoundly modified the whole constitution of the Church. If the mediaeval theory and practice of persecution had still been in

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full force in the eighteenth century in England, nearly all the best Wesleyans would have chosen to remain within the Church rather than to shed blood in revolt; and the rest would have been killed off like wild beasts. The present unity of Romanism so far as it exists, is due *less to tact than to naked force.*[1]

Instructive is the change of front of the church with respect to the Franciscans. The religion of poverty and love propagated by Francis of Assisi took possession of the whole church. The most beautiful chants of the Middle Ages and the greatest sermons originated among the Franciscans and the Dominicans closely related to them. New life was given to art and scholarship. All the great scholars of the thirteenth century — Thomas of Aquinas, Bonaventura, Albertus — were of the begging orders.

Why the Church Reversed Her Attitude Toward the Franciscans

But the church which had granted authority to St. Francis and established the Little Brothers of the Poor as a monastic order turned against it when the ideal of poverty spread so far as to menace her power and riches. She declared what the Franciscans were preaching about the poverty of Christ and the Apostles to be heresy and demanded submission. All the "spiritual" Franciscans were condemned as heretics. Cardinals who still defended the ideal of poverty, a few years before so popular, fell into disgrace. There was a bitter struggle, but at the end of the fourteenth century the worldly church had crushed the propaganda of the poverty ideal. As a result the monastic orders lost in inspiration and influence and by the time of the Renaissance monasticism had fallen into "laziness and worthlessness." [2]

In 1660 the English Episcopal church became established and entered upon the same policy of persecution of which formerly it had been the victim. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed enforcing the use of the amended Book of Common Prayer. In 1664 the Conventicle Act made illegal all meetings for worship except according to the church. In 1665 an act was passed forbidding Nonconformist ministers to approach a borough. Not until 1689 was the endeavor to crush the sects abandoned.

The Puritan Theocracy Sought to Crush Every Rival

The Puritan theocracy in New England in its persecution of Antinomians, Baptists, and Quakers showed a like ruthless de-

[1] "From St. Francis to Dante, p. 40.

[2] See Harnack, "The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal."

termination to crush every movement which might bring about its overthrow. CHAP. XIX

WITHDRAWAL FROM COMPETITION

The Motive of Japan's Self-isolation

In case the rival cannot be destroyed one seeks to *withdraw from competition*, just as an army which cannot whip the enemy retires behind fortifications. The rulers of Japan, discovering early in the seventeenth century that the Jesuit missions were disintegrating a society founded on communal custom and filial piety, slew the native Christians, expelled all foreigners save the Dutch traders, who were confined to a 3-acre isle, made it a capital offense for any Japanese to leave Japan, destroyed all vessels capable of long voyages, and attacked any European ships entering a Japanese port, excepting the vessels of the Dutch company. In like manner China in the sixteenth century sought to isolate itself from foreign influences.

The Motive of Chinese Exclusion

In the third quarter of the last century, it became clear that the common American standard of living could not possibly survive the competition of the Chinese coolies' standard of living. The friends of the American standard finally erected a barrier against the Oriental standard in the form of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The wide support of this policy outside the manual laboring class shows that it was the reaction of a threatened standard rather than of interested American wage-earners.

Why Chinese Officials Opposed the Missionaries

The endeavor of Chinese officials to restrain the Christian missionaries from going about preaching and teaching in China, as well as the violences which from time to time they have deliberately stirred up against them, sprang from the fear of the literary and official class lest the ideas the missionaries introduce should make it harder to maintain their system of governing and exploiting the masses.

A state with few economic opportunities open cannot hope to attract immigrants and therefore by every means in its power it binds its citizens to it. It argues "Once a Batavian always a Batavian," limits emigration or expatriation, cultivates the goodwill of its nationals withersoever they may wander and frowns upon their naturalization in another state.

A church that cannot crush its competitors claims special protection from the state. In South America until recently the state has been used to protect the religious monopoly of the Roman

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State-protected Religious Monopolies

Catholic Church. Only since 1865 in Chile have non-Catholics been permitted "to practice their religion inside private buildings belonging to them." Until 1907 the law decreed that any person conspiring "to establish in Bolivia any other religion than that which the Republic professes, namely, that of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church," is a traitor. The constitution of Peru declared "The Nation professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion; the State protects it and does not permit the exercise of any other." Not until 1915 was the last clause abrogated.

Throughout Spanish and French America the church secured and kept in her hands the control of schools, burial grounds, marriage, and poor relief. Until lately Russian Orthodoxy, unable by ferocious persecution to uproot the dissenting sects, had the state punish with great severity any proselyting among the Orthodox, whereas the latter might proselyte as they pleased.

A Church Conscious of Weakness Takes no Chances with the Children of Its Members;

If the state will not shield her, the church that shrinks from meeting competition builds for herself a citadel within which she can continue her life untroubled by the assaults from the outside world. The early church permitted mixed marriages in the serene confidence that the Christian would convert, rather than be converted by, the pagan mate. But an edict of Louis XIV forbade marriage with heretics, because of the "continual temptation of perversion." An expanding church does not admit very young members and is willing that the children of its members should freely choose their religion; but a church hard pressed hopes to forestall the judgment of its young people by incorporating them at an early age and requires its members to rear their children straitly in the faith. It conducts its young through a tunnel of church schools and societies, lit by church lamps, instead of letting them into the broad daylight of the public school, the social settlement, the social center, and the public playground.

or Their Minds

Great attention, too, is given to hedging the minds of the adult faithful. The church forbids them to read certain periodicals, patronize certain libraries, see certain plays, or follow certain university courses. Such maternal nervousness is a sure sign that the church, feeling the *Zeitgeist* to be alien, counts on surviving by holding on to her people rather than by winning new converts.

The college loath to modernize its curriculum and methods follows the same tactics. It cultivates assiduously its alumni and

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The College Fearful of Competition Cultivates Its Alumni

appeals to them to send their sons to "dear old Bokhara." Conversely, an institution like the West Point Military Academy is held to an antiquated type of military education because the "West Pointers" who send their sons there want the school to remain as they knew it.

Oxford University, in Adam Smith's day, was careful to curb competition lest it disclose weaknesses. Students enrolled in a college might not leave it for another without first securing permission of the college they sought to abandon. Academic discipline appeared to have the purpose of making the students attend worthless, distasteful lectures and behave toward the professor, whether he performed or neglected his duty, as if he had performed it with the greatest diligence and ability.[2]

The Classics Intrench Themselves

In the face of the growing interest in new studies, such as natural science and social science, the classics intrench themselves in the college curriculum as "required subjects," while the new attractions are kept in the inferior status of "elective subjects."

Keeping New Parties off the Ballot

A party menaced by a new political movement it dares not meet in the open gets the weather gage by a law excluding from the official ballot a party which has not received a specified percentage of the ballots cast at the last election.

In business a means of holding competitors at bay is the "factors' agreement" which binds the dealer to handle only the goods of a certain producer. Again, an organization may require of the dealer the handling of articles upon which the patents have expired, as a condition of obtaining other articles, or the handling of a certain article or line of articles as a condition of the handling another article or line of articles.

CONSTRAINED ADAPTATION

A third means of surviving competition may be called *constrained adaptation*.

The government-led Westernization of Japan was not essentially a conversion to Occidental thought but the reluctant taking over of certain Western institutions and policies in order to save Japan from absorption by some Western power.

It can hardly be doubted that the Counter-Reformation within the church at the Council of Trent was an adaptation forced by competition.

[2] See Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Vol. II, pp. 348–49.

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Oriental Religions Are Borrowing Christian Doctrines in Order to Survive

In China the activity of the Christian missionaries is the native faiths to assume higher forms in order to Chinese scholars are reading into the Confucian classics moral ideas which they have unconsciously imbibed from C literature. There is, indeed, a movement which franl itself "Confucio-Christianity." In some parts, under t of missionary competition, the Confucians band together a out wandering gospellers of their own to spread the doct the sage at fairs and festivals.[4] Chinese Mohammedar dhists and Taoists form "national associations," found (even girls' schools) and maintain funds to relieve the of the poor, help needy children to go to school and a the birth, marriage and death ceremonies of the destitu

The Ceylonese Buddhists speak of the "incarnation" "immaculate conception" of Buddha and comfort the c assuring them that the Lord Buddha will presently recei into his arms. The Buddhists of Japan besides sending sionaries of their own have adopted various methods Christian competitors. They have stated times for pr They have pastoral visitation, street preaching, Sunday prison and army chaplains, and special organizations fo men, women, and children. They maintain charities, pu perance, and set up schools.

Partly from the soaking in of Christian ideas and p tactics for surviving missionary competition Hinduism is combed with reform movements and crude doctrines a are rapidly being sloughed off.

Competition Forces Unwelcome Changes upon Religious Denominations

Owing to competition among themselves American denominations have had forced upon them changes dista the ruling element. The "amusement" clause of the M Book of Discipline has in many places become a dead l cause its enforcement would be a serious handicap in con with less strict churches. The success of the undenomi Young People's Christian Endeavor Society caused large inations to organize young people's societies of their o like manner the churches develop "institutional" or s recreative, features, not because their members want them order to attract or hold the young people, the men, or churched. President Vincent says:

[4] See Ross, "The Changing Chinese," pp. 256–57, 279.

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The prevalent manifestations of goodfeeling, brotherliness, and co-operation between ministers and churches are in large measure unconscious forms under which they compete for the approval of a public opinion which demands tolerance, friendliness, and unity. The minister and the church who hold aloof quickly feel the displeasure of the community and distinctly lose caste.[5]

Competition May Compel an Institution to Act Against Its Own Nature

Competition may constrain an institution to adopt a line which lies quite outside its proper sphere. Early in the nineteenth century English Nonconformists founded the British Schools Society. Not to be outdone the Established Church, which hitherto had utterly ignored elementary education, entered upon the work of promoting schools. But it was natural enough for the Nonconformists to make a special effort in the direction of education because their adherents were largely of the English lower orders, which were at that time very illiterate. The Established Church, however, was in no such case and took upon herself altogether too heavy a burden of education. In the end a situation developed which led to the state taking over all the church schools.

Conservative Institutions Forced to do Something on Behalf of the Working Class

The modern socialist movement has forced conservative institutions to concern themselves with the material welfare of the masses. In the 70's of the last century in order to check Lassalle's movement, Bishop Kettler of Mayence organized in Rhenish Prussia Christian trade unions which spread to Germany and Austria. In Belgium the socialists, in accordance with their principles, organized cooperative banks among the poor. In order not to lose influence over them the church started cooperative banks of her own. In the same way cooperative credit associations have been organized in Quebec in connection with the church.

No doubt the advanced social program of the Federal Council of Churches in Christ was adopted by most of the Protestant churches reluctantly and only because it was realized that "something must be done to win back the workingmen."

The whole German system of social insurance was in the first place urged by the Socialist party. Bismarck and his Junkers hated the socialists and cared little for the welfare of the working class, but they took over these alien policies in order to make German wage-earners proof against socialism.

[5] *Methodist Review*, January, 1906, p. 75.

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Competition Obliges Bourgeois Parties to Cover Themselves with a Thin Pro-labor Veneering

When wage-earners are enfranchised or organize themselves, political parties officered and run by the propertied class vie with each other in wooing them. Whether they shall gain anything from this competition depends upon their intelligence. The politicians run their man as the "log cabin" candidate, court labor with genial handshaking and barbecue, appease labor leaders with political jobs, scatter promises they do not intend to fulfil, give their policies a labor flavor (high tariff urged as the "protection of American workingmen"), pass measures which they know the courts will annul as unconstitutional, throw labor a few sops, or offer substantial benefits while at the same time providing capitalists with new benefits along other lines. Only in case all this does not avail is it necessary for the party to lend itself seriously to realizing a working-class program.

Constrained Adaptation of Rival Cities

The competition of young American commonwealths for immigrants contributed to the spread of democracy in the United States by promoting the extension of the suffrage and the early adoption of a system of public education. The competition of ambitious cities for residents or factories obliges them to adopt policies respecting saloons, prostitution, parks, boulevards, schools, police, handling of labor troubles, etc., which may be wormwood to the majority.

Inter-university Rivalry Liberalizes Universities

Universities are loath to change, so that their adaptation to new conditions is usually forced by competition. The universities of the seventeenth century, incrusted still in scholasticism, adopted the principle of freedom of inquiry which prevailed in the newly founded scientific academies — only because in no other way could they attract the best scholars of their day. Americans are fortunate in having two types of university — endowed and state. Their competition for professors broadens academic freedom while their competition for students tends to modernize the curriculum by introducing such new subjects as economics, sociology, business administration, and journalism. The catering of corporate universities to the prejudices of possible donors would hamper gravely the teaching of the social sciences, were it not that they have to meet the competition of the liberal state universities.

In public institutions and in private institutions there are elements of strength and elements of weakness, but they are not identical in the two types. Accordingly if the two types are

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Advantages of Equitable Competition Between Public and Private Institutions

brought into honorable competition within the same field each is stimulated to develop the kind of strength the other has, along with its own kind of strength, and to rid itself of the weaknesses peculiar to it. Fortunate therefore is the society which has both public and private high schools, both state and corporate universities, both state and private forestry, both state and commercial insurance service, both parcel post and express companies, both community and private agencies of poor relief, and both state and philanthropic institutions for dependents. In order that there may be true competition there should be no alliance of any sort between private societies or foundations and the government. The government should neither subsidize them nor be subsidized by them, but each should go ahead on its own resources and show the best it can do for the people.

The Methods of a Rival Are Adopted but Not His Principles

Of course under constraint an institution adapts its manners and methods to the situation rather than its principles or policies. Instance the suppleness of the Jesuits who become "all things to all men," winning men of the world with their polish and lovers of truth with their zeal for science. Instance a Tory university reeking with oil-trust money which builds a huge stadium and dazzles young people with the splendor of its athletics. A political party camouflages its aristocratic principles with leaders or candidates who are extra-approachable and democratic in manner. The Russian bureaucracy tried to hold in check the radical labor movement by sending out its own secret agents to organize labor unions.

SPECIALIZATION

Finally an institution *eludes competitors by specializing*. This is like the ingenious business man who keeps ahead of his imitative competitors by continually differentiating his product so as to meet a special demand. As people get used to it and more and more demand it, it passes from specialty into staple. But he has a fresh differentiation ready, slight, perhaps, but significant enough to awaken a new demand or a modification of the original demand — another specialty.

An Institution Eludes Competitors by Finding a Field of Its Own

Thus a college may snap its fingers at rivals offering courses in commerce and journalism and keep its halls filled by offering the best-framed and best-taught classical course of study. When yellow journalism seems to be carrying all before it, some jour-

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nals save themselves by excluding blare and flare and offering the judicious a soundproof retreat amid the howling of Bedlam. Until lately the British navy refused to enter the common arena of competition among the professions. No one could become a cadet without a recommendation from some relation or friend of the family in the navy. This restriction might seem to limit fatally the talent the navy drew upon. But at a time when all such barriers about the professions were coming down, the prestige accruing to the navy from its social exclusiveness may really have operated to supply it with more than its fair share of talent.

A Church Avoids Liberalizing Itself by Going in for Beauty

A church which in its attitude towards science, morals, and social work is out of harmony with its time is not doomed to languish. It may win by specializing in religious esthetics. With dusky and mysterious interiors, magnificent mosaics, wonderful Gregorian music, forests of lighted candles, and domes blue with incense smoke, it may attract those who are sensuous or mystic in temperament, and make headway while more rational faiths are losing ground.

TACTICS OF THE NEW

So far we have considered the behavior of the *established* when threatened by the *new*. Now the new has its policies, too, but they will be quite other than the four I have described. Because it is young and weak, it will not assault its established competitor with intent to *destroy*. It cannot *withdraw from competition* because it has no intrenchments to withdraw to. It is not constrained to *adapt* itself because it is already adapted to the time that sees its birth. If it *specializes* there is no competition at all between it and the established.

The New Can Outbid the Established

On the other hand the new follows tactics of its own which are not open to the established. Unlike its competitor it can court support by *making extravagant claims and promises*. The old church, party, or education is limited in its promises by its past performance; but there is no such check on the claims of the young aspirant and so it gives free rein to its imagination. The new remedy sets up as a cure-all. The untried reform poses as a panacea. When the Fourier phalanx, cooperative production, the single tax on land values, the " natural " system of learning foreign languages, or the monitor system, is first proposed,

it is possible to paint glowing pictures of the blessings it will bring.

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In Order to Vie with the Prestige of the Old the New Resorts to Sensationalism

It is logical that the new should often strive to arrest public attention by *sensationalism*. The established has the prestige of antiquity and possession. The new covets prestige but it must gain it by other means. The new-rich in order to break the spell exercised by old families sets a pace in extravagance and ostentation which amazes and which the former social arbiters cannot stand. The leaders of new departures in art or literature excite curiosity and awe by long hair, flowing ties, unfashionable cut of dress, bizarre actions, and studied unintelligibility. Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, made an immense sensation with his story of the Angel with its inscribed plates of gold. New religious movements are much readier than the old with claims of signs and wonders. Nor is charlatanry confined to the unworthy new. Even champions of the worthy new may stoop to it.

The New Drives Straight at Original Human Nature

The new *appeals to the more easily aroused demands of human nature*. The demand for *freedom* is one of these and hence the new holds out the lure of release from some form of restraint. Jesus proclaimed, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light." Paul preached "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law." Luther taught that the Gospel brought sweet relief from the onerous requirements of the Law. The Protestants offered Christians freedom from "prelacy." The Anabaptists threw off the gyves of private property and held "prophecy" open to all. Quakers rejected the sacraments and a paid clergy. The Free Methodists offered a free course for the expression of religious feeling. Philosophic individualism makes great headway for a time, and the doctrines of anarchism have a seductiveness of their own. The teaching of the superiority of the artist to all conventions including the Ten Commandments will always meet with response. "Free verse" is a rallying cry, while symbolism is welcomed as loosing the artist from the trammels of the actual. The "free election of studies" is a winning cry for an assault on the fixed curriculum.

Freedom is, however, not the only winning appeal of the new. Aside from real merit, *ritual*, *secrecy*, and *exclusiveness* are other means of gaining a following.

Thanks to these tactics, a new thing without merit may tri-

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umph over the time-tested old if the plane of popular intelligence be low. Among the ignorant, valuable institutions may be shaken by the impudent and blatant competition of charlatans, fanatics, and false prophets. For a while people may turn from the hard-won and age-sifted truth to follow bubble promises and iridescent sophisms. That which is suited to man's deep and lasting needs may be abandoned for that which chimes with his fitful and passing desires.

IN AN INTELLIGENT PEOPLE NO INSTITUTION SHOULD BE EXEMPT FROM COMPETITION

The Attack of the New Forces the Old to Adapt Itself to Its Task

When, however, the plane of intelligence is high, the competition of the new is to be welcomed, because it is chiefly competition that keeps institutions adapted to the conditions they face and the people they serve. Without this spur the institution stands still or even degenerates. Since this is so, no institution ought to be shielded from competition by any special privilege or advantage. The youthful sect, party, college, doctrine, or ideal ought to have the same freedom to agitate, advertise, proselyte, and organize that the established enjoys. Moreover, individuals must be free to de-

The New Should Not be Handicapped

tach themselves from old organizations without unreasonable forfeiture and join new ones or none at all. Inter-party migration tends to liberalize parties; inter-denominational migration to liberalize churches; inter-university migration to liberalize universities; inter-state migration to liberalize governments.

The Automatic Inheritance of Allegiance is a Vice

An institution that has the children of its members for nothing need not cater to them and, if it will content itself with such following, it may petrify in its tracks. It is not good, therefore, that the sons should inherit creed, party allegiance, college allegiance, local allegiance from their fathers; they should choose in freedom. The parent that fastens unescapable bonds upon the child before it has reached the age of choice confiscates the child's personality.

If, instead of inheriting their adherents, organizations had to win them, they would accommodate themselves to to-day. The contrasts between organizations would connect less with differences of origin and history and more with the actual contrasts of type in contemporary society. In religion, for example, Methodists and Catholics, Friends and Christian Scientists, Dunkers and Salvation Army, would, no doubt, find each a type they were best

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suited to, but certainly some of the one hundred and fifty sects in the United States would perish because their *raison d'être* is in distant European conditions or remote centuries.

Democracy Implies the Free Competition of Institutions in a Fair Field

The competition for public favor between parties, sects, schools, universities, governments, manners, and ideals brings about that adaptation of institutions to the will of the people which characterizes democratic society. The competition of manners for adoption makes them direct and expressive instead of stiff and formal. The competition of ideals for favor humanizes them and brings them into accord with the real soul of man. As organizations and institutions compete, their line of development becomes subject to the general trend of opinion and feeling. With *status*, institutions make the character of their people; with *competition*, the people make the character of their institutions. When everyone chooses his religion instead of inheriting it, the people make the religion instead of the religion making the people.

CHAPTER XX

ADAPTATION

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We Resent Wilful Difference in Ways

WILFUL unlikeness in the outstanding features of life is likely to beget misunderstanding and aversion, even hatred. It is not the differing actions of other people we resent so much as the standards which these actions are supposed to reflect. The gentleman does not resent the overalls and horny hands of the workingman because he believes that the latter would lead a gentleman's life if he could. But if a man of means, contemptuous of the gentleman's horror of productive labor, deliberately gives himself up to real work, his conduct will be resented. When diversity of ways is perceived to run back to diversity of standards, hostility is aroused, for each regards the ways of the other as a covert attack upon his own standards.

Every People is Egocentric

Then, too, each people notices and plumes itself upon cases in which its standard is higher or more exacting than that of another people and overlooks cases in which its standard is lower or laxer. Thus we despise the coolies of Canton for eating the unclean rat, but cannot understand that the Mohammedans and Jews despise us for eating an equally unclean animal, the pig. We rate the Japanese as immodest because formerly the sexes bathed together in undress, but it never occurs to us that the refined Chinese regard our nude paintings and statuary, our art posters, our advertisements of corsets and underwear, our décolleté gowns and our round dances as exceedingly immodest.[1]

[1] "When one of the Imperial princes was en route to England, he attended his first foreign dinner in Shanghai. About twenty-five of the guests were English and American ladies, dressed in their most elaborate gowns, which means extreme décolleté. The attachés of the prince had tried to prepare his highness for the sight he was to witness; but they had evidently underestimated its startling qualities, because when the prince arrived and gave one amazed look at his hostess and the line of waiting ladies, he was nonplussed. He looked pitifully for his interpreter, and not receiving aid from him, put down his head, shut his eyes, and bravely stumbled around the room, groping blindly for each lady's hand, as he had been informed that he should shake hands with them." Elizabeth Cooper, "The Harim and the Purdah."

We feel that our care of the body suffices; but the Japanese who take a hot bath every evening — even the humble coolie at least twice a week — complain that crowds of Americans are offensive in odor, while the Chinese have developed a care of the ears which is totally unknown to us.

Contrast Between English and Orientals in the Resort to the Fists

The Englishman not only regards fighting with the fists as a proper means of settling personal differences, but he is inordinately proud of the practice. He idealizes it and cherishes it as a precious national institution. The Asiatic, on the other hand, regards physical encounter — save in extremity — as befitting barbarians, and in the Englishman's propensity to strike or kick those who have offended him he sees nothing but a violent and uncontrolled temper.

The irate Oriental feels that he marks himself off from the animal when he heaps opprobrious epithets on his enemy and indulges in biting reflections on his character and ancestry — in other words, when he assails the *personality* of the offender rather than his *person*. The wrathful Occidental, on the other hand, feels that the right thing to do is damage the anatomy of whoever has excited his ire.

Two Ways of Regarding Politeness Between Opponents

Under the greatest stress the Colombian never abandons the forms of politeness and in his eyes the indignant, impatient American who storms, swears, and threatens, is simply wanting in self-control. The American, however, never thinks of his unrestraint as a sign of weakness, but is quite sure that the politeness of the Colombian to his adversary argues an insincere and treacherous character. The Georgian on the Canal Zone despises the Panamanian for his touch of the "tarbrush," while the Panamanian looks down on the Georgian for his engaging in manual labor.

Much Depends on the Point of View

The American is shocked by the Chinaman's lack of chivalry toward his wife; the Chinaman is shocked by the American's lack of reverence toward his parents. The American jokes about the absence of toilet soap in his chamber in a French hotel, while the hotel keeper shrugs his shoulders at the American's willingness to use a cake of soap after previous guests instead of carrying his own soap.

These instances illustrate the propensity of every people and of every fragment of a people embedded in a composite population, to regard its own ways as refined and excellent, in accord

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with reason and the will of God, and to depreciate others to just the degree in which they depart from its own standard.[2]

Heterogeneity Limits Cooperation

Now when elements with clashing traditions respecting diet dress, manners and social customs are intermingled, their mutual aversion and contempt not only limits gravely their cooperation but may even cause friction and violent conflict.[3] The persistence within society of elements with quite incompatible standards is therefore recognized as a weakness and a danger;[4] so that thoughtful persons and others in their thoughtful moments endeavor to find among the heterogeneous a basis for mutual respect and cooperation. Hence, partly spontaneously and partly as the result of intelligent effort, diverse ethnic elements gradually *adapt* themselves one to the other. The chief steps in the process are *toleration, compromise, accommodation,* and *amalgamation.*

It Is Desirable that the Social Elements Should Adapt Themselves to One Another

[2] "It is one of the most curious features of Austro-Hungarian life that there is not one of the many races that make up the inhabitants of the Dual Monarchy that is not regarded with hatred, or fear, or aversion or contempt by all the others." Palmer, "Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country," p. 122.

[3] "The impoverished Magyar always insists upon his social superiority to the equally impoverished Hun. The Pole looks with contempt upon the Lithuanian and the latter is prompt to assert his claim to a more remote ancestry and an older civilization than the former. This racial pride, equally strong in each race, is the cause of many conflicts between these men when they meet over their cups. In the early years of mining it precipitated many a conflict between the immigrants of the various races from the British Isles, and the bloody and fatal quarrels which so frequently take place among the Slavs are due to the same cause. It has its influence upon the industry. The Pole and Lithuanian will not work together. Foremen have to study national proclivities and prejudices with regard to the productive efficacy of groups of employees under their management. In large towns, where the mine employees live, the various races form colonies, and generally keep within the limits of the section appropriated by them." Roberts, "Anthracite Coal Communities,' p. 25.

[4] "Difficulties sometimes arise between the Porto Ricans and the Japanese. The latter are seldom the aggressors and rather fear the Porto Ricans in individual disagreements, but on one or two occasions when their blood was up, it required prompt and energetic police interference to prevent a sudden extermination of the local Porto Rican population. The customs of the two people are so different that trouble is apt to result if they are placed in neighboring quarters. The Japanese, for instance, have a naïve disregard for proprieties of costume and occasionally walk about their camps in an absence of attire that Americans or Europeans tolerate only in works of art. Porto Ricans object to this in case of adults, and one or two small riots have occurred as a consequence." Report of U. S. Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii.

TOLERATION

Nearly all founders and teachers of religion have seized upon the antipathies arising out of irrelevant differences as the very first of the evils to be cleared away in order to make room for the higher life of man. And always the ancient spirit of the tribe has fought against these teachings, neglecting or distorting them.

The Higher Religions Stand for Brotherhood

The promulgators of universal religions — Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, Mahomet — preach toleration[5] of the stranger. Jesus, with his parable, "Who is my neighbor?" and his teaching of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, launched a mighty influence for fraternity. But the Church came to cultivate hatred of the heretic, while the belief in collective responsibility for individual error made each community or nation intolerant of heterodoxy. Thus Christianity became one of the most terrible dividers and embroilers of men and brought on the devastating "wars of religion" of the sixteenth century.

Mahomet Replaced One Intolerance with Another

Mahomet with his doctrine of the brotherhood of all within the faith broke down innumerable tribalisms; but by teaching his followers to draw the line against the unbeliever rather than against the stranger, he replaced one kind of intolerance with another. He threw down many barriers but raised another, far more inclusive, it is true, but higher.

Polytheism Tolerant, but Not Monotheism

The ancient polytheistic religions fomented no hatred between peoples. Each nation had its own gods, but recognized the reality of other gods and their right to be worshipped. So long as an individual did not openly reject and insult the gods of his people, he might, if he pleased, worship a deity belonging to some other country. It is monotheism, with its insistence that all gods but one are false, and every worship but one is a defrauding of the

[5] Toleration does not imply equal sympathy. The law of sympathy is thus stated by Pearson: "The natural history of morality begins with the kin, spreads to the tribe, to the nation, to allied races, and ultimately to inferior races and lower types of life, but ever with decreasing intensity. The demands upon the spirit of self-sacrifice which can be made by our kin, by our countrymen, by Europeans, by Chinamen, by Negroes, by Kaffirs, and by animals, may not be clearly defined, but, on the average, they admit of rough graduation, and we find in practice, whatever be our fine philosophies, that the instinct to self-sacrifice wanes as we go down in the scale. The man who tells us that he feels to all men alike, that he has no sense of kinship, that he has no patriotic sentiment, that he loves the Kaffir as he loves his brother, is probably deceiving himself." "National Life from the Standpoint of Science," pp. 49–50.

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one true God, which makes the man of another faith an "infidel."

Nature Men Are Tolerant

Unless they suspect witchcraft, natural men are more tolerant of alien ways than culture men. Thus Wallace observes of a polychrome town in Malaysia,

> "Five hundred people in Dobbo of various races, all met in this remote corner of the East, as they express it, 'to look for their fortune.' Most of them have the very worst reputation for honesty as well as every other form of morality — Chinese, Bugis, Ceramese, and half-caste Javanese, with a sprinkling of half-wild Papuans from Timor, Bobber, and other islands — yet all goes on as yet very quietly. This motley ignorant, blood-thirsty, thievish population live here without the shadow of a government, with no police, no courts, and no lawyers; yet they do not cut each other's throats, do not plunder each other day and night, do not fall into the anarchy such a state of things might be supposed to lead to. It is very extraordinary!" [6]

Culture Men Are Often Intolerant

Culture men, on the other hand, cherish standards which make them intolerant of many features in the life of nature men, e.g., nudity, uncleanliness, trophy-hunting, "witch-smelling," infanticide, slavery, polygamy, and such like.

It is significant that the antagonistic nationalisms which in the course of the last half century have set East European peoples by the ears, did not grow up from the uncultivated folk masses but were inspired from above. It was the scholars, writers, and poets who made their fellow-nationals conscious of the difference between themselves and others.

We Tolerate Unlikeness which Has Originated Under Peculiar Circumstances

The practice of toleration springs from the spirit of toleration and this is promoted by certain ways of looking at unlikeness of customs. One is that such unlikeness *shows not worth-difference,* but *only difference in circumstances and history.* The English are certainly more open-handed than the Scotch, but they will never despise the Scotch as stingy if they realize how the climate and soil of Scotland have made frugality a requisite of survival. One will be slow to condemn the Russian peasant as lazy if one considers how a long winter interrupts work and breaks up good habits. A practice like duelling, vendetta, or lynching is less shocking if one understands the conditions out of which it naturally grows.

[6] Wallace, "The Malay Archipelago," Vol. II, pp. 214–16.

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Change of Venue to the Inner Forum Favors the Tolerant Spirit

Again, tolerance is fostered by the idea that *peculiar manners and customs are, after all, externals;* that it is *inner* qualities that count; that the outwardly unlike may be brothers in soul. The truth is that tradition governs externals rather than the heart, so that men who differ in diet, dress, and manners — which have been handed down to them — may feel and respond alike in a given situation. Now, the classification of our fellows which is practical is on the basis of ability and character. We have to appraise them as strong or weak, capable or incompetent, wise or foolish, steady or flighty, "straight" or "crooked," in order to know how to deal with them. We should perfect and extend such a classification and ought not to allow a pointless classification according to externals to blur it.

Difference in Ways is Made Endurable by Ignoring Them

Furthermore, toleration is furthered by *regulated avoidance.* In a mixed population the rules of intercourse embrace certain reticences which all know and act upon and which lessen friction between the unlike. In India ethnic elements the most diverse are able to dwell intermingled, circulate freely, and have dealings together by observing a strict etiquette of non-interference, and even inattention, respecting one another's diet, family life, social customs and religious practices. Or take the reserves between the Saxons and Ländlers in Transylvania. The latter are as German as the former, but are descended from Austrians who settled there in the reign of Empress Maria Theresa. Says Gerard, "It is curious to see how these two German races have existed side by side for over a hundred years without amalgamating, and this for no sort of antagonistic reason, for they live in perfect harmony, attending the same church, and conforming to the same regulations, but each people preserving its own individual costume and customs. The Saxons and Ländlers have each their different parts of the church assigned to them, no Saxon woman would ever think of donning the fur cap of a Ländler matron, while as little would the latter exchange her tight-fitting fur coat for the wide-hanging mantle worn by the other." [1]

We Are Tolerant of Differences in Fellows and Team Mates

Finally, toleration of non-essential differences is promoted by mutually advantageous contacts and relations. Buying and selling, borrowing and lending, fellowship in associations, team work, citizenly cooperation oblige us to judge others as *individuals* and break up our *lump judgments* of them according to some exterior

[1] "The Land Beyond the Forest," pp. 96–7.

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peculiarity in food, garb, or rite. This is why homogeneous rural communities, the members of which have rarely dealt with those unlike themselves, are sensitive to external differences, while cosmopolitan cities where all types of men meet and mingle, are broad-minded. The dissipation of prejudices by acquaintance and cooperation is illustrated by the experience of the Americans during and after the Revolution.

Nationalizing Effect of the American Revolution

"The Americans knew but little of one another, previous to the revolution. Trade and business had made the inhabitants of the seaports acquainted with each other, but the bulk of the people in the interior country were unacquainted with their fellow citizens. A continental army and a Congress composed of men from all the states, by freely mixing together, were assimilated into one mass. Individuals of both, mingling with the citizens, disseminated principles of union among them. Local prejudices abated. By frequent collision asperities were worn off, and a foundation was laid for the establishment of a nation out of discordant materials. Intermarriages between men and women of different states were much more common than before the war and became an additional cement to the union. Unreasonable jealousies had existed between the inhabitants of the Eastern and of the Southern states; but on becoming better acquainted with each other, these in a great measure subsided. A wiser policy prevailed. Men of liberal minds led the way in discouraging local distinctions and the great body of the people, as soon as reason got the better of prejudice, found that their best interests would be most effectually promoted by such practices and sentiments as were favorable to the union." [8]

COMPROMISE

Pressure Produces Willingness to Compromise

The necessity for cooperating prompts the unlike to compromise their differences and abide together rather than go asunder or fight each other. As the pressure grows they consent to more compromises; as the pressure lightens they refuse to compromise longer. The medley of peoples making up the Austrian Empire remained for centuries in one state chiefly because, if they failed to hold together, foreign conquerors would reduce them to a status poorer than they were vouchsafed under the Hapsburgs. During most of the two centuries before 1815, the discordant ele-

[8] Callender, "Economic History of the United States."

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ments in Austria had to stand shoulder to shoulder in wars involving the fate of the dynasty. After the relations of Austria to her neighbors had become stabilized, the long pent-up discords broke on the surface in the revolution of 1848 and later in the adjustment by which Hungary obtained self-government. The downfall of the military empires in Eastern Europe, 1917–18, allayed the fears which held unlike peoples in one leash and each people would have nothing less than full self-determination.

It is Not Well to Multiply Needlessly the Occasions for Compromise

Compromise involves strain, for each compromising element has to yield something to which it feels itself entitled. Consequently, one means of promoting good will among the diverse ethnic elements incorporated into a society is to lessen, so far as possible, the number of occasions for compromise. In case these elements inhabit distinct districts or regions this may be done by allowing every such area the utmost measure of home rule. The federal type of government is, therefore, peculiarly suited to the needs of the peoples lately under the Hapsburg or Romanoff scepter, who wish complete freedom in all cultural matters yet have good economic reasons for remaining in some kind of political union.

"Culture Autonomy" the Solution for Intermingled Nationalities

In case the unlike are not segregated but live intermixed, the only means of avoiding occasions for compromise is "culture autonomy."[1] This contemplates that government should concern itself with little else than order, defense, and economic relations, leaving each national element to organize as it pleases and provide itself as it will with churches, schools, libraries, hospitals, charitable institutions, means of recreation, etc. The law would probably not make education obligatory, restrict child labor, or regulate marriage and divorce, but such matters would be left to the religious authorities of each nationality.

ACCOMMODATION

The element Inferior in Culture Will Accommodate Itself to the Other

If one element in a mixed society is clearly superior in culture it will be imitated by the rest and all will meet on its plane. The domination of the Incas over the hunting tribes of the Sierras was firmly based because they it was who had taught these nature men to till and irrigate, had introduced the llama, founded sun worship, put an end to war and established a compulsory system

[1] I found this in favor in Tiflis in 1917 as an equitable solution of the problem presented by the intermingling in Transcaucasia of three distinct and equiponderant elements, viz., Georgians, Armenians, and Tartars.

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of industry. The rapid Latinizing of the Gauls after Cæsar's conquest was due to the plain superiority of the Roman culture. Rome made no effort to assimilate them but they Latinized of their own accord. Within forty years Druidism lost nearly all its authority, the Gauls renounced their warlike habits and became interested in peaceful labor, and Roman speech, schools and towns were everywhere.

Conquerors May Adopt the Culture of Their Subjects

Even conquerors will accept the tongue and civilization of their subjects in case these are clearly superior. The Franks who conquered Gaul in the sixth century were quickly Gallicized and soon disappeared as a distinct order in the population. The Manchù conquerors of China accepted the Chinese culture. The impression Rome made on the barbarian mind comes out in the naïve confession of Ataulfus the Goth that "in the first exuberance of his strength and spirits he had made this his most earnest desire — to utterly obliterate the Roman name and bring under sway of the Goths all that had once belonged to them — in fact, to turn *Romania* into *Gothia* and to make himself, Ataulfus, all that Cæsar Augustus had once been. But when he had learnt, by long experience, that the Goths would obey no laws on account of the unrestrained barbarism of their character, yet that it was wrong to deprive the commonwealth of laws without which it would cease to be a commonwealth, he at least for his part had chosen to have the glory of *restoring* the Roman name to its old estate and increasing its potency by Gothic vigor, and he wished to be looked upon by posterity as the great author of the Roman restoration, since he had failed in his attempt to be its transformer." [10]

Reciprocal Accommodation

If, on the other hand, the cultures juxtaposed are on about the same plane their bearers reciprocally influence one another.[11]

There are various factors which promote the process of accommodation.

[10] Hodgkin, "Italy and Her Invaders," Vol. V, p. 402.

[11] "Among the infinite causes of the struggles that engage civilized nations — struggles for outlets and for means of subsistence, clashings of pride, metaphysical quarrels — the vague and obscure antipathies of race occupy the very lowest place. What is taken for them is merely the clash of colliding traditions. The clash of traditions, however ancient and deeply rooted, cannot produce a state of ceaseless warfare since two opposing traditions, when brought into contact, end either by an adaptation of the one to the other, if they be equally strong and sound, or by the conversion of the one into the other. The struggle of races can end only

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Stirring the Diverse Elements of the Population Through One Another

Intermingling. The Incas hastened the assimilation of the populations under them by transferring bodies of peasantry from one district to another.[12] Charlemagne deported Saxons into south Germany and Franconia while Franks and Slavs were imported into Saxony. The spread of the Roman culture was greatly accelerated by the visits of Roman merchants to the remotest bounds of the Empire and by the settlement of Romans in every province. So long as such intercourse and settlement continues, the diverse peoples grow more alike. But, owing to the roads becoming infested with bandits after the central authority broke down, this osmosis ceases in the fifth century and the forces of differentiation gain the upper hand. The old provinces erected into independent states diverge more and more from one another, a whole family of languages grow out of Latin and several nationalities with distinct speech, customs and institutions develop out of populations becoming ever more unlike.

If Communications Fail, Localities Develop on Divergent Lines

Contact Contemporises Groups at Different Points on the Same Line of Development

Improvements in Communication. Intermingling is greatly facilitated by good highways, which bring forward into the present groups which have been sealed up in some mountain region like the Scotch Highlands, the Caucasus, the Pyrenees, the Abruzzi, the Peruvian Sierra, or the Appalachians. Contact has but a slow effect on groups moving on diverging lines of development — such as Hindoos and English, Turks and Armenians — but it effaces with startling rapidity unlikeness between groups at different points on a certain line of development by bringing quickly forward the belated group. Thanks to better communications the Highlanders have caught up with their fellow British, the Corsicans with the French, the Sardinians with the Italians and the Appalachian mountain folk with the Americans.

A common religion. A religion which provides the entire in-

upon the battle-field and by extermination. The struggle of traditions, though carried to the battle-field, can find its definite solution only in the depths of thought and conscience." James Darmsteter, "Selected Essays," pp. 173–4.

[12] "At first the original organization of the servient pueblo remains undisturbed. The chief will continue to exercise his former functions under the supervision, it may be, of a resident chief representing the dominant pueblo. The people continue their own religious practices. It is only when newcomers introduced by the policy of the dominant pueblo so far predominate as to supersede the original organization that the district will begin to assume the appearance of a homogeneous state. This had occurred in Peru and was occurring in Mexico." Payne, "History of the New World Called America," Vol. II, p. 53.

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Religion is the Climate of the Spirit

tellectual background establishes such fundamental agreements among its followers that the toughest lump in the population begins to dissolve when it is no longer held together by a religion of its own. This was why Charlemagne forced Christianity upon the Saxons even at the point of the sword. The conversion of the heathen barbarians between the fourth and the thirteenth centuries was in every case a momentous event, for it at once brought them within a new set of influences and they began to share in the movement of European culture. Just as the heathen Slavs who settled in Greece in the sixth century came on so rapidly after they were Christianized that they furnished a Patriarch to Constantinople in the eighth century, so the heathen Danes who settled Northumbria in the ninth century were providing England with archbishops within less than a hundred years. In the wake of the religion of Mahomet followed presently the brilliant Saracenic culture. In the foreign missionary activity of to-day so many elements of Occidental culture are blended with purely religious teachings that the net effect is the promotion of resemblance and sympathy between races on the most divergent lines of cultural development.

Adherents of the Same Religion Are, as it Were, Dwellers in the Same Climatic Zone

A common law. A dual system of law preserves the distinctness of ethnic elements in society, while a law common to all weakens unlikeness by ignoring it. The Visigoths in Italy quickly blended with the Italians when at the end of the seventh century the two laws, Visigothic and Roman, which had existed side by side, were fused into one law common to the two races.

Community of Language Essential to a True Society

A common language. A foreign language cocoons an ethnic group and keeps it alien. Ignorant of social science, Americans have allowed groups of foreign born thus to encyst themselves until there are young people born and educated in America who cannot understand or speak the English language. Requiring all children here to attend schools conducted in English would have nothing in common with the odious attempt of Czars and Kaisers to denationalize unwilling subjects by putting their language under ban.

Separate Schools Look Toward the Past; Common Schools Look Toward the Future

The public school. Separate schools for different elements in the population deepen and extend the sense of difference because of their emphasis on distinctiveness of race, history, language, literature, religion and culture. On the other hand, the school that is common to all stresses the present and the future rather

than the past and emphasizes the matters common to all, such as present life interests. Compare the assimilative achievement of the Americans in the Philippines *with* the common school with that of the Dutch in Java *without* it.

The common newspaper. With its emphasis on the present the newspaper weakens the grasp of the traditions which hold apart the unlike. Minds reached by the same newspapers are oriented in the same direction and find new and common interests. The American "yellow" newspaper, which, by means of scare-heads, color pictures, and gong effects, gets itself read by the foreign-born, has been a potent agent of Americanization.

The Trade Union as Assimilator

Voluntary associations crossing ethnic lines. Joint action in defense of common interests quickly overcomes the suspiciousness and aversion between the unlike. An investigation by U. S. Commissioner of Labor Wright shows that among the foreign-born in the stock yards district of Chicago each nationality has its own churches, schools, building and loan associations and political clubs. The one association which embraces all nationalities is the trade union, which organizes men according to occupation and refuses to recognize nationality lines.

"In his trade union the Slav mixes with the Lithuanian, the German and the Irish, and this is the only place they do mix until, by virtue of this intercourse and this mixing, clannishness is to a degree destroyed, and a social mixing along other lines comes naturally into play."

The Trade Union Brings About Cooperation of the Unlike on the Basis of Community of Economic Interest

"In every trade union, however conservative, there are members who will occasionally get the floor and advise their hearers to vote high wages and shorter hours at the ballot box. As the groups of Slovaks gather around after the business is over to have these things explained to them, many get their first real idea of what the ballot and election day mean, and the relation of these to the Government itself. In their own countries the two essential, if not only, elements of the peasant and agricultural laborer's mind is to believe and obey, or follow. Advantage is taken of this fact here by clan politicians, as well as the clan leader in every department. Once the leader can make these people believe in him, he thinks for the entire group, and insists that their duty consists in following his lead implicitly. Necessarily, the trade union, in order to get them to break away from the leader that opposed the union on industrial lines, would be com-

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pelled to urge them to consider their own personal and group interests as wage workers; to think and act for themselves along lines where they knew the real conditions better than any one else, and certainly better than their leader in a child insurance society, or something else as remote. Here, too, are the first germs of what may be called departmental thinking implanted in their minds — that is, that while a leader may be worthy of their confidence in one thing, it does not necessarily follow that he is so in some other class of interests.

Power of the Bread-and-Butter Interest to Bring People out of Fixed Forms of Life

"It is doubtful if any organization other than a trade union could accomplish these things, for only the bread and butter necessity would be potent enough as an influence to bring these people out of the fixed forms and crystallizations of life into which they have been compressed. Certain it is that no other organization is attempting to do this work, at least not by amalgamation, which is the only way assimilation can be secured among these various foreign elements. The drawing of these people away from their petty clique leaders and getting them to think for themselves upon one line of topics, namely, the industrial conditions and the importance of trade organization, result in a mental uplift. The only way they can pull a Slovak away from his leader is to pull him up until he is gotten above his leader along the lines of thought they are working on."

Fighting Together Solidifies Unlike Elements

Struggle *together* and particularly victory *together* weld the unlike. Says Commons: "For the twenty-five years down to 1900 the racial forces in opposition to assimilation between Slav and English-speaking nationalities in the anthracite industry were dominant. But the industrial disturbances of 1900 and 1902 here . . . directed the social forces into a different channel. On the broad ground of industrial self-interest racial ties are being broken down, largely through the instrumentality of the United Mine Workers of America." [13]

AMALGAMATION

Intermarriage Completes the Process of Adaptation

After the major differences in speech, religion, and customs between intermixed population elements have been planed away, intermarriage takes place freely and the original diversity disappears. The offspring of these mixed unions reconcile in their persons the opposed tendencies. Inheriting from their two par-

[13] "Trade Unionism and Labor Problems," pp. 340–41.

ents distinct traditions they adopt the superior, combine the best elements of both, or else discover an independent standing ground for themselves. Thus vanished the historic oppositions of Israelites and Canaanites, patricians and plebeians, Romans and Goths, Gauls and Franks, English and Danes, Normans and English. Amalgamation is, then, the *end term* of the process of adaptation.[14]

But no such happy ending is possible in case the physical differences between juxtaposed races offer a barrier to intermarriage. Observes Bryce: "It was the good fortune of the Roman Empire that the vast majority of the races whom it conquered and absorbed had no conspicuous physical differences from the Italians which prevented intermarriage and fusion. Race and birthplace were no great obstacle to a man of force. Two or three of the Emperors were of African or Arab extraction. Moreover, the peoples of Southern Europe seem to have less repulsion of sentiment towards the dark-skinned races than the Teutons have. The Spanish and Portuguese intermarry not only with the native Indians of Central and Southern America, but also with the negroes. The French of Canada intermarried more freely with the Indians of North America than the English have done." [15]

A "Color Line" is a Structural Weakness in a Democratic Society

The color line, as it presents itself in various parts of the world and particularly in our South, makes race blending impossible. This is why no "solution" of the "negro problem" is in sight, altho much may be done to improve the relations between whites and blacks. The living side by side of elements which disdain to mix is not objectionable in a society of the Asiatic type which does not aspire to spiritual unity. But in a "democratic" society,

A People Should Bar out a Race it is Unwilling to Mate With

[14] When precious culture elements are in danger of being diluted and finally lost by fusion, the prohibition of intermarriage is justifiable. Nehemiah did the right thing on finding that the Jewish colony at Jerusalem was threatened with absorption among the heathen peoples which encircled it. In his own words —

"In those days also saw I Jews that had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab:

"And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people.

"And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters unto your sons, or for yourselves." Nehemiah xiii, 23–25.

[15] "Studies in History and Jurisprudence," Vol. I, pp. 293–94.

CHAP. XX which covets a social mind, a color line is a source of weakness. Such a society should guard its future by barring out any immigrating race with which its members are loath to mate.

COOPERATION

CHAPTER

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CHAPTER XXI

COOPERATION

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All Large Free Groups Are Formed for Cooperation

ALTHO petty groupings may be prompted by craving for fellowship, all large permanent groupings — when they are not the product of conquest — exist for some *purpose,* which without them could be attained not at all or else not so well. In a word they are *cooperations.* This is why *In union there is strength.* If there be no call to cooperate, *In union there is weakness;* for no degree of likemindeness reconciles people to being held together in an organization which is not doing anything for them. On the open frontier the love of absolute freedom always leads to the complete independence of each family, unless there is need of cooperation. In South Africa, among the wandering or "trek" Boers, strife with the Bushmen was the one thing which made for organization.

Cooperation for Defense the Chief Builder of Large Permanent Unions

The most ancient and frequent motive to union has been *cooperation in fighting.* The migrations of nomads into settled areas and their predatory invasions of strong peoples draw them into large, loose unions, such as that of the Israelites making their way into the land of Canaan, of the Vedic people descending into India, of the Cimbri, Teutones and Gauls clutching at Italy. But such unions are temporary, because attack is optional, whereas defense is imperative. For not being ready to attack there is no such penalty as for not being ready to defend. Hence *fear of being attacked* is the master builder of big permanent unions. The antagonism between tribes and nations has forged men into solid masses. It was not breaking into the land of Canaan which welded the twelve tribes of Israel under Saul and David, but their wars with the neighboring peoples. The Iroquois confederacy of six Indian tribes resulted from the encroachments of the English. Says Barton: "The economic purpose for which the clan organization was formed by the primitive Semitic folk was the defence of their date-growing oases and the domestic animals in their pasture lands, or for attack

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upon similar possessions of their neighbors." Fearful of robber bands armed for plunder, clans "would settle on an oasis, and their older and weaker men would aid the women in cultivating the date palm, while the more hardy of the men led the small flocks and herds out into the neighboring pasture lands." [1]

Submission to the State Fluctuates with the Sense of Formidable Enemies

The mercantile city-states of the Middle Ages — Genoa, Venice, Leghorn — came into being chiefly to protect their trade from piracy and to maintain consuls in the Levant who should look after their commercial interests. So long as there were Indians to be fought and so long as the Dutch were in New York and the French in Canada, the American colonists had a lively state-sense. But when they no longer had cause to fear, internal liberty expanded and jealousy of the state and of the colonial governor grew.

Inability to Cooperate May Prove Fatal

A race too independent in spirit may be ruined from failure to cooperate when common action is imperative. Fustel de Coulanges shows that the Germans of the fifth century were the mere *débris* of a weakened race which had been whipped for three centuries by the Romans, vanquished by Slavs and Huns, above all torn by long internecine wars. Gone were nearly all the peoples Tacitus describes and praises. They had torn one another to pieces through inability to cooperate politically, to form a strong and stable state. We find only Franks, Alamans, Saxons; not tribes but mere bands or fighting hordes; for Franks = warriors, Alamans = all sorts of men, Saxons = axe men. These wandering bands accompanied by their women, children, *lites* and serfs were without attachment to the soil, settled life, and the idea of fatherland. They no longer had stable traditions, customs, laws, elders and assemblies. The old legal and peaceful régime Tacitus beheld had gone under in the centuries of confusion. They still chose their duke or king, but he was endowed with unlimited power on the sole condition of dividing the booty fairly.[2]

Success in War Due Less to Personal Courage and Prowess than to Team Work

He insists that "Gaul was conquered by Cæsar not because the Gauls were timid but because they would not unite and fight together. In great wars and in the face of invasions personal courage is worth little. It is the strength of public institutions

[1] "A Sketch of Semitic Origins," p. 38.
[2] "Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France," Vol. I, pp. 353-9.

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and racial discipline which defends nations. Where the political bond is weak, the invasion at once disorganizes the state, upsets minds, shatters characters and in this growing disorder the invasion succeeds.[8]

Cooperation to put an End to Internal Strife by Creating Organs of Justice

The next weightiest motive for political cooperation is *the establishment of tribunals for the settlement of disputes.* The creation of the Icelandic Republic in the tenth century is an instance. Iceland, remote and poor, was not in need of foreign policy, army, fleet or exchequer. The settlements organized the Republic in order to provide machinery which should put an end to the destructive feuds which raged among them. It was a government without an executive side, developed only upon its judicial, and, to a much smaller extent, upon its legislative side. The League of Nations was born of the same motives which drew together the Icelandic communities.

Public Works

Another common enterprise is the *construction of public works.* The early city builders — in Babylonia, for example, or in Russia — were tillers of the soil who were providing themselves with a *stronghold,* rather than a *market-place.* The essential thing was the *walls* rather than the *houses,* for in case of foray the peasants fleeing from the open country simply camped in the enclosure until the enemy retired. The residence and trading features of the city developed after it was a stronghold.

The Control of Water Forces Combined Effort

The control of water calls for combined labor. It is likely that the early appearance of the despotic state in the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Ganges sprang from the necessity of maintaining irrigation ditches and reservoirs. Stable organization was probably forced upon the Chinese by their need of huge embankments to protect them from the flood waters of the Hoang Ho. In northern Ceylon, concord and union were so indispensable in the community upkeep of the ditches and tanks that injunctions for their maintenance were sometimes graven on the rocks. A few years ago the most ancient and efficient governmental service to be met with in China was the control of the Min River for the watering of the Chêngtu plain. For two thousand years the officials have followed religiously the directions of the engineer Li Ping, who caught and tamed the Min. The upkeep of levees has magnified the Federal Government in

[8] *Op. cit.,* p. 50.

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the eyes of dwellers along the Lower Mississippi, while their dependence upon reclamation works gives certain of our Far Westerners a state-sense rare in other Americans.

The Care of the Tribal Gods Drills Early Men in Cooperation

Worship early becomes a community affair, for private dealing with the unseen powers is outlawed lest it be directed against one's fellows. The primitive agricultural tribe will have little sense of security unless the gods who make the crops thrive become established as the principal members of the community. Hence, the immense significance of the *covenant* by which in return for their care of its interests the tribe undertakes to maintain for the gods temple, vestals, priests, sacrifices and worship. The domestication of the gods not only gave men confidence but trained them in combined action.[4]

Economic Cooperation Usually on a Small Scale

Economic cooperation does not forge large groups, but gives rise to an infinity of small-scale undertakings, such as the collective hunting of a gregarious animal like the buffalo, or of a formidable creature like the elephant or the whale; the common protection of herds against beasts of prey; the common management of live stock owned by separate families; the common mowing of the meadows owned by the village community; and the common up-keep of highways and bridges.

Crops Differ in Their Demand for Cooperation

Each crop has its own bearing on cooperation. In the chestnut belt of France, for example, the main task is not the tending of the trees, but the gathering of the nuts. Since there is here no chance for the exercise of superior diligence, skill, or foresight, the nuts are gathered in common. Young and old, women and men join in the task and the nuts collected are a common stock for the whole family. Seeing there are no advantages in going apart, there is no tendency for the married son to set up for himself. On the other hand, the culture of the vine is individualistic. Nothing is gained by cooperation, so that the married son sets up his household as soon as possible and there goes on a constant division and sub-division of vineyard properties. The vine, therefore, does not nourish the sentiment of solidarity.[5]

Rarely Has There Been Voluntary Cooperation

As a rule, the supply of willing cooperation has been insufficient to meet the need of it. This chronic shortage comes from

[4] See Payne, "History of the New World Called America," Vol. I, pp. 480-6.

[5] Demolins, "Les Français d'Aujourdhui."

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the fact that, unlike bees and ants, we cooperate not from instinct but from reason. Indeed, certain of our instincts are sand on the axles of team work. Nearly every community has its blockheads who "see no use" in joint efforts which the intelligent know are vital to the common safety or welfare, its slackers who hang back because they count on the rest going ahead. Hence, cooperation for common ends a little dim or remote cannot be effected without some compulsion. The anarchists err in decrying coercive authority as always the child of conquest or personal ambition. It is likely to spring up whenever there are life-and-death matters calling for the effort of all — and not getting it! Whatever it be — village palisade, city wall, aqueduct, lighthouse, dyke, fire-break, home guard, fleet, practice with arms — if purblind scoffers and slackers stand in its way, the wise will approve the leader who makes them do their "bit."[6] This is why, as you go back in European history, you come often upon occasions when the best elements rallied to the support of the King's authority."[7]

Often Compulsory Cooperation Has Been Abundantly Justified

Owing to the hedgehog in man, the discipline from one species of cooperation may facilitate other cooperations. The habits forced upon the medieval townsmen by the military necessity of guarding their walls made possible their superb team work in pushing their trade and in rearing noble public edifices. Already I have shown how the long struggle of the Dutch with Spain filled them with the spirit of the hive. No doubt the smoothest team workers to-day are the Prussians and the Japanese — both of whom have learned in the army to subordinate self to the whole. On the other hand, that fine race, the Chinese, work

A Forced Cooperation May Train Men for Good Team Work in Other Lines

[6] In the Canadian Northwest not only is fire fighting obligatory on all the settlers, but transcontinental trains have been held and the passengers compelled to help fight a prairie fire.

[7] "Those who wanted government to be efficient, and desired to carry on an energetic foreign policy, would not wait on the long task of educating opinion. Illustrations of this may be found in the opinions of Wolsey and Cromwell in England, and later in the views of Cecil and Bacon, and again in those of Laud and Strafford. All these men wanted something done — order introduced into the chaos of administration; a single authority everywhere recognized; the tangle of competing and confused governmental agencies reduced to a simple and smoothly working system which would enable ideas to be realized at once without regard to average stupidity. They were all quite honestly on the side of the one power which on principles of natural selection had proved its necessity to the public welfare." "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. III, p. 737.

together poorly because, exempt from the necessity of military cooperation, they never learned even the A B C of discipline.[8]

MUTUAL AID

Mutual Aid Springs up in Hard Times or Among the Hard-pressed

The simplest cooperation is *mutual aid*, i.e., the spontaneous combination of efforts without submission to authority. Since it goes against the grain it is more resorted to in hard times than in easy times. Merchants band themselves into guilds when striving for the recognition by King and priesthood, artisans when struggling for legal rights. Wage-earners will not form unions until they have suffered much, employers until the labor unions are pressing them hard. Fruit growers, cotton growers, tobacco growers, do not combine to control their production until they are at their last gasp. Settlers practice mutual aid most when they are poor and struggling. The American pioneers had their "bees" for sewing, quilting, corn-husking, harvesting, threshing, barn-raising, walnut-shucking, and road mending. If a man was sick, his neighbors "turned in" and with hurrah and good cheer gathered his crop. If he was "burnt out," they came together and cut, hauled and fitted logs for a new cabin. They practiced "exchanging work" in harvest time and no one hesitated to borrow or lend. A generation or two later, when everyone is "well fixed," most of these mutual-aid customs die out and the thoughtful lament that prosperity brings selfishness.

Pride an Obstacle to the Practice of Mutual Aid Among the Social Superiors.

Mutual aid is more in favor with the lower social classes than with the upper. The latter are too proud to lean on one another, e.g., borrow and lend. With them standing alone is a point of honor. The humble, on the other hand, are not too proud to depend on one another and, besides, they can hardly survive unless they stand together. The laboring folk of ancient Rome banded themselves into *collegia*. There was a union for each trade to protect its members against the upper classes, insure security in work, and lend some dignity to existence. Each had its festivals and sacred banquets, its banner, its common fund, its houses and lands, its elected head. No wonder Christianity, the

[8] "There is nothing the Chinese lack so much as *discipline*. Discipline of the army, the workshop, the ship, the school, the athletic field — yes, even of the home — is needed if they are ever to develop that smooth, intelligent team work which makes our race so formidable." Ross, "The Changing Chinese," pp. 335–6.

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religion of love and brotherly aid, captivated this class long before it won over the high and proud.

Bent of the Slavs for Co-operation

Races just out of the old-time communal organization are readier in mutual aid than races like the Dutch, English, and, still more, the Hebrews, which have been longer individualized. Says Palmer, "For all the Slavs the principle of cooperation has a peculiar fascination that almost inevitably attracts them towards one or another of the many possible forms of Socialism. The Slavonic ideal in Austria, as well as in Russia, has always tended in the direction of groups of small manufacturers, cooperating with one another, rather than vast industrial concerns in the hands of a single owner, or controlled on behalf of a company by irresponsible autocratic managers. The typical Slav has an intense dislike — I might almost say an instinctive dread — of the great capitalist, and it is especially this feature in his character that renders friendly relations between Slavonic workmen and Jewish capitalists nearly impossible. The ideals of the two races are the direct antithesis of one another." [9]

The Japanese, too, have the communal background. A government investigator in Hawaii reports:

Facility of of the Japanese in Team Work

"The Asiatics possess a powerful, and as yet but partly appreciated instrument of competition in their genius for cooperation. They manage in some way to agree among themselves in their company contracts; one man does not shirk or lie down upon his fellows when it comes to hard work, and they figure so closely and successfully in these undertakings that it is almost useless to try to compete with them. To specify a single instance, an American builder took the contract to construct a residence upon one of the Government reservations at Honolulu. A Japanese company, or "hui," subcontracted the job from him not only for less than he could do it for himself, employing white mechanics, but for less than the cost would be were he to employ only Oriental labor at prevailing rates of from $1 to $1.50 a day and supervise the work personally. The builder furnished materials and made advances — that is, he was the capitalist — and the company worked its own hours, elected its own foreman, completed its contract satisfactorily, and divided the proceeds without any friction that ever came to the knowledge of its employer."

[9] "Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country," p. 250.

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The Practice of Mutual Aid Tends to Socialise Character

Neighborhood without mutual aid is likely to beget bickering, cliquism and feuds. Farmers often lose their social traits when there is nothing they do together with their hands or their minds. They may be individually prosperous, yet fail to provide themselves with good roads, good schools, and opportunities for stimulating social intercourse. Upright they may be, yet divided by social, racial, and religious schisms. The remedy is to get them to cooperate in the importation of lecturers, entertainers, and travelling libraries, in the improvement of the roads, in the betterment of the schools, in building and furnishing an assembly hall for common use, in mutual fire insurance, in cooperative purchasing, in collectively discussing and thinking out problems which touch the farmers' life, in joint action on behalf of desired legislation and in creating occasions for sociable enjoyment. The varied practice of mutual aid socializes character and engenders social morality.

Growing Resort to Compulsory Cooperation

A common task may be performed by *voluntary cooperation* or by *compulsory cooperation*. In the Middle Ages even military defence was sometimes provided for by common understanding.[10] In the valley of the Wei River in China one sees river dikes, roads, irrigation mains and town walls which owe nothing to authority. There is a tendency, however, for functions which might be discharged by means of voluntary association to devolve upon the state. The citizens maintain a paid police instead of taking turns at "watch and ward." Paid men fight fire instead of volunteer companies. The streets are cared for by a brigade of sweepers instead of a "clean-up" bee.

We Are Turning Away from Voluntary Cooperation on Account of Its Practical Difficulties

The main motives for abandoning free cooperation are:

1. Selfish individuals refuse to do their part in creating conditions like order, security, or salubrity, which benefit all alike.

2. Certain services of joint benefit such as sanitation, educa-

[10] "The allodial proprietors of Languedoc devised another method of defense which gave them the same security and at the same time permitted them to escape the ruinous protection of a feudal lord. The method was, in brief, for several neighboring proprietors to join together and form a sort of league or confederation, in which all guaranteed reciprocal assistance to each. As long as the alliance held, each member was bound, in the interests of the common defense, to occupy those positions in the domains of his allies which were most menaced. The obligations of each member varied according to the importance of his property and according to the needs of adequate defense." Munro and Sellery, "Medieval Civilization," 210–11.

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tion, conservation, street cleaning, food-inspection, provision for recreation, etc., are appreciated least by the ignorant who need them most.

3. The waste of energy in keeping up as many voluntary associations as there are tasks calling for combined effort is avoided by using a single inclusive compulsory organization, e.g., the municipality. The necessity of creating under the voluntary plan as many distinct associations as there are general interests arises out of the fact that the library users are not identical with the school users, the playground users, the water users; with those who want steam rollers, or hose carts, or street sprinklers, or garbage carts, or irrigation ditches, or free antitoxin. Since the circles do not coincide, a special association would have to be organized for each service.

4. What once was done by the intermittent efforts of all — fire fighting, pursuit of criminals with "hue and cry," watching dikes and irrigation canals, road mending, street cleaning, life-saving — has been turned over to the continuous efforts of a few who know their business — firemen, police, street-cleaners, inspectors, and coastguards. Now that money is given instead of service, it is simpler to support these services out of taxes than to pass a subscription paper for each.

"Voluntary" Cooperation may be Less Willing than Cooperation Under Government

5. "Voluntary" cooperation loses voluntariness to the extent that social pressure is applied in order to whip slackers into line. On the other hand, under popular government, the support of each public service may be willing for all but a very small minority of tax payers. If four-fifths of the citizens approve a school tax, while half of those who contribute to a cause do so in order to placate public opinion, the former cooperation is voluntary rather than the latter.

The Community Outgrows "Voluntary" Cooperation

In a word, the *voluntary* method of caring for common needs is little used after the community has become too large for its members to know one another and to act readily in concert; after it has become so differentiated that the sense of common needs to be cared for is dull; and after the community can be better served by the trained man than by the volunteer citizen.

THE SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR

When the services to be combined or interchanged are unlike, we have a social division of labor. Part of society renders cer-

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tain services while the rest render it counter-services. This arrangement may grow up spontaneously — as we see in the trades and professions — or of set purpose — as we see in the various public services. In the former case the services are paid for by the individual recipients of service, in the latter case by the group collectively.

The Primitive Division of Function is Between Workers and Fighters

The earliest partition of social service is that between the workers and the fighters. Barton shows that "a semi-agricultural cultivation of the palm in the oases was the chief food supply of the Arabs almost from the time of their settlement in the peninsula. No company of men could gain possession of an oasis and hold it for cultivation without organization for defense. Such an oasis would not support them the year round, they must either hunt or keep flocks and herds. In Arabia there was little hunting. If flocks and herds were kept they must be led forth to pasture. While some were cultivating the oasis, the younger and hardier men took the more dangerous part of leading the flocks and herds out to graze." [11]

This Cleavage Does Not Appear Until the Agricultural Stage

Payne declares the primitive functional cleavage is between workers and warriors. "An agricultural tribe permanently settled upon productive lands which its labor has rendered additionally valuable, stands in a new relation to neighboring tribes. While its permanently stationary condition exposes it to attacks, which its women, food stores and miscellaneous possessions naturally invite, the social changes produced by increasing reliance on agriculture render its members as a whole incapable of offering effectual resistance. Hence the warrior class. Such a class, having as its primary function the defense of the community against external aggression, is found in all advancing agricultural tribes. Where an aggregate of such tribes, as happens in favorable circumstances, has been welded into a nation and has consequently come to make a figure in history, this class has always been the principal agent in the process. An advancement not defended by an adequate military organization would be foredoomed to extinction." [12]

This exchange of service for protection he calls "the first social covenant," and adds,[13] "The social covenant can be shown in some instances to be definitely formulated and handed down

[11] "A Sketch of Semitic Origins," pp. 33–4.
[12] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.
[13] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 36–7.

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The Giving of Protection in Return for Support is "the First Social Covenant"

in precise terms from generation to generation. Such was the case in the Pueblo of Mexico. Alarmed by the prospect of fresh hostilities consequent upon the election of the new supreme chief Itzcohuatl, the peasantry of Mexico, it was said, were with difficulty prevented from migrating in a body to Azcaputzalco, and placing themselves permanently under the protection of the Tepanec chiefs. It was obvious that either the Mexican warriors must decisively defeat the Tepanecs, or the pueblo of Mexico must break up. The chiefs resolved on a desperate effort, and promised the people victory. 'Conquer the Tepanecs,' replied the latter, 'and we will serve you, bring you tribute, till your lands and build your houses, we will give our daughters, our sisters, our nieces for your use, when you go to battle we will carry on our shoulders your arms, baggage and provisions and serve you thus, on all your war paths, we will give our bodies and our goods to your service for ever. . . .'" The Mexican warriors routed the Tepanecs and on the following day the assembled peasantry ratified their compact which subsisted unaltered at the arrival of the Spaniards.

Origin of Feudal Dependence

Taine traces the old French *noblesse* to hard-hitting fighters who in the anarchy of the tenth century gather a force which can protect a district. Each canton acquires a local police corps in which from father to son one is always a policeman. The peasant now sows in security. He knows that in case of danger he can find asylum in the palisade at the base of the castle. By degrees a tacit contract grows up between the chieftain of the donjon and the early settlers in the open country. They will serve and pay him if he will protect them. As for the wretched who take refuge with him from the general disorder he plants them on soil which without him would be uninhabitable and they become his serfs.[13]

Hired Protectors Become Masters and Exploiters of the Working Population

Of course such a relation degenerates inevitably into exploitation because the cultivators cannot deal as equals with the fighters. Able to intimidate the population they protect these local chieftains become headstrong lords, absorbing the best of everything and scorning every business but fighting. Many a local population which in the Dark Ages agreed to feed a wandering band of armed men in return for their military protection were crushed into serfdom by these hired guards. When the "king's

[13] "The Ancient Régime," ch. I.

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peace" spread over the land and defence was cared for by a royal army the scions of feudal chieftains became an elegant parasitic *noblesse*.

Rise of the Standing Army

The ancient societies had no armies distinct from the civil population. The free man was at once citizen and soldier. The Roman Empire created a professional army of four hundred thousand soldiers, by means of which one hundred and twenty millions of souls lived in a peace and security such as the earlier societies have never known. But the people lost their liberties for good and all, while the martial spirit so decayed among the civil population that, once their troops had been beaten, they put up but a feeble resistance to the barbarians.

Standing Army Versus Militia

The union of weapons and prestige in the same hands makes it very difficult to keep the military always subordinate to the civil authority, i.e., to keep the armed servant from becoming master. In Europe the army has been the private preserve of the aristocracy and therefore a hotbed of reactionary intrigue. Dreading army ascendency our forefathers decried a standing army and put undue faith in a militia. The modern device of universal military service rather than an overlarge professional army avoids the peril of a gulf between the military and the civil parts of society.

Origin of the Governing Class

Another frequent differentiation is that between the governing class and the rest of society. This class arises out of those who, possessing wealth and leisure, have gained the intelligence and organization for the control of public affairs. Usually, but not always, it cultivates in its members martial spirit and proficiency in arms. Such an element gains the upper hand because it has the qualifications for governing, whereas the unlettered masses are too ignorant and narrow-minded to rule the state. In England of the eighteenth century, the country gentlemen; in our South, the planters; the Junkers in East Prussia; the *hacendados* in Chile, exemplify a governing class. The two former have had to let in traders and capitalists. The last is still a governing class because in Chile trade is in the hands of foreigners, who have no share in politics.

How it Conceives Government

Such a class may give vigorous and intelligent government but it never uses government to promote social ends or to elevate the masses. In time it is almost sure to come into serious economic dependence upon the government it controls. Witness

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Why It Decays

how the prosperity of the English gentry became involved with the "corn laws," of the Chilean *hacendados* with paper money. Thus gradually a governing class becomes less public spirited and more parasitic.

Everywhere its Position Is Becoming Difficult

The world over, universal suffrage has weakened the political position of the governing class, altho by its control of party organizations and the periodical press it has weathered democracy better than was to be expected. The manning of the state by trained men recruited from all social classes has been another blow to the monopoly of government by a class. Bureaucracy, however, raises problems of its own.

A learned class dominating in matters of religion, morals, education and law, is possible owing to the prestige which learning has in ages of general ignorance. The priests and scribes of Israel, the Druids, the Christian clergy of the Middle Ages, and the *literati* of China are examples. Such a class aspires to do all the thinking for the people, is contemptuous of the folk culture, exaggerates the worth and difficulty of its learning, and discredits or suppresses the unprofessional thinkers and teachers. It rarely exploits the people, but it covets power and likes to be distinguished by privileges and insignia, such as benefit of clergy, special representation in government, monopoly of certain offices, academic degrees, cap and gown, academic professions, functions and honors.

Traits of the Learned Class

The differentiation of the learned professions, so that each is held in check by all the rest, the provision of free education culminating in the university, and the great increase in the number of callings which utilize the well-educated, have done away with the possibility of a unified and a self-conscious learned class.

The Learned No Longer a Distinct Class

CHAPTER XXII

THE ORGANIZATION OF EFFORT

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Stages in Organization

ORGANIZATION is an effective way of combining the efforts of many for the achievement of a common end. From planless, haphazard cooperation — settlers fighting a prairie fire or rioters storming a jail — organization is approached by a number of steps. One is the submitting of like efforts to direction, as when planters fortify a levee against a flood or citizens come together as a sheriff's posse. Another is the combining, under direction, of unlike efforts, as in road-building, a barn-raising, a rabbit-drive, or a "round-up" of cattle. When, as in railway operation, a military envelopment movement, or a fleet maneuver, the several diverse efforts must be very precisely timed and adjusted to one another, direction will be very minute and authoritative. If the work is difficult, an authority will be needed to assign tasks according to individual aptitude or skill, and, if the organization is permanent, to provide that individuals are especially trained for the performance of their special functions. In large organizations there appear subheads, deputies, and supervisors, so that an entire hierarchy grows up, uniting the apex of the pyramid with the base. Finally, organizations may, with or without modification, be combined into larger organizations, and these, in turn, enter in to still more comprehensive schemes.

THE DETERMINANTS OF ORGANIZATION

The chief determinant of the character of organization is *the nature of the task*. If it is something to be *done*, say erect a building or move trains, an organization is called for, the parts of which work smoothly together like the wheels and levers of a machine. But if the purpose sought is the beneficial influence which members may exert upon one another, organization is merely a means of promoting association and fellowship.

Again, is the effect aimed at *physical* or *psychical?* In an or-

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In an Organization Which Works on People Rather Than on Things Morale Is All-important

ganization dealing with brute matter, like a plantation or a factory, the spirit of the workers is by no means so important as in the case of a newspaper staff, an associated charities, a propagandist society, or the soliciting force of a life-insurance company — all of them working in the realm of *mind*. Sullen men who hate their work may still cut sugar cane or tend machines, but no one who feels himself to be a slave, a drudge, or a cogwheel can teach, persuade, or inspire. All organizations, therefore, which work on *people* rather than on *things*, have to pay heed to the *morale* of their force. Obliged to rely on hope rather than dread to call forth the best powers of their workers, they must appease the demands of the latter to the point of contentment and supply the motives which arouse the higher faculties to their tasks. Pure folly, therefore, is the notion of some "practical" men that the head of a college or a school system should be a glorified mill boss.

Strict Obedience Will Be Exacted in an Organization When Life Is at Stake

When life and death are at stake, responsibility must be definite, and strict obedience will be exacted even from an intelligent personnel. Thus, after trained nurses came into hospitals, a great quarrel broke out between nurses and doctors over the question whether the nurse should be entirely subordinate to the physician or enjoy some discretion. The issue was settled by the complete subordination of the nurse. In the management of railroads and of ships the links in the chain of authority are very definite; the subordinate must in every case show an order received as his warrant for doing whatever he has done.

All Organizations Which Have to Meet Crises Become "Military" in Character

Still greater is the subordination required in dealing with tasks which are subject to crisis. When tremendous consequences for weal or woe hinge on what is done in a few hours, or even a few minutes, mistake and failure must be eliminated at all costs. A fighting force, then — whether it is to cope with foes, mobs, fires, surf, floods, or epidemics — tends toward a military organization. Not only is literal and prompt obedience enforced by severe penalties, but, in order that the right thing may be done in the emergency, it must be ingrained as habit. Hence, all organizations which are subject to *crisis* make much of *drill*.

Military organization, just because it reached a high development as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, has unfortunately served as pattern for later types of organization which are not subject to the strain of crisis. Hence, in govern-

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The Military Type of Organization Has Spread into Fields Where It Is Not Suitable

ment bureaus and in business administration has prevailed the false idea that the usefulness of the subordinate to his superior consists in executing orders and furnishing reports. It is irrational, however, to repress the natural doubts, queries, or remonstrances of the intelligent and loyal subordinate in a non-fighting organization. In an industrial concern, a school system, or a government bureau there ought to be an interchange of thought between those who have to determine policies and those who may be called upon to carry them out. The higher may well consult with the lower, while retaining the power to decide. Question or criticism or demur from the intelligent under-man, with reference to orders or policies that seem unworkable, ought not to be treated as if it were the murmur of a soldier under fire against the commands of his officer.

Monastic Discipline the Antithesis of Military Discipline

In sharpest contrast to the discipline imposed by crisis stands monastic discipline, which is imposed not by the needs of a common task but by the difficulty of realizing the religious ideal of life. Under the Rule of St. Benedict, the disobedient and unruly monk should secretly be warned by the deacon once, and again. If this warning prove fruitless, he should be shut off from the common table or from common prayer. In the case of a serious misdeed the monk is also forbidden intercourse with other monks; but, in order that no offender should be driven into obstinacy, the elder monks, with the permission of the abbot, should sometimes approach him to comfort him and try to move him to repentance. A monk hardened in wickedness should suffer bodily punishment; if this is unavailing, the abbot with all the monastery should pray for his recovery. If he remains obstinate, he should be turned out of the monastery. If a monk who has been turned out sees his fault and prays penitently to be taken in again, his wish should be granted to him, even to three times; but the fallen monk should prove his humility by taking the lowest place.

No working organization could afford to be so patient with a recalcitrant.

Again, does or does not the task in hand put a great strain on ordinary human nature? The more it does so the stricter will be the discipline, the harsher the penalties for disobedience. This is the culminating reason why military discipline is more methodical than any other, why rigid training is so insisted on for a man of

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Reasons for the Contrast Between the Treatment of the Soldier and the Treatment of the Monk

so little skill as the common soldier. To build a habit tha hold him steady before the cannon's mouth and cold steel · is the reason for the endless drill, the rhythmic regularit automatic obedience exacted by the makers of armies. " A fect army," says a military writer, " would be one in whicl part would respond to the will of the commander as quick certainly as the muscles of the body respond to the impul the brain."

The monk like the soldier is under a strain, but the end s is utterly different. Military organization has in view pl action, while monastic organization is for the sake of the sp life. Hence, the rules of the former are clear-cut, to be c out without hesitation; while the rules of the latter, thou their effects on personality far more gripping than military are undefined in outline, fluid, subtle, complicated by part circumstances, as one would expect when it is the soul tha be controlled and not simply the body.

Discipline Will Be Mild in an Organization of Irreplaceable Members

Finally, a distinction is to be made between a working the members of which from long practice have gained a s team play and one in which each man may readily be rep When, as in a football team, a magazine staff, or an orcl the members of an organization have become mutually adap one another, the dismissal of one hurts the whole, so that pline will be milder than in an organization of interchan parts.

Much Which Pretends to Be Necessary Discipline Is Sheer Oppression

Another determinant of organization is *the character o organized*. Here is the cause of much roughness, which pretends to be justified by the nature of the task. The peo green immigrant, the navvy, the needy working-girl, the operative, are driven or underpaid because they are he They are fined heavily for slight faults, not because team demands it, but just because they are weak. Even an em who treats his skilled help with consideration will, perhaps the ignorant and easily replaceable alien the last turn c screw.

On the other hand, those who enjoy options, the accou the ship's mate, the experienced salesman, the engineering e must needs be driven with a loose rein. In a dramatic trou a symphony orchestra, the need of harmony of effort is greater than in a factory, yet the discipline is never hars

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cause actors and musicians are in a stronger moral and economic position than mill hands.

The Intelligent Will Obey Their Superior in an Organization Even If They Have Not Been Intimidated

Men who appreciate the indispensableness of plan and order in great undertakings will, without in the least lowering their self-respect, render due obedience to their superiors. The more intelligent, therefore, the rank and file of an organization the less is the need of prestige and severity in order to uphold the authority of the superior. Before hinds it may be necessary to set the officer apart by sword, gold lace, feathers, charger, and sternness of demeanor, in order that he may be looked upon as a higher being; but intelligent enlisted men may regard their officer as above them in a military sense without feeling that he is above them in everything. An army can never be a mass meeting or a debating society, but democrats may be organized into a well-disciplined fighting force without losing their sense of civic equality. Likewise the head of a school system, a hospital, or a bureau, while he must command the confidence of his teachers, nurses, or agents, is not obliged to inspire them with fear or awe in order to get his plans carried out.

Volunteer Workers Can Be Disciplined Only by Spiritual Measures

Unpaid workers cannot be disciplined by the crude methods of reprimand, fine, lay-off, demotion, or dismissal, but must be reached through *esprit de corps* or conscience. Unless it inflicts death, a secret revolutionary organization cannot punish without risking betrayal. A heavy hand on boy scouts, party workers, Red Cross volunteers, or friendly visitors will in the end disrupt the organization. The member of a relief party or an exploring expedition is controlled chiefly through pressure by his fellows. In the religious order, the priesthood, the ministry, or the foreign mission, the fulcrum for authority is the solemn vow by which one has freely surrendered one's self to God and the acceptance of this vow by order, church, or mission board. The means of discipline — entreaty, rebuke, isolation, prayer, warning, and suspension — are not punishments so much as appeals to conscience. The contrast between exacted and volunteer service is so broad that the executive who has conducted with success military or industrial organization may fail ignominiously when directing a body of scholars, missionaries, or social workers.

A third determinant of organization is the *spacing between the organized*. Men fall more readily into the grades imposed by the technique of associated effort if they are already spaced. Thus

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Difference of Age and Sex Makes Obedience Easy

the relation of superior to subordinate chafes little if the form is older. The instructor cheerfully bows to the head professc twenty years' advantage in experience. Boy scouts find it e: to obey their adult leader. The snowy crown of abbot or bisl lends a fatherly character to his authority. The young fello in the ranks are literally "boys" to the grizzled colonel and tl feel that "the old man knows." The cub reporters will run th heads off to execute the orders of the old war horse at the m: aging editor's desk. Sex reinforces age in making it easy the male school superintendent to direct the work of young wor teachers and for the male doctor to hold in obedience yo women nurses.

The Expert Is Cheerfully Obeyed

Special knowledge and training set apart their possessor. T men on the team recognize the fitness of their taking orders fr the star player who coaches them. Artisans accept as master architect with his wealth of technical knowledge. To their li tenant enlisted men attribute all manner of inscrutable wisd acquired at West Point or Annapolis. Singers feel a wide g between themselves and the chorus director who from a thousa voices can create a single mighty instrument. Knowledge of mysteries of navigation helps put a distance between foreca and cabin.

Finally, it makes a difference whether the controlling purp in an organization is *the doing of a worth-while work or the ma mizing of profits.* As a rule, capable workers become interes in some concrete aspect of what they are doing. For exam a railroad force will be keen for mastering snowdrifts and floo for making schedule time, breaking records, beating a rival ro or perfecting the service. They strain continually to reach standard of excellence in their minds, and normally, as their forts succeed, their standard rises.

Discipline Is Easily Borne When the Job Appeals to One's Instinct of Workmanship

Now, this disinterested eagerness is best developed when president of the railroad is a railroad man, when the newspa owner is a newspaper man, when the schools are under an ec cator, and when the philanthropy is in charge of a social work But it dies when Capital comes out in plain view, takes the rei and drives for profits without heed to excellence. Zeal is chill in artisans required to make sham things instead of real, in porters when their news stories are killed in the interest of a vertisers, in railroad men when avaricious banker manageme

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denies their plea for safety devices, in teachers when their chief is an agent of property-owners working to keep taxes down, and in professors when their head is not a scholar but a money-raiser, or a conservative deputized to "sit on the lid."

Capitalism Fails in the Production of the Higher Services

In factory, mine, or department store, the quality of the work may suffer little from the control of the private capitalist. But in the production of such services as protection, education, communication, transportation, and publicity, the ascendency of the commercial motive deadens the spirit of real efficiency. One object of the extension of government activity in these fields is the substituting of *service* for *profit* as the motivating force behind the organization.

THE BENEFITS OF ORGANIZATION

The benefits of organization are many and great. Among them are:

Organization Handles Vast Undertakings

1. The accomplishment of ends which are quite unattainable by means of unorganized efforts becomes possible. The soldiers of an army broken up into bands may still wage a feeble guerilla warfare, but in weather forecasting, canal digging, railroad operation, or the postal service, unorganized effort is completely impotent to furnish the desired result.

Professionalizes

2. A common interest cared for intermittently by all — such as fire-fighting, thief-catching, levee-mending, or road-making — may be turned over to the continuous efforts of a few who have gained skill from experience or fitted themselves by a preliminary training.

Utilizes Special Aptitude

3. The division of a work into its natural parts and the assignment of these to different individuals permit the utmost advantage to be taken of special aptitude, knowledge, or training. Conversely, men with particular weak spots may keep to lines of work in which they are not handicapped by them.

Develops Specialists

4. Narrowing the field of attention is favorable to the attainment of a higher degree of expertness. Thus we see a deliberative body resolve itself into committees, each to study and report upon a particular class of questions. Not public bodies alone, but civic, commercial, and scientic bodies as well, organize themselves on the committee plan.

5. Many distinct efforts are fitted into a single comprehensive, intelligent plan. We see this not only in industry and war but

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Combines Numerous Efforts Into a Harmonious Whole

also in a clearing-house, an educational system, a party effort, an agitation, a propaganda, a commercial campaign, weather observation, and scientific research, in so far as they are well organized. Ordinarily those who plan a work direct its execution, but there is a tendency to form a thinking and planning branch of the administrative body, which advises but does not execute. This is the "general staff," a device used first in the army, but suitable for other kinds of organization.

One reason why many matters which might be looked after locally — such as public security, poor relief, the care of defectives, public education, the administration of highways and forests — have so often devolved upon the state is that the state has the better chance of finding able and expert men to provide the plan and determine the policies under which the work shall be conducted.

Avoids Duplication of Effort

6. Co-ordination into a larger whole ends that needless duplication of effort which often shows itself among agencies which are striving for the same end, such as charities, missionary undertakings, educational institutions, propagandist groups, and reform movements.

Eliminates the Waste of Competition and Stimulates Men to Do Their Best

7. Elimination of the wastes of competition is possible. This is seen particularly in the economic field. Combination among producers in the same line ought to cut down their outlay for advertising, salesmen, selling agencies, and cross-freights.

8. Serving as a useful part in a great beneficent, permanent organization supplies some men with a large superpersonal end which appeals to their imagination and sustains them in their life work.

9. Not all men are fit for solitary work. Many a man finds in working on a team an inspiration and a stimulus he can find nowhere else. The fellowship of his mates, the leadership of his superior, the spur of rivalry, and the hope of promotion provide powerful incentives which he would miss as an isolated worker.

THE WASTES OF ORGANIZATION

Organization Necessitates "Overhead,"

But the gains through organization are subject to deduction on account of the wastes to which it gives rise:

1. In a team or gang, the man who directs is also a doer, but, as the group becomes larger, there comes a time when he drops his tools, and from that moment begins the burden of "overhead

expense." In large enterprises the cost of the timekeepers, checkers, inspectors, storekeepers, overseers, bosses, foremen, superintendents, and managers becomes a serious offset to the saving effected by intelligently concerted effort.

Calls for Record, Check and Audit,

2. In an organization that has not outgrown the powers of one man, the manager's eye checks waste of time and material, and his memory holds the records by which the competent worker is promoted or the poor worker dismissed. But in the big concern there must be installed an elaborate system of record, check, and audit which constitutes another deduction from the operative force. In extended organization the subordinate with his heart in his task chafes under the necessity of making entries, filling out forms, filing memoranda, and writing reports which do not in the least advance the work he has in hand.

Wastes Energy in Transmission,

3. Not without loss is energy transmitted through a series of shafts, belts, or cogwheels; nor is it possible for the intelligent purposes of the heads of elaborate organizations to be carried out without waste through friction between the parts. The center forms no true picture of the situation confronting the extremities. Orders are misunderstood or lose in force as they descend in the chain of authority. As Burke said of the effect of the Atlantic on the government of the colonists of Great Britain, "Seas roll and months pass between the order and the execution, and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat the whole system. . . . In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities." Improvement in communication has removed much of this difficulty in government, yet all large organization is liable to such waste.

Tends to Formalism,

4. A tendency to formalism and red tape is to be noted. A French commission on the naval budget found on shipboard "together with thirty-three volumes of regulations intended to determine the details of administrative life on board, a list of 230 different types of registers, ledgers, memoranda, weekly and monthly reports, certificates, receipt forms, journals, fly-leaves, etc." In the ministry it found that "hundreds of employés are occupied exclusively at calculating, transcribing, copying into innumerable registers, reproducing on countless fly-leaves, dividing, totalizing, or despatching to the minister figures that have no reality, that correspond to nothing in the region of facts, which would probably be nearer the truth if they were one and all in-

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vented."[1] Although such waste is avoidable, it is a disease to which only organizations are subject.

And Is Difficult to Adapt to Changed Conditions

5. There is, finally, the relative inflexibility of all machinery composed of numerous correlated parts. No complex organization is prompt to adapt itself to rapidly changing conditions. Individuals who by themselves might quickly change their activities or their methods find themselves locked, as it were, in an iron system.

THE ABUSES OF ORGANIZATION

Organization is furthermore liable to be abused in various ways:

Executives May Work for Themselves Instead of the Organization

1. Executives may misapply for personal ends the power which has been given them for the good of the work. Nepotism may govern appointments and promotions. A post-office department may be made a political machine. High military commands may be used to win publicity and prestige. The railroad president may manage his road to promote his secret stock speculations. The head of a central organization may encroach on the local chapters under pretext of efficiency, but really from craving for power. Superior may misuse his authority over subordinate to gratify his lust of domination, to exact a tribute of flattery, to indulge a personal spite, to keep down a possible rival, or to cover up his own shortcomings.

Executives Load Themselves with More Responsibilities Than They Can Carry

2. When an executive attempts to keep everything under his hatband, he comes to lean too much upon his immediate helpers. The result is that his chief clerk handles communications to department heads who are his official superiors, and matters of moment may hinge on the decision of a mere office subordinate. This tendency of executives to assume responsibility for more matters than one man can cope with amounts, in fact, to an evasion of responsibility. The local mine manager justifies himself by showing that during the labor war he was continually reporting to his distant chief, while this overburdened chief pleads ignorance of the lawless policies pursued by his subordinate. Between the two stools real responsibility comes to the ground.

Organisations Become Top-Heavy

3. It is pleasanter to be near the apex of the pyramid than the base. There is, therefore, a constant tendency for organizations to become top-heavy — too many officers for the privates, too

[1] Le Bon, "The Psychology of Socialism," p. 177.

many planners and supervisors and too few doers, too many dawdlers about headquarters or the main office and too few at the front, on the road, on the firing-line, at the railhead, behind the crowbar, or before the mast.[2]

Overspecialization and How It May Be Avoided

4. Men in different departments of a large organization may become too specialized to take one another's viewpoint or to work smoothly together. The soldier in the field, the salesman on the road, the engineer on the line, all have their troubles with the man in the office. The staff officer becomes eccentric and overbearing, while the line officer is too busy getting things done to think out the principles underlying his work or to originate better methods.

Overspecialization may be prevented by rotating men through related functions. Temporary details from the line are substituted for permanent appointments on the staff. Men in the forestry service spend half the year in the bureau and half in the forests. The hampering of good men by the mistaken vigilance of clerks in an accounting bureau thousands of miles away is obviated by sending out traveling auditors to examine accounts. Friction between engineer officers and regular officers of the navy is removed by amalgamating the two corps. Railroads adopt the "unit system," by which the various specialists — master mechanic, train-dispatcher, trainmaster, division engineer, and others — serve as assistant superintendents. General managers combat overspecialization by getting the heads of departments to lunch together frequently and "talk things over," or, better yet, group them into committees to examine and report on particular problems.

Men Forget What the Organization Is for and Make It an End Rather Than a Means

5. The organization becomes an end in itself rather than a means. For instance, the Archduke Constantine of Russia once voiced the naïve sentiment, "I do not like war; it spoils the soldiers, dirties their uniforms, and destroys discipline." Army officers oppose a cutting down of the military establishment when

[2] "In my university the corps of instructors is five times as large as the administrative force; but in a Chinese school of modern languages with twenty-seven teachers, I found ten administrators, to say nothing of the servants. Half of them twiddle their thumbs and draw their pay. In a higher commercial school with twenty teachers there are ten officers, of whom three are mere sinecurists. In a law school with 800 students there are twenty-five non-teaching officials, most of them sinecurists." Ross, "The Changing Chinese," p. 324.

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the nation comes into a safer position. Partisans continue to work for the success of their party long after it has bartered away its principles and forgotten its ideals. The educational system cannot be induced to consider the child and ask itself what real good it is doing. Pious clergymen will labor to advance the ends of their church after it has become a soulless ecclesiastical machine, the foe of true spirituality. Railroad officials who have risen from the ranks develop a loyalty to the company which leads them to commit for it crimes they would not commit for themselves. In general, it is *outside* forces rather than *inside* forces which keep an organization in proper relation to its work and to other interests of society.

THE SACRIFICES ORGANIZATION REQUIRES

Work Within Close Organization Abhorrent to Ordinary Human Nature

Human nature shaped by a primitive life in the woods does not easily lend itself to the demands of technical efficiency. Night duty, monotonous toil, and sedentary work are to most of us made tolerable only by habit. Still greater is the strain of being a cog in some intricate machine. Unquestioning obedience, for instance — how revolting it is at first to any intelligent person! Team harness may be cruelly galling to such as are not quick at personal adjustment. Punctuality, schedule, method, regularity of stroke, standardized performance — these surely go against the native grain. Machinery should be built of metal, not of living, plastic beings. It is significant that the orator rarely and the poet never has struck fire on contemplating human organization.

Therefore, Hold Open Plenty of Places for the Solitary Worker

Hence, there ought always to be reserved a large place for those who in organization feel like squirrels in cages, those to whom freedom and spontaneity are the breath of life. Society should leave a broad footing for the solitary worker who labors when and where and as he pleases. Under excess of routine we tend to become wooden and unresponsive, so that the artist type, that depends on mood and whim, that waits for the moment of inspiration, will be needed to revive and freshen us as the system of group labor extends.

PRESERVING FREEDOM UNDER ORGANIZATION

Since it is the fate of most of us to work in some kind of organization and since no organization can function without discipline, what is to become of individual freedom? There are

various means of saving the member from being swallowed up in the organization:

Let the Layman Share in the Decisions of His Organization

1. By securing to the individual member of the organization a voice and a share in determining the rules and policies by which he is bound. This is virtually the principle of "government by the consent of the governed." It is exemplified in faculty control of the university as against presidential control, in lay control of the church as against clerical control, in the determination of party nominations and policies by the "rank and file," instead of by delegate conventions and central committees. The inmates of a prison are allowed to form their "mutual welfare league." School children make rules for the use of their playground. The demand of the workers for a voice in the management of industry, in so far as it affects them, leads to collective bargaining or to industrial councils.

The Organization Must Not Swallow Up One's Whole Personality

2. By the organization confining its control to matters which clearly affect its legitimate work. This implies that officers will not seek to control the political utterances or action of enlisted men, that the school board will not deny its teachers the freedom enjoyed by the ordinary citizen, that the priest will not from the pulpit tell his flock how to vote, that the employer will not control the life of his employees outside the workshop. In each of these cases the claim is made that the restriction is essential to the success of the organization, but the claim must be resisted if we are not to become slaves.

Groups Within an Organization Should Have the Right to Unite in Defense of Their Interests

3. By protecting the right of members of an organization to have special unions of their own to look after their interests. A century hence posterity will look back with amazement upon a time like this, when employers discharge workmen for joining a lawful association, the aims of which are not incompatible with their service. While the impartial now acknowledge the propriety of trade unions, the right of public servants to organize themselves is called in question. But experience shows that often bureaucrats will not pay attention to the reasonable protests of public employees unless there is behind them an organization which can make him trouble. Such an organization should exist, not for striking or sustaining strikes against the public, but for formulating, presenting or agitating grievances and aspirations. The bureaucratic horror of unions of civil employees derives from the militarist theory that in the mail service or the

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telephone service, "back talk" is as intolerable as it is in the army.

The Individual Must Be Protected in His Right to Quit the Organization

4. By preserving to the individual freedom of withdrawal from the organization. The right to quit is a great safeguard of other rights. The right of workingmen to quit work in concert, i.e., strike, should be upheld. Only lately has the seaman gained the right to quit ship whenever the anchor is down. Enlisted men ought to be allowed to get out of the army in peace time without excessive difficulty. The law will not allow the vowed monk (or nun) to be detained in the convent against his will. Very properly the law sees to it that the terms of withdrawal from the building and loan association, the cooperative society or the mutual life insurance company are not made unreasonably onerous.

INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

Organization in general has been so little considered philosophically that it abounds in unsettled problems. Only a few of them can be stated here:

A Good Production Manager May Have No Skill in Picking and Placing Men

1. As regards the selection and placement of men, it is not always best that the man in charge of a work should pick his helpers unaided. The master of a technique may be a poor judge of men. Not only is it costly to "try out" the unfit man, but often the man who has failed in one post would succeed in some other place in the organization. The difficulty of getting the round peg into the round hole and the square peg into the square hole is so great that some organizations, in adding to their personnel, call in the experimental psychologist or the character expert.

Nothing Attracts the Enterprising and Keeps Up the Morale Like the Prospect of Promotion

2. A vacancy to be filled raises the question: "New blood or promotion?" The shortsighted executive imports a seasoned outsider "who can do the work." This policy deadens the force and in the long run deters the capable from joining. To the more enterprising in an organization the prospect of rising is the only thing in it which lends interest to the future. Otherwise the years stretch away in full view to retirement, pension, and death. A cut-and-dried future is revolting to the high-spirited, although it may attract the plodder. Chance of advancement introduces that element of adventure, of surprise, which induces the ambitious young man to enter army, navy, public service, or corporate service, instead of carving out a career for himself.

In a well-built organization there will be no "blind-alley" or "dead-end" jobs, leading to nothing. Normal promotion routes

— with short cuts for the very exceptional man and cross-paths for one who changes his goal — should be worked out for every position, and posted charts showing such routes should visualize to each worker his path of possible advancement. The prick of the spur will be sharpest when selection for advancement is made on merit as revealed in carefully kept records of each man's performance. In order to dispense with the need of calling in the outsider — except to start a new line of work — each man should train his best subordinate into an understudy for himself, and his own promotion should hinge in part on his producing a man competent to fill his shoes.

The Blockhead Relies on Fear to Get Him Desired Results

3. The isolated worker has the natural incentive to growth, but in a fixed system the supplying of incentive has to be carefully considered. The appeal to fear is the first resource of the dull, unimaginative manager. Hence, in keying up performance, much more has been made of punishment than of attraction. Yet the low productiveness of all slave labor in comparison with free labor ought to have made it clear that the normal man can be led at a faster pace than he can be driven.

Money Reward Important

Graduated reward lures one to do his utmost. Pay, in addition to a fixed element, should include an element varying with one's efficiency — premium, bonus, a commission on one's sales, or on the profits of one's sales — or with one's length of service. Insurance, permanency of employment, and retiring allowance after a term of service leave good men free to do their best work.

Distinction Has a Strong Appeal to the More Imaginative Type

Since honor is coveted as well as money, honor should be as carefully graduated and as punctually paid. A non-discriminating treatment of those on different rungs of the organization ladder flings away a precious means of stimulation. In order to whet the eagerness to earn advancement, something, however slight, should be used to distinguish men of each grade from those below. It may be a uniform, a stripe, a band of gold braid, a cap, or a button. It may be the right of precedence, of dining at a reserved table, entering by a special door, sitting on a higher seat, or having one's desk behind a railing or on a raised floor. It may be the privilege of sitting in the presence of the top man, of being addressed as "Mr." or "Sir," of receiving a certain salute, or of donning a certain robe. Whatever be the mark of honor, it should be patent without being conspicuous, its value should be symbolic rather than intrinsic, it should be cer-

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tain to him who is entitled to it, and it should be consistently withheld from all others.

Utilizing Rivalry

Pitting a man against his record or pitting gang against gang, shop against shop, branch office against branch office, school against school, battleship against battleship, rouses the spirit of emulation. The party organizer gets his workers vying to see whose ward will roll up the biggest majority for the party ticket. The gun squads of different battleships engage in the hottest rivalry for honors in marksmanship. The trusts stimulate production by playing plant against plant and mill against mill. In some armies certain regiments retain a historic individuality and for centuries accumulate trophies and honors.

4. In contrast to the fostering of loyalty and *esprit de corps* the earliest authorities made little use of "imponderables." "Hear, tremble, and obey" was supposed to provide every incentive. But as we learn more about human nature more heed is given to the spirit of the rank and file.

Cultivating Esprit de corps

It is something if the body to which one belongs is believed to render a valuable service to society. It is better yet if this value is openly recognized so that one feels himself a member of a popular and honorable organization. When the soldier's uniform commands respect, when a university is old and famous, *esprit de corps* comes of itself. Even street sweepers develop it after the public has been taught to appreciate the work of the street-cleaning department.

Distributing Credit

If the chiefs keep all the glory that comes from the achievement of their organization, the underlings have the deadening sense of being mere instruments. So, if he is wise, the commander passes the credit down to the common soldier, the administrator ascribes his success to his zealous subordinates, and the railroad manager attributes the safety on his line to the men at the throttle.

The rivalry of one organization with another soon kindles *esprit de corps*. The competition of two neighboring cities invigorates their commercial organizations. The approach of an election sets party workers "on edge" even if there is no real issue between the parties. Intercollegiate contests in debating and athletics are valued for their production of "college spirit." When competing transcontinental railroads have been merged it

has been found advisable to preserve their distinct organizations in order to retain the stimulus of rivalry. CHAP. XXII

CENTRALIZATION

The Historical Drift Toward Centralization

In extended organization it is a problem how far the local body should be subordinated to the general body. History shows a marked drift of authority from the local toward the general. Thus, in the earlier religious orders, each monastery was independent; its monks belonged to it. But the mendicant orders and all the younger orders had each its master-general, its provinces under a prior or warden, and the friars belonged not to any one house or province but to the whole order, and would be told off by the master-general to live in whatever friary or province he pleased.

In Things Spiritual the Union of Local Groups into a General Body Has a Steadying Effect

There is abundant evidence that religion tends to lose itself in shallows unless the local congregation is knit up with others into a general church. Without this steadying relation, religious beliefs often become eccentric, while exacting ideals sag towards common inclinations. In the same way a Greek-letter fraternity will see its standards lost sight of if it lacks in district organization and a strict supervision over its local chapters.

Faults of Local Control

Owing to chance, circumstances, and faults of leaders, any local association for general objects is subject to vagary and fatuousness unless it is steadied by membership in a general organization, which of necessity has attained to clear-cut aims and rational methods. Possessing the advantages of experience, breadth of view, and able leaders, the general organization may well exercise control over the local. In the management of common affairs there is much to be said for the general as against the local political body. Too often local control sacrifices general and permanent interests to individual and immediate interests. Local control of education leaves its fate on the whole to men of less caliber and vision than those who determine it under state control. Local care of highways means less outlay on the roads of the commonwealth than sound economy demands. Local administration of forests or care of public health will generally be less enlightened than that of the state. Law enforcement by locally chosen officers permits each locality to be a law unto itself. In a word, removing control farther from the or-

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dinary citizen and taxpayer is tantamount to giving the intelligent, farsighted, and public-spirited element in society a longer lever to work with.

Economy of Central Control

The state, too, enjoys the economy of large-scale service. The county has too few blind, deaf-mutes, or feeble-minded to care for each class in a special institution. The management of state charitable institutions by a single central board instead of by separate local boards has proven highly successful.

On the other hand, matters which can be appreciated by common-sense, such as the providing of local conveniences, etc., should be left to the local community.

At a Given Time All Organizations in Society Partake of a Certain Character

Although, as we have seen, the characteristics of an organization flow primarily from the nature of the task, there is, nevertheless, a tendency for organizations to agree in pattern. The principle of the dominant organization or organizations is likely to reappear in all the rest. Thus if, in government, the relation of superior to subordinate is purely authoritative, this spirit may be expected to prevail in family, school, church, business, industry, and voluntary associations. If, on the other hand, government admits into this relation a consultative element, something like it will be found in most other organizations in society.

The Growth of Organization Raises the Problem of Recreation and Leisure Time

We have seen that the requirements of combined effort go rather against the native grain. As organization comes to embrace more of us, certain adjustments are necessary if human beings are not to become painfully warped. One is ample provision for holiday and recreation, to allow the bent bow to straighten. Another is access to a variety of means of recreation. The more closely the individual is boxed in while at work by schedule, routine, and direction the wider should be his range of choice out of working hours and the more scrupulously should his freedom to choose be respected. The more one's work conforms to plan, or pattern, or orders the more one's manner of life and one's disposal of leisure time must be relied on to nourish and to express an individuality. This is why that unity in moral and religious ideas and in ground pattern of life which has sometimes worked out quite well among a peasant or fisher folk is an utterly impossible and undesirable ideal for a people subject to the trying discipline of modern organization.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ORGANIZATION OF WILL

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The Organization of Will Is the Reverse of the Organization of Effort

AN organization may receive its direction either from the will of an individual or from the will of a group. The process by which a group will is arrived at may be termed the *organization of will*. In the *organization of effort*, the movement is from the one toward the many, i.e., from the controlling purpose to the co-ordinated efforts of the various persons who contribute to its accomplishment. In the *organization of will*, the movement is from the many toward the one, i.e., from the wills of individual members to the single purpose which comes to direct and unify the activities of the group.

Organizations may be represented graphically by the cone, the base of the cone representing the individuals organized, the apex their unifying purpose. The organizing of will may be thought of as a movement from base toward apex; the organizing of effort as a movement from apex toward base.

Organization of Both Will and Effort Within the Same Group

These two types of organization may exist separately or combined. In an army, a railroad, a government department, and a municipal service, we see only *organization of effort*. In a church framing its creed, a party drawing up its declaration of principles, a Futurist group hammering out its manifesto, a gild standardizing mercantile usage, and a labor union passing upon a trade agreement, we see only *organization of will*. On the other hand, workingmen engaging in a strike which has been ordered by the union, farmers delivering their milk to a creamery established by their co-operative effort, the fellows of a learned society prosecuting co-operative research upon lines laid down by the society illustrate how, with respect to the same matter, both will and effort may be organized within a single group. This double process marks what is at once the most difficult and the most evolved type of organization.

An extremely informal organization of will is presented in

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the assembly of the Russian *Mir* or village community as described by Wallace.[1]

Informal Organization of Will

The meetings are held in the open air . . . and they almost always take place on Sundays or holidays, when the peasants have plenty of leisure. . . . The discussions are occasionally very animated, but there is rarely any attempt at speech making. If any young member should show an inclination to indulge in oratory, he is sure to be unceremoniously interrupted by some of the older members, who have never any sympathy with fine talking. The assemblage has the appearance of a crowd of people who have accidentally come together and are discussing in little groups subjects of local interest. Gradually some one group, containing two or three peasants who have more moral influence than their fellows, attracts the others, and the discussion becomes general. Two or more peasants may speak at a time, and interrupt each other freely — using plain, unvarnished language, not at all parliamentary — and the discussion may become a confused, unintelligible din; but at the moment when the spectator imagines that the consultation is about to be transformed into a free fight, the tumult spontaneously subsides, or perhaps a general roar of laughter announces that some one has been successfully hit by a strong *argumentum ad hominem*, or biting personal remark. In any case there is no danger of the disputants coming to blows.

The village elder is the principal personage in the crowd, but to call to order those who interrupt the discussion is no part of his functions. He comes forward prominently —

when it is necessary to take the sense of the meeting. On such occasions he may stand back a little from the crowd and say, "Well, orthodox, have you decided so?" and the crowd will probably shout, *Ladno! Ladno!* that is to say, "Agreed! Agreed!" Communal measures are generally carried in this way by acclamation; but it sometimes happens that there is such diversity of opinion that it is difficult to tell which of the two parties has a majority. In this case the elder requests the one party to stand to the right and the other to the left. The two groups are then counted, and the minority submits, for no one ever dreams of opposing openly the will of the *Mir*.

The chief improvement that has been made in this procedure is the regulation of discussion to the end that it may be kept to the point and not be smothered in confusion and disorder.

[1] Wallace, "Russia," pp. 116, 117.

Formal Organization of Will

How far general assembly makes for a free organizing of wills depends upon a number of factors:

a) To what extent is the assembly protected from disturbance, interruption. or intimidation?

b) Is it in the power of anyone to dissolve the assembly against its will?

c) Can it consider any matter? Or may it consider only such matters as are mentioned in the summons or are brought before it by the summoners?

d) Is the assembly convened for the purpose of ascertaining the wills of the members as to a matter, or in order to make known and win support for a policy which has already been decided upon by the head men?

e) Who may speak? Only officials, chiefs, or distinguished persons; anyone invited by the presiding officer; anyone called out by the assembly; or anyone "recognized" by the presiding officer?

f) Is discussion ample and complete before a vote is taken?

g) Is the prevalent will expressed by cheers, shouts, or clash of weapons — which method expresses intensity of conviction as well as numbers — or by registering the wills of individuals?

h) In case voting is *viva voce* instead of by ballot, is the order of voting haphazard or according to age, rank, or other mark of distinction? This is important because in the latter case the early voters may have an influence upon those who vote later.

i) Does a majority vote decide or is unanimity requisite as it was in the ancient Russian town assemblies and the Polish diet?

VARIETIES OF WILL ORGANIZATION

Abandonment of Certain Matters to a Board

As the matters to be settled become numerous or technical, the method of always taking "the sense of the meeting" becomes too burdensome, so that a board will be chosen to make minor decisions for the group, major matters still being reserved for the general assembly. These men may be granted power for only so long as the majority of the members are satisfied with them, or for a stated term. If experienced management and continuity of policy be essential to the prosperity of group affairs, and if the superior fitness of certain members for handling these affairs be evident to all, the group may clothe them with authority for a

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long term or for life and cease to reserve certain fundamental matters for popular decision.

Relation of Local Assemblies to the Representative Assembly

In case an association becomes large and the membership scattered, the periodical convening of all in general assembly has to be given up. The local assemblies sometimes take turns in looking after the common concerns of the entire society, as was the practice during the early years of certain British trade unions. Then delegates are sent by these local assemblies to sit in a deliberative body which acts for the entire group, save perhaps in certain reserved matters. When the delegate becomes member of a permanent body during a fixed term and speaks for his constituents on all matters that may come up, he becomes a representative and the group comes under representative government.

Relation of the Representative Assembly to the Executive

With the officials who execute or serve the will of the group, this representative assembly may have various relations. It may appoint them, or they may be the choice of the group membership. It may mark out their sphere, or they may have a sphere independent of it. It may make laws which they are to enforce, adopt policies which they are to carry out, or it may leave them for the most part a free hand, contenting itself with granting money according to its degree of satisfaction with their conduct. In the case of a hereditary executive, claiming rule as a matter of inheritance or of divine right, the representative body may serve as little more than a forum for free speech where the "state of the country" may be discussed, grievances ventilated, and criticisms brought to the attention of the government.

In short, the will of an organized group may be derived directly and in the simplest way from the wills of the members, or it may be so independent of them as to be able to defy them or to mold them at pleasure. The members may decide everything, they may decide only certain fundamental matters, they may decide only who shall decide, or they may be powerless with respect to quondam agents who have come to be their masters.

Now, what is it that determines how the will of a group shall be organized?

HOW THE COMPOSITION OF THE GROUP DETERMINES ITS WILL ORGANIZATION

It depends for one thing on *how the group is composed.* Is membership in the group a matter of free will? So far as asso-

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Authority More Liable to Abuse in Civil Government Than in the Voluntary Association

ciation is voluntary, there is a curb to the overriding of the wishes of the rank and file by the head men. Arbitrary, high-handed action may provoke so many withdrawals as to weaken or break up the group. It is because one cannot quit civil society at will that in political government persist abuses of power which would never be tolerated for long in a voluntary association. The cheapness of travel, however, has made population so mobile that by migration people react in a very noticeable way to local differences in the excellence of government. This imposes, no doubt, a certain check upon the irresponsible use of political power.

The More Essential the Organization, the More Helpless Is the Individual Member

In case quitting the group entails a serious sacrifice, members will be slow to resent the unauthorized exercise of power. Therefore, the more solid and obvious the advantages an organization offers, or the worse the lot of the man who stands outside it, the more patiently will the members submit themselves to a will not their own. The doctrine, "No salvation outside the Church," reconciles the devout to the control of a hierarchy. The vows of a religious order hold the brothers in line with the policy adopted by the head men. In China, where "the craftsman who is not a gild member is as one exposed to the wintry blast without a cloak," the deference of the member to gild authority is very great.

Much depends on whether or not a society is in its formative period. A young society, holding out to the public rosy prospects rather than realized benefits, will be ostentatiously democratic, for it must be able to convince the inquirer that the members control everything, that there is no "inside ring," and that every penny officials spend is accounted for. One of the forces which favored the extension of political democracy in the United States during the period of settlement was the sharp competition among young western states to attract settlers.

Governing Cliques Flourish in Old and Successful Associations

On the other hand, a society that has a good record of service and has accumulated property, prestige, reputation, or other valuable assets, will attract members even if it denies them an immediate voice in its management. This is one reason why old and successful associations are free to develop a government as centralized as their affairs may require, whereas young associations must be democratic whether or not their affairs prosper under democracy. It also helps to explain why an old associa-

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tion is liable to become the prey of a small governing clique

Natural Inequality Among the Members Makes for the Concentration of Power

When the members of a group differ little among themselves in experience or intelligence, none of them is plainly marked out to govern and hence the head men will be limited in power and held to account for their official acts. In reform associations, social clubs, professional bodies, and learned societies one never finds blind submission to the dictates of the executive council or board. But in religious orders, religious sects, and communistic groups, the great inequality among members in respect to wisdom, fervor, and vision often lodges mastery in the natural leaders. If, however, such individuals have ample opportunity to act upon and lead the opinion of the rest, they need no large grant of authority, seeing that they bring their superiority to bear through *influence* rather than through *power*. This is why a community under direct membership control may still be guided by its best men. Sam Adams, working within that purest of democracies, the town meeting of Boston, came nevertheless to be known as "the master of the puppets," and "the king of the caucus."

Manifest integrity inspires trust and a willingness to confide power. It is possible that the decline of interest in local civic assemblies, which has become so marked among Americans in the course of a century, and the disposition to leave everything to the local board reflect a growing confidence in the honesty of the fellow-citizen. Conversely, one reason for the "almost pure democracy" of the Chinese craft gild appears to be "the deep-rooted distrust of delegated authority or agency which is constant in every Asiatic mind." [2]

All Large Associations Must Make Much Use of the Representative System

The shift from direct democracy to a representative system may come about as a consequence of mere growth in membership. When an assembly includes more than four or five hundred, oratory and crowd-feeling are apt to run away with good judgment. Advocates of sane and conservative policies are often hissed down, rational deliberation is easily upset. The history of the *ekklesia,* or general assembly of Athens, shows what happens in a gathering so large as to induce in both speakers and hearers the theatrical spirit. At this point it is necessary to form a small representative body to take over all questions which cannot be answered by a simple "Yes" or "No." The town meeting gives

[2] Morse, "The Gilds of China," p. 12.

way to government by mayor and common council. Boston, which did not go over to representative government until 1822 when it had 40,000 inhabitants, went about as far with the popular assembly as it is possible to go.

Again, if the members of the group dwell dispersed over a large territory, its control will be monopolized by the members who live near the place of meeting, together with such as have the leisure and means to attend from a distance. A continual shifting of the place of meeting may solve the former difficulty, but not the latter. In political society such an advantage by the well-to-do is most serious and calls for the early introduction of the representative system.

HOW THE PURPOSE OF THE GROUP DETERMINES ITS WILL ORGANIZATION

Majority Rule More Natural in Temporary Than in Perpetual Associations

Other determiners of the mode of organization of will depend upon the *purpose* of the group. In an association formed for a temporary purpose, the will of the majority naturally prevails; while in an enduring group there are others to be considered than the present members. The rule of the older and wiser is urged on behalf of members past and to come. A society for registering and focussing opinion will be directly controlled by its members, whereas a group formed for action is likely to feel the need of conferring broad powers upon its executive. In case this action is to bear directly upon the members themselves, they will be more careful to define and to hedge the powers of their agents than if this action is to be exerted only upon outsiders. In missionary, propagandist, philanthropic, and educational societies, one finds less jealousy of delegated power than in town meetings, co-operative societies, trade unions, and communistic groups.

Agents Who Act Upon the Members Are More Strictly Controlled Than Agents Who Act on Outsiders

In case the interests to be cared for are minor matters in the eyes of the members, they allow the more zealous to go ahead and do whatever they think best. The willingness to leave everything to the leaders, which is so marked when one risks merely an annual contribution, does not appear when the ordinary member has much at stake. In a society which may by its action compromise the safety, liberty, property, or prestige of the individual member, the rank and file are likely to be tenacious of their right to be consulted and to hold officials to strict responsibility.

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Usually the head exists to serve the body, but sometimes the body is called into being to serve the head. When an active group of municipal reformers feels the need of a sounding board, it builds up a "Committee of One Hundred" of well-known citizens and professes to be the mere servant and mouthpiece of this committee. In churches which claim for their heads an authority derived through an unbroken line of succession from the Apostles, the bishops do not regard themselves as organs of the body of believers, but rather regard these believers as in duty bound to furnish support and backing for the bishops.

A Society in Custody of Sacred Lore or Rites Will Concentrate Control

When an organization considers itself sole custodian of a precious body of doctrines, mysteries, or rites, its control will be highly centralized. Only the well-tested and fully initiated are held worthy to be intrusted with the transmission of the sacred lore. In religious orders, in the Masonic order and other hoary secret confraternities, in venerable gilds and ecclesiastical bodies, the care to hand on an uncorrupted tradition centers authority in some Supreme Chapter or Grand Lodge, composed entirely of head men, or else confides it to a select circle of the older and more experienced. The early appearance of presbyters or elders, bishops and metropolitans in the Christian church seems to have been due to the felt need of keeping the faith pure from the heresies spread by unauthorized teachers and prophets. Thus Clement urges: "Let us esteem those who have the rule over us, let us honor our presbyters," while Ignatius declares he heard the voice of the Spirit proclaiming the words: "Do nothing without the bishop." But for the independence of the clergy, the simplicity of the gospel would ere long have vanished in diversity and confusion. Ignatius, no doubt, had in mind this danger when he wrote to Polycarp: "Have a care to preserve unity than which nothing is better."

The Care of Corporate Property Tends to Bring Authority Into a Few Hands

The administering of corporate property is not favorable to the keeping of power by the general assembly of the members. A group that becomes wealthy is likely to lose its pristine democracy. A town meeting, to be sure, may make wise decisions as to roads, ferries, and common lands, for these are simple forms of property well understood by all. But diversified property interests requiring intelligent care if they are to remain productive press home upon a membership the wisdom of entrusting their management to a select few. From his study of village commu-

nities, Sir Henry Maine concludes that "the autocratically governed manorial group is better suited than the village group for bringing under cultivation a country in which waste lands are extensive. So also does it seem to me likely to have been at all times more tolerant of agricultural novelties."

Generally there is a division of responsibility within a group, certain questions being handed up to committee or council while other questions are reserved for the decision of the members. Whether a particular power shall be delegated or reserved depends chiefly upon the *nature of the matter* that is to be decided.

HOW THE NATURE OF THE MATTER TO BE DEALT WITH DETERMINES WILL ORGANIZATION

If a matter lies within the ken of all and the proper disposal of it does not call for technical knowledge, it may well be settled in general assembly. The folk-mote of the ancient village community was quite at home in considering the time of mowing the common meadow, the rights of pasturage on the waste, the reallotment of plow land, and the upkeep of roads and irrigation canals. In the town meeting of our ancestors, the opening of highways, the building of bridges, the treatment of strayed stock, the maintenance of the school, and the care of the poor were well within the grasp of common minds lit up by sober discussion.

Decisions As to Technical Matters Are Handed Over to the Expert

But when a group is obliged to deal with matters outside the experience or knowledge of its ordinary members, power is likely to be delegated. The running of a co-operative store, elevator, or creamery lodges decision in a manager subject to a board of directors. The proper adjustment of dues and benefits is so technical a problem that, once the insurance feature has become prominent in a fraternal order or a friendly society, power tends to concentrate. The miners' courts of the California gold diggings dispensed a rough-and-ready justice so long as disputes related to sluice-boxes and claims; but as soon as property relations became complicated by leases, contracts, and debts, the camp chose a judge to try cases.

When external relations thrust internal affairs into the background, the members of a group are conscious of being on thin ice. Knowing little of the outside forces with which the group must come to terms, they come to lean heavily upon the few who appear to understand them. Hence the delicate process of

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The Management of External Relations Causes Power to Be Intrusted to the Few eognoscenti

adjustment — to church, to law, or to civil authorities, to other like groups, to a central body, to antagonists, or to competitors — prompts a more liberal grant of power to the head men of a group. When attention shifts again to internal affairs, the membership is likely to tie down these men again. When home affairs are overshadowed by foreign affairs, the situation strengthens parliament against public, ministry against parliament, throne against people. The security of a sea-girt or mountain-girt people favors the growth of popular government, but the pendulum swings the other way if the national economy comes to be based on foreign trade or if wide-flung empire permanently exalts remote matters above near matters. Imperialism is of necessity anti-democratic in its tendencies.

Decisions As to Means Passed Up to the Few, But Not Decisions As to Ends

Does the question to be dealt with relate to policy or to the means of carrying out a policy? The latter is likely to involve technical considerations and naturally will be passed up to the better informed. The full congregation will decide on the question of church union, but hardly on the exact terms of such union. The members of a cooperative society are fitter to debate the formation of branches than to formulate the rights and duties of the daughter society respecting the mother society. To the citizens may well be referred the questions: *Shall we build a capitol? Shall we bond ourselves for highway improvement? Shall we establish "mothers' compensation"? Shall we protect game?* but not questions as to the plan of the state house, the type of road to be built, the conditions of granting aid to the mothers of dependent children or the length of the closed season for game. No matter how intelligent and alert its members, a large group with numerous interests must leave most of its concerns to committee or board.

Members Will Reserve to Themselves General Decisions But Pass Up Subordinate Decisions

Again, a membership may establish certain agencies or institutions, leaving their precise mode of operation to be otherwise determined. Whether a scientific society shall found a research laboratory, a town organize a fire brigade, a trade union start an out-of-work fund, or a church establish a mission board may be decided by the members; but the many subordinate decisions which hinge upon their affirmative action in such cases must be made upon the basis of a fuller knowledge of details than they can hope to acquire.

A further distinction to be made is that between the adoption

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of a rule and its application to particular cases. Usually the former calls for a more general participation of wills than the latter. The chapter of the Knights of the Order of Hospitalers prescribed the rules of discipline which the superior enforced. The town meeting passed ordinances which were to be carried into effect by its chosen officials. The assembled gold miners agreed upon the laws of the camp and their standing committee or judge caused them to be obeyed. The organized physicians adopt a professional code of ethics, leaving the punishment of its violators to individual practitioners or to the local medical society.

The Last Power to Be Relinquished to the Executive

But even if the time comes when, feeling the need of expert judgment, the members of a group confide to a select body the making of laws, creed, ritual, declaration of principles, or code of discipline, they will keep their hands on matters in the deciding of which their agents may have an interest contrary to that of the general membership. It is, therefore, in *financial affairs* that the resistance to the centralization of power is most stubborn. Let the head men hold the steering wheel if only their constituents grasp the brake![1] In a jealous control of the alienation of corporate property, the incurring of debt, the audit of accounts, the tenure and compensation of officials, the appropriation of funds, the distribution of burdens, or the entering into trade agreement, alliance, or merger, the spirit of self-government may show itself long after all other corporate decisions have been passed up to the select or the expert. We have but to recall constitutional restrictions on the size of the public debt, the requirement of a referendum on a bond issue, and the rule that the vote on appropriation bills shall be larger than on other bills and shall be recorded.

or Even to Representatives Is the "Power of the Purse"

WHY FIGHTING GROUPS CENTRALIZE DECISION

Promptness and Secrecy of Decision Impossible Under a Deliberative Democracy

Frequent emergencies, calling for quick decisions, favor the concentrating of power in a small nucleus. When *promptitude* is clearly essential to success, the molding of many wills into one is felt to be too time-consuming. While the meeting deliberates or the election goes on, the golden moment for action may have passed, never to return. Under such circumstances, the handicap

[1] In the old Castilian Cortes, as in the early English Parliament, the point of insistence was not the right of the representatives of the people to participate in law making, or to control royal policy, but that no tax should be levied without the assent of Parliament.

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democracy imposes is plain to all. Hence, the more recurr need of prompt decision, the more willing are the membe group to confide large powers to a few.

The need of *secrecy* has the same effect. Not only is debate likely to let out group secrets, but it is impossible fo to take part in making a decision if that decision is to be co from foes or competitors.

Hence All Fighting Groups Lodge Great Power in the Hands of the Few

Now, in all forms of strife — commercial rivalry, inc struggle, political contest, negotiation, diplomacy, and war both promptness and secrecy are necessary. Hence, f groups finally lodge large power in the hands of the truste Stockholders limit themselves to the opportunity at stated vals of turning out one board of directors and putting in a Unionists may insist on the ballot for the calling or endin strike, but, while the fight is on, they allow decisions of the import to be made by their officials. The rank and file of p parties may pick the nominees, but the conduct of the ca is left in the hands of an irresponsible committee. A dem government at war is evidently handicapped as to promptne secrecy of decision. The consequence is that during a national war public discussion is damped, the press is curb legislature becomes less responsible to the electors, and the tive becomes less responsible to the legislature.

War Is Anti-Democratic

CHARACTER AS AFFECTED BY MODE OF ORGANIZING GROUP

Participation in the Making of Group Decisions Strengthens Character

Taking part in the making of group will strengthens ch and exclusion therefrom weakens it. In Canada, under t French régime, no local se'f-government was tolerated. and bridges were under a royal official. Only in church r had the people a voice, but no parish meeting to consider tl of a new church could be held without the special permis the intendant. Municipal officers there were none. The nances of the intendant and the council were law. All tions for a larger liberty were thwarted by governor, inte and bishop acting on instructions from the king of France duced at last to a state of passive obedience, the people ac the orders and edicts of the king without a murmur.

What was the type of character produced? When duri Revolution the American conquest brought the French cre the Illinois country under institutions of self-governmen

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Wise Self-Government Is a Fine Art Acquired Only by Long Practice

were, in the words of Mr. Roosevelt, "hopelessly unable to grapple with the new life. They had been accustomed to the paternal rule of priest and military commandant and they were quite unable to govern themselves, or to hold their own with the pushing, eager, and often unscrupulous new-comers." The early withdrawal of the Americans left the French free to do as they pleased. "Accustomed for generations to a master, they could do nothing with their new-found liberty beyond making it a curse to themselves and their neighbors." The judges they had elected "had no idea of their proper functions as a governing body to administer justice. At first they did nothing whatever beyond meet and adjourn." Finally they went to granting one another immense tracts of adjacent wild land. Plunged into chaos, the creoles sent petition after petition to Congress. "There is one striking difference between these petitions and the similar requests and complaints made from time to time by the different groups of American settlers west of the Alleghanies. Both alike set forth the evils which the petitioners suffered, and the necessity of governmental remedy. But whereas the Americans invariably asked that they be allowed to govern themselves, being delighted to undertake the betterment of their condition on their own account, the French, on the contrary, habituated through generations to paternal rule, were more inclined to request that somebody fitted for the task should be sent to govern them."[1] Yet these creoles were descendants of people who had once managed their common affairs in local assemblies. The most beautiful products of the Middle Ages, the churches, town halls, and cathedrals of France and Flanders, were financed by the people living all their lives near them, every man having a voice in the matter.

THE OUTLOOK

It Is Not Clear Whether We Are Moving Toward Self-Government or Toward a Wide Field of Discretion for the Expert Restrained by His

Various modern developments are affecting the current mode of organizing will. Thanks to the rising plane of popular intelligence, the members of open groups continually gain in capacity to judge common affairs. The printing press and improved electoral methods facilitate among dispersed persons the forming and focussing of will. On the other hand, questions once plain have become technical, and simple matters have become complicated. Large-scale effort being called for, small societies are often obliged

[1] Roosevelt, "The Winning of the West," Vol. II, p. 184.

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Professional Conscience and by Public Opinion

to merge into wider organizations, the result being that dec is farther removed from the members. In many lines mere perience is no longer enough and the trained man steps intc shoes of the amateur. To the expert, restrained by his pr sional conscience, strict control is nagging and hampering. N adays, too, at the elbow of the power holder stands imperious lic opinion, so that there is less need to tie him down in adv by the mandate of his constituents.

The net outcome of these changes is not the same in diffe fields. In some kinds of association the trend is democrati others it is unmistakably toward small boards and expert manent officials. What is to be the general trend is by no m clear.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Most Thought Structures Are the Outcome of Co-operation

idea tower like Mohammedan theology, Roman law, or the *Nibelungen Lied* is no less a team product than Solomon's : or the Panama Canal. No pyramid or cathedral embodies ors of so many generations of artificers as the science, let us : astronomy. The Common Law, the Yogi philosophy of or a matured branch of knowledge like physics constitutes knit system, and yet no one head, or even score of heads, aim the credit of so much logic. The thinking of many as resulted in a whole composed of congruous elements ogether as steel beams are fitted together into a bridge span. ocess of thus articulating ideas from different minds may ed " the organization of thought."

Not Every School or Movement Is Born of a Single Mind

does system-building exhaust mental cooperation. Com- pinion — class, group, or public opinion — is usually the nt of many individual contributions, the residue left after erings of each have been winnowed in the minds of the Behind the eighteenth-century liberal movement, the ro- movement, the Oxford movement, behind impressionism, , symbolism, or anarchism, lies a complex of ideas which man propounded. A " school " of thought, of literature, art starts not always with master and disciples, founder llowers; often it begins with a band of like-minded rebels the conventional, who stimulate and influence one another ey work out a creed, a style, or a manner which can make . The child in us demands a hero for every great achieve- and so the public clamors to be shown the " father " of the ovement, of industrial unionism, of scientific charity, of w penology, or of the public-recreation movement. As is not, the " parent " turns out to be a group of seminal coming gradually into touch and finding their way to a n doctrine or program.

e is intellectual team work, too, on much smaller problems

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than those of the great society. In each group — church lege, trade union, or co-operative society — there goes on a working out of opinion as to the special problems and polic that group; and, while opinion may reflect the counsel of sage member, it is usually the outcome of discussion and cc sus, i.e., of cooperative thinking.

Group Opinion Is Generally the Result of Consensus

The Development of Society Is Away from the Common Participation of All in the Organization of Ideas

Absorbing the product of others is not the same as prod As society develops, the proportion of us who bear a ha organizing its thought become less. More and more our aches come from the effort to appropriate the fruits of men's thinking. The primitive tribesman had more influen current ideas of right and wrong than has the common man theologian and philosopher take part in fixing moral distinc Early law springs from the customs of the folk, but the comes when specialists, such as judges, jurisconsults, and givers, have most to do with its fashioning. Poetry impro sung and danced to, stanza by stanza, in the primitive festal c ends as the handiwork of a few gifted word-smiths. Abo time of Socrates we see fruitful philosophic thinking quit corner and market-place to hide with a circle of choice spi some secluded garden. In Athens, says Zimmern, "the people to make a regular use of private gardens and to look them as indispensable were the philosophers." [1]

This Is a Consequence of Our Intellectual Specialization

The reason for this concentration is near at hand. T thinking goes on only among persons well matched in equip Hence, as soon as there appear in any field men of special k edge or training, with exceptional facilities in the way of c tions, laboratories, travel, mutual access, and stimulating as tion, the rest of us content ourselves with walking hencefo trails other men have blazed. The rise of scientific me makes it impossible for "wise" women with their herb ga to contribute to the art of healing. With the spread of ag tural experiment stations, the intelligent farmer with only hi experience to go on makes no further contribution to agricu As the tasks of government become more technical — e.g., tation, conservation, and regulation — the political talk of house and corner grocery is paralyzed with a sense of futili

In a word, just as we become parasites on the experts wh our houses and test our food, so our minds become parasit

[1] "The Greek Commonwealth," p. 56.

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the specialized minds engaged in rearing law, morality, religion, literature, and science. The organizing of thought in respect to fundamentals is left to a small number of men. More and more we retire to the side lines and watch the star players advance the ball. The bulk of us are consumers of the mental products of the masters, mere passengers who do nothing to get the ship forward, but (sometimes!) pay the wages of those who work her.

Most of Us Are Consumers But Not Producers of Socially Valid Thought

Our growing passiveness in respect to constructive thought does not cause us to become equally passive as regards decision. Jealously we cling to our place in *will-organization* even if we drop out of *thought-organization*. The specialist shall not steal away the layman's freedom. Although most of us no longer discuss the foundations of right and wrong for fear of getting beyond our depth, we choose freely between the traditional ethics and the new moralities. For all that the framing of religion now goes on far above his head, the ordinary man is not mentally enslaved so long as he may please himself as to the type of religion he adopts. The committing of the technical tasks of government to trained men does not, as some allege, substitute "government by experts" for "the people's government." The determining of functions and policies still rests with the citizens or their representatives. State highway engineer, food chemist, forester, or pathologist is there only as a servant to carry out effectively their purpose.

We Drop Out of Society's Thought-organization, But Cling to Our Place in Its Will-Organization

UNCONSCIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Worn path and made road are collective products, but the makers of the former knew not what they did. Until writing or printing made it possible to fix and identify the product of the individual artist or thinker, the organizing of thought into stable forms must have gone on mainly in an unconscious way. That greatest storehouse of thought, *language*, came into being by a process which scholars describe as *growth*, rather than *production*. Tarde gives all the credit of language to word inventors, forgetting that every word or phrase they coined had to run the gauntlet of the tribe. Only those which struck their fellows as pat or fit survived, and these were trimmed or twisted to suit better the tongues or minds of the users.

Of Collective Origin Are Languages

So was it with the making of popular proverbs, saws, and riddles. Some, no doubt, were struck off perfect in an inspired mo-

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Proverbs and Riddles,

ment; but others reached their terse and telling form only after many wits had helped to file and point and barb them. No end of sayings failed to "make a hit" and were forgotten; so that the ones treasured and handed down were just those which "rang a bell" in the average mind.

Myths, Fairy Tales, Legends and Ballads

Nor are early myth, fairy tale, legend, folk-song, or ballad to be looked upon as the handiwork of the individual artist, like the modern poem or drama. Scholars now assure us that they were "communal" in origin, meaning, not that the "people" was their author, but that so many had a hand in fashioning them and that, being transmitted only by oral tradition, they were so easily molded to the general taste, that each embodies and expresses not an *individual* mind, but the soul of the *tribe* or the *folk*. The author of the ballad, insists Professor Gummere, is "the singing, dancing, improvising crowd." Among primitives, as among old-style European peasants, nearly every one can improvise. Says Grosse, "Every native in Australia himself provides the songs of his house." Among the Eskimos "nearly everybody has his own songs." In the festal dance songs are built up bit by bit, one after another contributing a short improvisation in the intervals of a chorus. Winnowed, handed down in tradition, and gradually perfected, these become ballad and folk-song.

Even Today Negro Folk-songs Are Springing from the Communal Mind

One reason the verses of Negro folk-songs are so broken and fragmentary is that they originated in the communal excitement of the religious assembly. "A happy phrase, a striking bit of imagery, flung out by some individual was taken up and repeated by the whole congregation. Naturally the most expressive phrases, the lines that most adequately voiced the deep, unconscious desires of the whole people, were remembered longest and repeated most frequently. There was, therefore, a process of natural section by which the best, the most representative verses, those which most adequately expressed the profounder and more permanent moods and sentiments of the Negro, were preserved and became part of the permanent tradition of the race." [2]

The Epic Poem Is Rarely an Individual Product

Thanks to literary research, we no longer look upon the folk-epic, *Iliad* or *Mahabarata,* as the creation of a single genius, but as a unified collection of song-stuffs which have long been accumulating. The epic poet is the heir to great treasures. For ar-

[2] Park, "Publications of the American Sociological Society," Vol. XIII, p. 55.

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ranging and harmonizing the traditional materials, filling the gaps, rounding it all into an artistic whole, and writing it down, he gets the glory of the epic; but we now recognize him as, in truth, the artistic organizer of the lays of many forgotten singers.

The Diffusion of the Art of Reading Kills Improvisation

When a folk takes to reading, it loses the knack and the courage for improvising; communal poesy dies out, and the individual artist holds the center of the stage. Thus arises a kind of parasitism, the people at large becoming passive consumers of literature, while production shrinks to the one in ten thousand — the creative man of letters.

The Folk Has Become Barren; Today Only the Individual Produces

Early morals and custom were a snug fit because the outcome of an unconscious process. Rules arose, not from reflection upon the requisites of social order, but from the clash of egoisms. The conflicting desires of interfering individuals ground against one another until, in conceding that one must not "remove the landmark" nor "make the ephah small" nor "withhold the pledge" after the debtor had repaid the loan, they ceased to chafe. Thus folk molded law as hand molds glove. Then came the individual thinker — prophet, lawgiver, religious teacher, schoolman, canonist, moral philosopher — correcting or completing folk custom and law. Finally, in working out national codes and framing great pieces of constructive legislation, our own time has discovered how to procure the collaboration of many picked minds.

Once written down or printed, a man's work is tagged and stays as he left it. As such works accumulate, the communal fount dries up. Specialists and schools arise, so that the people at large have no part in advancing thought or art. The folk being out of it, why does not the individual take the bit in his teeth and bolt? Surely there will be confusion, a riot of temperament and caprice! No, the thought of an age shows much consistency and dovetails fairly well into the past. If agreement is wanting in its metaphysics or ethics or philosophy, it is because rival systems divide the field, each of them, however, a logical structure. Most of the literary masterpieces of a period show certain common characteristics, as if the writers had been taking account of one another.

One reason is *the dependence of the creative genius on other geniuses, living and dead.* Few minds become pregnant with literature until they have been fructified by close acquaintance with

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The Creative Genius Is Fructified by Acquaintance with the Best Product of His Predecessors

the best that has been said or sung. Herder has this in mind when he speaks of *die Kette der Bildung*. Taine exhorts the striving artist: "Fill your spirit and your heart, however great they may be, with the ideas and feelings of your century and the work of art will come." In explaining a writer he attaches great importance to the *moment*, i.e., the direction that art happened to be taking at the time.

The Public No Longer Produces, But It Criticizes and Selects

Another organizing influence is the *public*, which acts as a sieve, letting some products of genius pass while others drop to the scrap heap. Since thinkers cannot give ethics or law a slant that shall bring it into constant clash with the popular sense of right, since poets and artists cannot long run counter to the popular taste, the barren public is after all a sleeping partner in the culture of the time. To the fertile spirits it might well utter the warning: "They reckon ill who leave me out." The public, however, has little to do with the rising structure of science. Unlike jurisprudence or literature, which have to suit themselves to the people, science has to conform to reality. Its line of advance is determined by its own canons of truth, not by popular favor. A music the people will not listen to, a literature they will not read, a morality they will not approve, can hardly be said to exist for them; but a science they do not comprehend may be serving them in countless ways.

CONSCIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Of the older forms of organization, Mr. Wallas, who has shed more light than any one else on the organizing of thought, says:

Conditions of Fruitful Oral Discussion

The simplest and oldest is that which is constituted by a small number of persons — from two to perhaps seven or eight — who meet together for the purpose of sustained oral discussion. This form may be studied at its finest point of development in the dialogues of Plato. It is, as the Greeks knew, extraordinarily difficult. At first sight it might appear that the main condition of its success is that it should be as little "organized" as possible, that the group should meet by accident, and that each member of the group should freely obey his casual impulses both in speaking and in remaining silent. But a closer examination shows that the full efficiency of argument, carried on even by the most informal body of friends, requires, not only that each should be master of the most delicate shades of the same language, and that each should be accustomed to make use of

similar rules of Thought, but that they should have a large body of knowledge in common, that each should be familiar with the peculiar strength and weakness of each of the others, and, above all, that each should be influenced by the same desire to follow truth "whithersoever the argument may lead." All this requires that the group should consist, not of men of average powers who have come accidentally together, but of men selected (as Socrates, for instance, selected his disciples) in some way which should secure that the worst of them should possess a rather unusual share of natural ability, acquired training, and interest in ideas. And normally, the necessary discipline and concentration cannot be secured unless some one of the party is accepted by the others as a leader, and does not abuse his position.[3]

Oral Dialectic Neglected in Our Own Time

The neglect of dialectic in our own time he attributes to the difficulty of modern philosophers coming together frequently, to their need of economizing time, to the rôle of the printing-press in circulating ideas, and to the fact that the modern scientist does much of his thinking while he is closely observing the concrete in the laboratory or the field. He insists, however, that we now rely too much on reading and solitary thinking, and that, in branches whose subject-matter is human action and feeling, oral dialectic "has magnificent possibilities of fertility." One advantage is "a great extension of the range of immediate mental association." The solitary thinker, having tackled a problem, "waits till some promising idea comes into his mind and then dwells on it till further ideas spring from it." But if a group is engaged upon the problem, the waits are shorter, and each gets the benefit of such happy thoughts as occur to the other.

Apart from this, many minds are keyed to their best only when at grips with other congenial minds. The conditions that rouse the subconscious self to utmost productivity vary greatly for different people. In olden time intellectuals sought the monastic cell; to-day they shut out distraction by means of a soundproof sky-lit studio at the top of the house. Some are most visited by ideas in darkness, or in artificial light. The born orator, on the other hand, is never so inspired as before "a sea of faces." Some get their best thoughts on an express train, while I know of an eminent mathematician who took his hardest problems to the opera, where the lights and the stir gave his intellect a rare edge.

[3] "The Great Society," pp. 242–43.

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I myself have never had such free and onward thinking as in the thronged noisy streets of far, strange cities, where I knew not a word nor a soul.

Oral Dialectic Stimulating to Thought,

Solitude is needed, to be sure, for working out and fusing together ideas, but usually one's mind leaps and mounts best in discussion with a few kindred spirits who have like intellectual background and interest, attach the same meaning to words, and recognize the same rules of thought. The visible effort of each suggests a like effort to the rest. Challenge rouses the emulative spirit, and there is incitement in the evident zest of one's fellows in the sport of chasing ideas.

But Difficult to Manage Well

Such dialectic is, however, rare, for it presupposes a technique which few know, or, knowing, will observe. Apart from such obvious pitfalls as lack of real mental sympathy among the participants, use of terms in different senses, neglect to define the issue, straying from lack of leadership, we see countless discussions end in nothing because there has been, in fact, no cooperation. One welcomes the opportunity to air his prejudices. Another loves to hear himself talk. This disputant thinks he is in a tourney, while that one knows nothing on the subject, but will display his versatility. If any one participant lacks respect for others, good manners, or a love of truth greater than love of self, the discussion turns into fireworks, a sparring match, or a monologue.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Discussion in Print

Discussion conducted in print eliminates personal factors — appearance, voice, manners, etc. — which in oral discussion often prove a stumbling-block to concerted thinking. On the other hand, it is less stimulating to the minds engaged, and the participants may miss a close grapple. Sophistry, insincerity, and pose are not so promptly unmasked as in oral intercourse. Contrasting the mode of organizing thought in government departments with the oral methods of Parliament, Mr. Wallas observes:

> The total effect, therefore, of a modern official organization based solely on writing is the combination of great efficiency in the handling of detail on established lines, with the existence of an "official atmosphere" which may be incompatible with some of the finer intellectual requirements of government, and has, in fact, often produced a general dislike of official methods among the outside public.[4]

[4] "The Great Society," p. 270.

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Formal Disputation No Longer Trusted as a Method of Arriving at the Truth

How formal disputation has fallen into discredit as an instrument for ascertaining truth! Recall the breathless interest in theological and metaphysical disputes in Christian Alexandria, Antioch, and Byzantium. In the Middle Ages it stood in high favor, and it was not until well into the modern era that Sir Henry Wotton expressed his belief that "the itch of disputing makes the scab of the churches." Once scholars could think of no better feat for the budding Doctor of Philosophy than to take an intellectual position and maintain it against all comers. Years ago in the University of Berlin I saw a youth qualify for his doctorate by defending his "thesis" against three friends, each attacking it in a speech prepared in advance by the candidate himself and gracefully surrendering after his objections had been neatly bowled over!

The Students of Nature Have Advanced by a Totally Different Method

That we now see disputation as *conflict* rather than *cooperation*, with the waste that antagonistic effort always entails, is owing, no doubt, to the triumphs of science. The students of nature have got on so wonderfully, not by wielding sharper wits than the schoolmen had, but by resorting to observation, experiment, measurement, and record. Their technique for interrogating the concrete succeeds even in the attack upon the problems of mind, government, and society, so that every year sees it carried into new fields of inquiry. Research leaves, to be sure, a place for the arena, but we realize now that full knowledge of the relevant facts is a prerequisite for profitable discussion. It is just because they were unprovided with the results of impartial, well-directed investigation that the intellectual athletes of the Middle Ages did not get far with all their clever debates and polemics.

Their Discussions but Point the Way to Fresh Investigations to Clear up Doubtful Points

When men of science meet, how much time is given to presenting the results of investigation, how little to discussion! Such difference of opinion as may develop touching the correct interpretation of these results is presently traced to some flaw or ambiguity in the data, which can be removed by ascertaining certain facts not yet brought to light. Instead of running on without getting anywhere, discussion but points the way for a fresh sally into the concrete. If genealogies and herd books leave students of heredity still in doubt, they devise crucial breeding experiments which will settle the question one way or another. If geologists differ as to the number of glacial periods the deposits indicate, instead of wrangling they scatter to renewed study of

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moraine and drift. Let sociologists disagree as to whether fewer births mean declining fertility or limitation of the family, and soon some one settles the matter by drawing out confidential information from some hundreds of married couples. The continual expansion of government statistical inquiries testifies to the growing demand for adequate data as a basis for the profitable discussion of proposed laws and policies.

What of forensic disputation as a means of organizing the thought of judicial bodies about a lawsuit?

In Courts Laboratory Methods Are Gaining upon Forensic Disputation

Despite the glowing testimonials lawyers give it, doubt is spreading as to the value of the time-honored contentious procedure of the courtroom. The best-qualified man there, the judge; it reduces to a mere umpire. Hence a rising demand that his rôle be magnified, if not to that of a Continental judge, then at least to that of an English judge. More and more, chemists, physicians, and alienists testify *for the court,* not for one side, and some of our courts retain such experts on their staff. In the juvenile court the methods of drawing out the truth and reaching a judgment resemble those of a clinic. Before the great administrative boards that have been set up lately in some of our states — public utilities commissions, industrial commissions, etc.— a direct, matter-of-fact procedure borrowed from science leaves small scope for the battle between opposing lawyers. On a question of grade crossing or factory ventilation, instead of hearing advocates, the commissions have their trusty agents get the lie of the land or analyze the factory air. It seems probable, then, that in adjudication the methods of the laboratory will gain upon the methods of the forum.

Parliamentary Discussions Are Less Influential than Formerly

There is good reason why popularly-elected representative assemblies the world over have lost prestige, so that people are coming to hearken more to intellectuals outside of public life — university presidents, inventors, scholars, philanthropists, and captains of industry — and less to parliamentary orators. Owing to the clamor of each locality to have its own man in the legislature, the lawmaking body is so large that only by courtesy can it be called "deliberative." It is there *to register will,* and this function keeps it bigger than any thinking group should be. It includes too many who are inert, or who clog the swollen current of discussion with "buncombe," for the "folks back home." The thinking members themselves are vitiated. Before an assembly

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The Organization of Thought Goes on Not in the Legislature but in Its Committees

so large they fire off speeches of the lamp, which so poorly focus upon the issues developed in discussion that opponents glide past each other like locomotives on parallel tracks. They are tempted to oratory, the foe of logic, and to partisan debate, the foe of reasonableness. Candor well-nigh perishes, for it is harder to recede or accept correction before hundreds than before tens. Hence the "House" limits itself to ultimate decision, while the hammering of laws into shape goes on only in committees of a dozen men or less.

The democratic-looking proposal to make all committee sessions public is a proposal to hunt frank and fruitful discussion from its last refuge in capitols. The barrenness of the average full-dress legislative debate is due to pose, the participants addressing, not their fellow-members, but a less-enlightened outside public. Instead of candid man-to-man talk, we get claptrap and sparring for party advantage. Publicity would introduce a like insincerity into committee discussions and oblige the majority representatives to talk matters over informally in advance in order to clarify their minds before the curtain went up.

The bodies charged with thinking upon the policies of business corporations, colleges, charities, associations, and clubs are small, rarely including more than a score of members. Such a group is not unwieldy, but still it is a problem how to get all the members to keep their minds taut. Thus Mr. Wallas testifies:

Half the Members of Small Deliberative Groups Make No Mental Effort

> I have myself, during the last twenty-five years, sat through perhaps three thousand meetings of municipal committees of different sizes and for different purposes, and I am sure that at least half the men and women with whom I have sat were entirely unaware that any conscious mental effort on their part was called for. They attended in almost exactly the same mental attitude in which some of them went to church — with a vague sense, that is to say, that they were doing their duty and that good must come of it. If they became interested in the business it was an accident. Of the remaining half, perhaps two-thirds had come with one or two points which they wanted to "get through," and meanwhile let the rest of the business drift past them, unless some phrase in the discussion roused them to a more or less irrelevant interruption.[5]

Rubber-Stamp Directors of Companies

Such persons are prone to follow the lead of dominating individuals who will spare them brain wear and tear. Not long ago

[5] "The Great Society," p. 276.

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the governing boards of some great American corporations had so abdicated their thinking function that directors intrusted with the interests of thousands of stockholders would in ten minutes dispose of motions involving tens of millions of dollars. The arrogant order, "Vote first and debate afterward," shows how the magnate had come to look upon the board as his private rubber stamp. Says the Interstate Commerce Commission of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company: "A number of directors appear in many instances to have voted without knowledge and to have approved the expenditure of many millions without information. . . . They merely approved what had been done by some committee or some officers of the Company. The directors' minutes reveal that it was largely a body of ratification."

The evil and ruin that followed in the wake of such financial dictatorships show how barbarous it is in vast and complicated affairs to rely on individual judgment rather than on concerted thought.

What a Chairman May Do to Invigorate His Board

A skilful chairman may do much to lift the intellectual torpor of which Mr. Wallas complains. By suggestion here and there a man gifted with imagination may so link the business in hand with vital persons and issues as to whet interest. By feigned skepticism or carping criticism of the good ideas put forth he may irritate the more inert members to the point of attention. Or he may dart a timely glance, a query, or a personal allusion that will rouse the flagging mind to effortful thought. The fact is that the psychology of small deliberating groups has never been properly brought to book.

Reading Displaces Listening as a Source of Ideas

Thanks to our growing dependence on the vast impersonal organization that goes on far above our heads, reading is taking the place of oral intercourse as a source of ideas. Machinery and shop supervision are squeezing spoken discussion out of the working hours of wage-earners, while the reading habit restricts it in their leisure. Most urban minds feed on newspapers as silkworms feed on mulberry leaves. Upon the consciousness of multitudes the daily sheet stamps impressions, ideas, and beliefs, just as the Hoe press prints endlessly the same thing upon miles of white paper.

Even if the wider reading of magazines and books should check the manufacture of public opinion in this wholesale way by irre-

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For the Sake of Stimulus We Should Revive the Oral Interchange of Ideas

sponsible news er owners, it would still be bad for the bulk of people never to get beyond so unstimulating a way of gaining ideas. Welcome, therefore, be the newer pedagogy which encourages the pupil to self-activity and trains him to debate and the oral interchange of ideas! Even more promising is the spread of "social centers" where neighbors in their common hall consider community problems of which they have first-hand knowledge. While some public matters are passing out of the range of profitable popular discussion into the hands of specialists, many personal and family problems are coming to be in a way community problems needing to be threshed out in neighborhood gatherings.

THE PLANNED ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

The thinking of the Political Party Is Organised on a Much Broader Basis than Formerly

In various spheres intellectual cooperation on a large scale has been worked out. Take, for example, the political party. Where, as in South America to-day, no machinery exists for eliciting judgment on public questions from numerous scattered persons, the formulas of a party emanate from a few leaders, who put forth the best compromise they can make between what they think and what they imagine will appeal to the voters. In our early history a political program would be worked out by the members of Congress belonging to the same party. In a later stage local party supporters choose delegates to a convention which considers the declaration of principles laid before it by a large and representative "committee on the platform." Still later an intermediate body, such as the "state convention," may not only declare itself on state questions, but may formulate its judgment as to national issues in advance of the action of the national convention of its party.

The Political "Manifesto" Has Gone Out

Although the delegate convention exists primarily to arrive at common *purposes* rather than at common *judgments*, i.e., to find out what the members *want*, rather than what they *think*, there is a plain tendency for the deliberating element of a party to become larger. The political "manifesto" put forth by a small influential group has had its day. Experience shows that, when the proper machinery is provided, a considerable number of persons can be included in the party brain. That the ultimate sources of their opinions may be half a score of statesmen, editors, or philosophic writers does not qualify the statement that the political party is

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moving toward a more comprehensive organization of thought.

Need of Erecting Laws on a Broader Basis of Thought

The same tendency is to be seen in government. Now that government every year touches the lives of its citizens at more points, there is need of a wider organization of thought respecting particular projects of law. Since nowadays the legislative committee is the incubator of laws, one means of getting more thought behind a law is the public committee hearing. To be sure, most of those who appear represent *desire* rather than *thought;* and the law-smiths profit little from learning that exporters or coal operators or trainmen are *for* or *against* something. Nevertheless, the spokesmen for scientific and professional bodies and for public welfare organizations frequently contribute judgments which a great many first-class minds have helped to form.

Sampling the Social Mind and Inviting the Opinion of Bodies of Outside Experts

One foresees not only that committees will more often sit between legislative sessions and hold hearings in different places, so as to sample thoroughly the mind of the country, but that they will more frequently resort to the principal thought foci in society. Groups of disinterested experts such as are found in the Efficiency Society, the Genetic Association, the Life Extension Institute, the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, and many like bodies, will be invited to give an opinion as to legislative proposals within their field, or even to formulate the essentials of a sound public policy.

Let the Legislators Take Counsel with Experienced Administrators

Nor should it be forgotten that administration presents certain intellectual apexes. In the older theory of self-government the civil servant was an inert tool, from whom the representatives of the government could learn nothing. We now see that the trained permanent official is quite as able a man as the legislator and possesses, moreover, a fund of valuable technical knowledge and experience which the legislator lacks. No doubt the official is prone to press for more money and authority than he ought to have. Nevertheless, in the interest of rational law-making, there should be nothing to hinder the head of an inspection service, the chief forester, the superintendent of insurance, or the chairman of the farm-loan board from appearing before a legislative committee on a matter within his ken and shedding on it such light as he may have.

Unless there is this intellectual commerce between the two branches of government, the legislature must more and more

confine itself to determining general policies, leaving to the administrative department a wide field of discretion. Instead of fixing the fishing season for each of several lakes, prescribing in detail the compensation for the various kinds of injury arising from industrial accidents, or specifying which railroads shall carry passengers for two cents a mile and which may charge two and one-half cents, such matters will be confided to well-paid experts gradually developing their policies out of their experience in working with the concrete.

Plato's Academy and the Museum of Alexandria as Centers of Cooperative Thinking

In scientific inquiry intellectual cooperation is very old and highly developed. The Academy of Plato, who bequeathed to his followers his walled garden and appointments in the place in Athens named after the hero Hekademus, became the model for all scientific bodies and universities, just as the famous Museum of Alexandria gave its name to all our collections of scientific materials. In the words of Cicero, "It is from this Academy, as from a regular magazine of all the arts, that mathematicians, poets, musicians, aye, and physicians too, have proceeded!"

In the great research institution maintained in Alexandria by the Ptolemies, the state makes its first appearance as promoter of the arts and sciences. The brilliant contributions of the Alexandrian school were due not wholly to the observatory, library, dissecting house, laboratories, and collections provided, nor even to the endowment of productive scholars. In the Museum, as in a modern university, were gathered astronomers, geographers, mathematicians, physicists, naturalists, and historians, who not only studied and meditated, but, through converse and debate, kindled one another to a brighter incandescence, like embers laid together.

Founding of the Modern Academies of Learning

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the founding of several academies of inquirers, who examined and discussed one another's contributions to knowledge and decided which deserved to be published. Italy led the way in forming such groups, the most famous of which is the Accademia dei Lincei ("of the lynx- eyed"), which had as one of its earliest English members the great champion of the inductive method, Lord Bacon. The Paris Academy of Sciences, instituted in 1666, has the most brilliant record of all for the sending out of scientific expeditions, the support of fruitful research undertakings and the co-ordination of inquiries. The French Institute, incorporated

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shortly after the Revolution, has undoubtedly done more than any other single agency to focus choice minds upon the problems of pure knowledge.

Lord Bacon's Vision of "Solomon's House"

Three centuries ago, Lord Bacon in his *New Atlantis* imagined a great research institution which he called "Solomon's House," for which he outlined a very elaborate division of intellectual labor. Besides various groups of experimenters, he provided for three, poetically called "Lamps," who after considering the work of the experimenters, "should take care out of them to Direct New Experiments of a Higher Light, more Penetrating into Nature than the Former." Then, besides such as "do Execute the Experiments so directed, and Report upon them," there should be yet another three, known as "Interpreters of Nature," who should "raise the former Discoveries by Experiments, into Greater Observations, Axiomes, and Aphorisms." This prophecy was in a way realized in the founding in 1662 of the Royal Society of Great Britain and influenced the vast collaboration of scientific men in the French *Encyclopédie* of the eighteenth century.

Modern Instances of Scientific Cooperation on a Great Scale

In modern science, the tendency to vaster and more sustained cooperation is pronounced. Some learned societies have embarked on undertakings which have required well-nigh a century to complete. The investigation of natural events which recur infrequently, like earthquakes and sun-spot periods, or of very slow processes like star movements, climatic alterations, land elevations or subsidences, and the evolutionary changes in organisms, call for a volume and continuity of effort far surpassing the scope and span of life of any individual inquirer. There is even an international association of academies which has helped bring about world-wide cooperation in solar research and in the anatomy of the human brain.

Thinking Less Cooperative Than Investigation

No doubt such teamwork is more successful in providing data than in discovering new truths. The history of science shows that the guiding and fruitful ideas which contain the seeds of later developments spring up in the mind of the solitary investigator or thinker. Remember Wordsworth's lines on Isaac Newton's statue at Cambridge:

> The marble index of a mind forever
> Wandering through strange fields of thought alone.

It is certain, however, that he who wrests new secrets from the Sphinx must watch the product of his co-workers everywhere and keep in constant and vital touch with everything that every creative mind the world over is doing in his field. Bound closely together by their special societies and journals, the attackers of the same problem in many lands form, as it were, a single band of treasure-seekers digging in neighboring spots for buried gold.

No Cooperation in the Field of Art

While many may join forces in working out a group of alkaloids, investigating radioactivity, or carrying out a vast experiment in heredity, it is not so in the sphere of art. Never does the work of art bear the name of a group. Normally, the book, the poem, the play, the picture, the bust, the song, is the product of an individual. Nevertheless, in art one notices a certain development unknown in science, viz., *the profession of critic*.

Why Critics Constitute a Distinct Group in Art and Literature but Not in Science

Since the best critics of the product of scientific thought are other scientific workers, there is no tendency in science for production and appraisal to be segregated with different groups. In art and literature, on the other hand, there is a distinct function, that of *criticism*, discharged by men who are not necessarily poets, playwrights, composers, painters, or sculptors. Indeed, critics are rarely creative; so that the creative spirits, resenting the critic coming between them and the public, fling the sneer: "Those who can, do; those who can't, criticize." However, in view of the output clamoring for attention, the public is obliged to choose what it shall read, or listen to, or look at, and without the critic it would be at the mercy of the megaphone and the "ad" man. Those who "know what they like" have less influence on the choices of the public than those who know *why* they like or dislike.

Art's Service Must Be Direct

The product of the investigator runs no gauntlet of professional critics because, in order to fulfil its mission, it is not obliged to attract the attention of the public. A discovery about bacteria or enzymes may serve mankind just as well if it reaches only the physicians and sanitarians. Truth may minister to us at any number of removes and needs not, therefore, be apprehended by him whom it is to serve. A work of art, on the other hand, is intended to act upon us directly. The poem or picture is not a means to something beyond, but makes an immediate appeal to the human spirit. It is the inevitable rivalry of artists to attract the notice of the busy preoccupied public that calls into being the professional critics of literature, music, art, and drama.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DETERIORATION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES

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The Character of a Social Structure Is Not Identical with That of the Individuals Who Constitute It

SOCIAL structures are made up of people, yet it would be rash to assume that they can have no tendencies of their own. There are structures so badly constructed that they would fail even if manned by saints; while there are others so shrewdly put together that they would succeed even if manned by sinners. Nor should we overlook the fact that the long-lived organization which survives staff after staff and gathers tradition as an old wall gathers ivy is virtually a soul-mold. Although it takes the stamp of strong personalities, it tones down, keys up, twists about, inspires or deadens the ordinary person who becomes identified with it. Structures then will not be plastic because living beings compose them, nor healthy because their members are sound, nor serviceable because these members are busy. From being badly constituted or from wrong relations to their environment, structures are subject to diseases which hinder them from realizing the purposes they were intended to serve.

PATRONAGE

Nepotism an Ancient and Long Recognized Canker of Organizations

Someone has to pick the members of a staff, and it is not easy to prevent that one from assigning the desirable post to kinsman, or friend, or highest bidder rather than to the best-qualified applicant. Nepotism is an old abuse that now excites resentment whenever it is recognized. In China the claims of family are felt so much more keenly than any other claims that every kind of public organization is vitiated by nepotism. In the European Dark Ages the hereditary kingship superseded the elective kingship partly because it was cheaper to satiate one royal family than a series of such families. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries nepotism was the cancer in the Papal States. Each pope felt that he could trust only those utterly dependent on himself, consequently he raised his own relations to wealth and influence. Each papal clan hurried to gorge itself before the next pope

should supplant it with his own hungry kinsfolk. Under Clement VIII the Aldobrandini, under Paul V the Borghesi, under Gregory XV the Lodovisi, and under Urban VIII, with unparalleled rapacity, the Barberini enriched themselves from a chronically depleted treasury. To raise money for them, offices were sold and issue after issue of government bonds marketed at ruinous rates.

Wherever there are good livings to bestow, nepotism or worse will creep in. Eighty years ago, commenting on a proposal to take away the patronage of the English cathedrals and confer it on the bishops, Dean Sydney Smith wrote:

Its Ecclesiastical Role

> I do not want to go into a long and tiresome story of Episcopal nepotism; but it is notorious to all that bishops confer their patronage upon their sons and sons-in-law and all their relations, and it is really quite monstrous in the face of the world who see this every day and every hour to turn round upon deans and chapters, "We are credibly informed that there are instances in your chapter where preferment has not been given to the most learned men you can find, but to the sons and brothers of some of the Prebendaries. These things must not be — we must take these benefices into our own keeping"; and this is the language of men swarming themselves with sons and daughters, and who, in enumerating the advantages of their stations, have always spoken of the opportunities of providing for their families as the greatest and most important.

Prostitution of Public Office to Private or Party Advantage

Nepotism is the disease of well-endowed churches just as gout is the ailment of rich men. On the other hand, the disposal of places in return for money, political influence, or personal service makes a black chapter in the history of the state. In England over two centuries ago the policy of turning out all the lower officials to make room for party men was adopted by the very generation that originated party government. Under George III, who used it to get the better of the party system, the patronage abuse reached scandalous heights, but after the American Revolution the practice of selling offices or letting them go by favor declined, and patronage was dispensed with a more and more strict regard to party advantage. Between 1820 and 1870 England went over to the merit system, established open competition for 80,000 government positions, and laid the foundation for an unprecedented efficiency in her administrative departments. In the meantime the United States was moving in the other direc-

Struggle between the "Merit" System and the "Spoils" System

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tion, and in the third quarter of the nineteenth century the sacrifice of fitness in public servants to favoritism and party work reached its climax. During the last thirty-seven years, however, great progress has been made in delivering public office from subordination to private or partisan interest.

The Disease of Patronage May Attack Any Type of Social Structure

Patronage has gone to such lengths in the public service because the service is sustained by taxes rather than by voluntary contributions and because no constituency is so incompetent as the general public to judge what it is getting for its money. Nevertheless, the canker may attack any structure that offers places worth having. Business enterprises, universities, churches, charities, and voluntary associations are by no means immune to it. Occasionally nepotism shows itself very clearly in the salary roll of banks and life insurance companies. Fortunately the disease is a patent one, and publicity, proper checks in the power of appointment, and scientific methods of testing qualifications and measuring performance afford the foes of patronage effective means of getting rid of it.

CORRUPTION

Betrayal of Trust by Official or Functionary

The play of private motives in its personnel may cause a social structure to work quite otherwise than it was intended to work. Then, too, outsiders who have an interest in deflecting the servant from the path of honor study and plot how they may tempt him with the prospect of secret illicit advantage. Under the slang names of "graft" and "boodle" Americans have in recent years become familiar with the means by which their agents are seduced from their known duty. For a bribe the alderman votes to present a valuable franchise to a traction company, the supervising architect of the new city hall passes work "not up to specifications," or the police ignores the existence of outlaw vice shops. The gift of railroad passes or the promise of political aid influences the vote of the legislator. Contracts for public work are jockeyed into the hands of a favored firm instead of the lowest bidder. The purchase of supplies on the public account opens the door to jobbery. Clerks carry home office supplies as "perquisites," while inspectors are induced to shut their eyes to evils which it is their duty to report.

But betrayal of the master is by no means confined to public servants. Railroad officials withhold freight cars from coal

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companies along the line that neglect to present them with blocks of stock. Buyers for retail firms swing orders to the wholesaler most lavish with presents or entertainment. Officials take advantage of their inside knowledge to speculate in the securities of their company. A ring of officials taps the treasury of a railroad with bills for needless or fictitious repairs on cars. The directress of an old ladies' home gets admitted to the institution an aged family servant whom she ought to care for herself. In order to attract a gift of tainted money a church muffles its moral message, while in order to hold in line a restive donor a college denatures its teaching in ethics or economics.

Every Type of Social Structure Is Subject to It

Nor is corruption confined to social structures. A great variety of legal relations, such as master and servant, principal and agent, ward and guardian, attorney and client, partnership, trusteeship, etc., opens a door to lucrative betrayal of trust. Indeed stealing, bribery, and illicit advantage are most difficult and dangerous in well-organized structures like a government bureau, or a railroad office, where accounting is thorough, responsibility definite, and every transaction leaves permanent traces of itself. While constantly new and ingenious tricks are invented to get around new safeguards, there are signs that precaution is overtaking rascality. More and more, undetected misconduct is confined to a ring of accomplices who are posted at the strategic points in the organization.

It Is Found Not Only in Organizations, but as Well in Relationships

RED TAPE

In the endeavor to forestall corruption administrators sometimes bring on a disease nearly as bad, viz., a complication of procedure which makes prompt action impossible. Thus a French commission cites the case of an officer who, having received permission to have made for him at the Hotel des Invalides a pair of non-regimental boots, found himself indebted to the state for the sum of 7 fr. 80, which he was very willing to pay. To render this payment regular there were necessary three letters from the Minister of War, one from the Minister of Finances, and fifteen letters, decisions, or reports from generals, directors, chiefs of departments, etc.[1]

Red Tape Generally Originates in the Endeavor to Make Corruption Impossible

Or take the ludicrous procedure cited by Wallace:[2]

[1] Cited by Le Bon, "The Psychology of Socialism," p. 176.
[2] "Russia," pp. 206–7.

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In the residence of a governor-general one of the stoves is in need of repairs. An ordinary mortal may assume that a man with the rank of governor-general may be trusted to expend a few shillings conscientiously, and that consequently his Excellency will at once order the repairs to be made and the payment to be put down among the petty expenses. To the bureaucratic mind the case appears in a very different light. All possible contingencies must be carefully provided for. As a governor-general may possibly be possessed with a mania for making useless alterations, the necessity of the repairs ought to be verified; and as wisdom and honesty are more likely to reside in an assembly than in an individual, it is well to intrust the verification to a council. A council of three or four members accordingly certifies that the repairs are necessary. This is pretty strong authority, but it is not enough. Councils are composed of mere human beings, liable to error and subject to be intimidated by the governor-general. It is prudent, therefore, that the decision of the council be confirmed by the procureur, who is directly subordinated to the minister of justice. When this double confirmation has been obtained, an architect examines the stove and makes an estimate. But it would be dangerous to give *carte blanche* to an architect, and therefore the estimate has to be confirmed, first by the aforesaid council and afterwards by the procureur. When all these formalities — which require sixteen days and ten sheets of paper — have been duly observed, his Excellency is informed that the contemplated repairs will cost two roubles and forty kopeks, or about five shillings of our money. Even here the formalities do not stop, for the government must have the assurance that the architect who made the estimate and superintended the repairs has not been guilty of negligence. A second architect is therefore sent to examine the work, and his report like the estimate, requires to be confirmed by the council and the procureur. The whole correspondence lasts thirty days and requires not less than thirty sheets of paper. Had the person who desired the repairs been not a governor-general but an ordinary mortal, it is impossible to say how long the procedure might have lasted.

Russian Bureaucratic Red Tape

INDIFFERENTISM

Generally a social structure is less subject than an individual to the enlivening prick of competition. The people cannot turn from one health department or school system to another as they turn from one dealer or physician to another. The taxpayers, moreover, have but the vaguest notion of what they ought to receive for their money, and their dissatisfaction with the service

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Indifferentism Attacks the Social Structure Which Is Shielded from Competitors

registers itself in a smaller appropriation rather than in a "shake-up" in the organization. In the same way an ancient and renowned university will be patronized even if inept, and a church without a rival, dominating an ignorant and submissive peasantry whose whole mental outlook it controls, e.g., the Roman Catholic church in the tropical countries of South America, can with impunity sink into sloth. Whenever a structure is thus exempt from the natural penalty of poor service, the blight of indifferentism is likely to fall upon it.

It Flourishes in Old Structures Rather Than New Structures

Indifferentism is a senile rather than an infantile disease. As long as a social structure is new and on trial it will naturally be put in charge of energetic individuals who by agitating for it or by previous volunteer service have given proof of disinterested zeal and who will not tolerate listless subordinates. But after the service has struck root and made good its claims to support, after a certain good-will has been created and a guiding routine established, it excites the cupidity of the placeman and a type worms into it who thinks more of how much he can get out of his position than of how much he can put in.

In Curing the Patronage Evil One May Let in the Disease of Indifferentism

It is commonly assumed that a structure is safe from dry rot if it is under a vigorous administrator who will weed out the lazy and promote the zealous. This indeed is just what a man does in order to get good service from his own employees. But the bureau chief does not own the bureau and hence cannot be trusted to deal always with his subordinates according to their merits. In order to guard against inferior posts being treated as patronage the incumbent is made so secure in his tenure that an energetic chief cannot promptly rid himself of languid underlings who are clever enough to avoid downright provable incompetency.

An extreme degree of indifferentism is possible when the personnel of a structure constitutes a self-governing body. Accounting for the negligence of teachers in an endowed university Adam Smith observes:

> If the authority to which he [the teacher] is subject resides in the body corporate, the college or university of which he himself is a member, and in which the greater part of the other members are, like himself, persons who either are or ought to be teachers, they are likely to make a common cause, to be all very indulgent to one another, and every man to consent that his neighbor may neglect his duty, provided that he himself is allowed to neglect his own. In

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the University of Oxford the greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether even the pretence of teaching.[8]

It Infests Most the Services Which Are Not in Wide Contact with the General Public

Indifference is so quickly felt and resented that a structure brought into direct relations with the general public will not be allowed to suffer long from this disease. A service like the police, fire-fighting, street-cleaning, the weather bureau, the post-office, or the school cannot go far in this direction without calling forth protests from influential persons. Save where there is a monopoly, indifferentism in a university is punished by loss of matriculates, in a clergy by loss of communicants, in a hospital by loss of patients. When, however, the sufferers from slackness are ignorant or lowly people — orphans, the ailing poor, enlisted men, borrowers, convicts, prostitutes, natives, negroes, or immigrants — the disease is not so promptly checked. So, also, when the structure is one that does not betray its sloth to the general public — a navy yard, an arsenal, a forestry bureau, or a customs service — the remedy must come from above.

Indifferentism May Be Cured by the Right Leader

In some cases inspiring leadership suffices to cure indifferentism. The tabulator yawning over his adding machine, the gymnasium instructor sweating over his awkward squad, may loathe his task because he fails to see it in relation to a worth-while end. Under a born leader who can fire him with a vision of the meaning of it all he may thrill with love of his work. In digging the Panama Canal it is said that the thousands of workers went at their daily task with a right good will because they felt it as part of a stupendous, everlasting achievement — the Canal. Sometimes an effete church, university, or religious order has been roused from its torpor, not by a thrust from without, but by the captaincy of a man of genius and ardor, who has radiated inspiration and kindled cold routinary souls with a vision of the greatness of their opportunity.

FORMALISM

It is the way of the dull person to content himself with going through the motions of rendering service without troubling himself to see whether the benefits intended are indeed realized. Either because formerly success attended them, or because they

[8] "Wealth of Nations," Vol. II, p. 346.

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Many Well-Meaning People Are Content to Go through the Proper Motions

look as if they can produce the desired effect, he assumes that certain forms are efficacious and never thinks of testing their actual results. For example, a building ordinance is adopted by a city and an inspector is appointed to see that it is obeyed. At first he issues building permits on the basis of architect's plans submitted and later inspects the building to see whether the plans have been carried out as approved. But as the city grows he has less and less time for inspection, until at last he sits all day in his office issuing building permits on the strength of the plans which builders later change to suit themselves. Without realizing it he has become a mere formalist.

Courts of Justice Become so Intent on Seeing that Their Rules Are Lived up to that They Neglect to Observe whether Justice Is Being Done

Courts of justice are very subject to this disease, because one litigant or the other has an interest in urging technicalities, so that, unless the judge puts his foot down, rules meant to save time and expedite the court's business are used to waste time and obstruct this business by becoming the subject of wrangling between attorneys. An American observer comments as follows upon the difference between the American and the British consular courts in China:

> In the British court the direct dive to the gist of the matter before the court, and the intolerance of technicalities is what astounds and impresses the American lawyer. The wearying, formal, perfunctory round of demurrers and motions is entirely missing. Mere technical objections are easily and impatiently waved aside, and exceptions to pleadings right speedily cured wherever possible without postponement. Hence, being unsuccessful in achieving any advantage, such objections tend to lapse into disuse.

Other formalisms of organs of justice are: record worship; the insistence on trying records rather than trying cases; the throwing of causes out of court because brought in, or taken to, the wrong court or the wrong venue instead of transferring them to the right one and saving all prior proceedings; inflicting "the monstrous penalty of a new trial" when the jury appear to have been influenced by improper argument by counsel or by confusing expert evidence, when the error might have been corrected very simply in an oral charge to the jury by the judge.

Institutions for dependent children are very subject to formalism, because the victims make no outcry and no one of influence takes a strong interest in the fate of the individual child. It

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Why Formalism Flourishes in Institutions for Dependent Children

seems incredible that a foundling asylum which loses 97 per cent. of its babies should live; yet experience has shown again and again that good people, pleased at going through the motions of succoring foundlings, will keep on with it. A large orphanage is just the sort of thing a formalist loves. The money laid out makes a brave show, the bigness of the charity is obvious, and the children, made spick and span, can be collected in one place to feast the eyes of donors and visitors. It is overlooked that children cannot be raised well on the wholesale plan, that the institution-child lags far behind other children in development, that the best parts of its nature atrophy from disuse, that all through life it will never stand for much nor alone, and that it would be infinitely better off if placed in a normal family, even if thereby the service to the orphan sank out of public view.

And in the Relief of the Poor

The formalist loves visible material relief of destitution — baskets of food and bales of clothing distributed to dingy women in shawls — and he never thinks of visiting the tenements to see how the weekly dole at the poor-office affects the habits and morals of the poor. He sneers at charitable societies which dispense few groceries but waste their income in paying salaries to "a lot of trained workers who do absolutely nothing for the poor"— save to hunt a job for the out-of-work, overhaul the plumbing which has produced disease, arrange for the removal of the ailing family to a better neighborhood, persuade the landlord to wait for the rent, stand off the holder of the chattel mortgage, teach the mother to cook or earn, put the boy to a trade, or entice the children to the social settlement where they will get aspirations instead of alms!

Why the School Is Subject, More Than Any Other Institution, to the Disease of Formalism

But the paradise of the formalist is the school, because it works with the mind, and the mind is something we know little about. In less advanced countries one comes upon such atrocities as making pupils learn by rote, parrot-like recitations of the text-book, primers made up of the sayings of sages, natural science taught without materials or laboratory. But then look at our own sins. Children are set to work upon spelling-books full of strange words instead of studying the few hundred words which experience has shown they are likely to misspell. They are drilled in grammar instead of being trained in the correct use of their mother-tongue. They agonize over arithmetic operations which no one uses in real life. They pore over books instead of handling

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what the books tell about or doing what the books describe. They are made to labor over stuff utterly without use or interest — Latin prosody, for example — in order to strengthen their mental faculties generally, although experiments show that facility gained in doing one thing is not transferred to the doing of other things.

Universities Liable to Formalism because of Their Ability to "Bluff" or Browbeat Their Critics

Universities especially are infected with formalism, for usually they are too high and imposing to be much in fear of critics. In the sixteenth century Rabelais has his hero Gargantua educated in the scholastic universities. For twenty years the youth works with all his might and learns so perfectly the books he studies that he can say them off by heart backward and forward, "yet his father discerned that all this profited him nothing, and, what is worse, that it made him a madcap, a ninny, dreamy and infatuated." In the next century the philosopher Locke complained that at Oxford he had been obliged to waste his time in formal disputations. "In the universities," writes Adam Smith a century later, "the youth neither are taught, nor always can find any proper means of being taught, the sciences which it is the business of these incorporated bodies to teach."[4] Indeed, as late as the time of the French Revolution Oxford students were still required, in order to receive their official certificates as trained thinkers, to repeat long "strings" of syllogist affirmations and denials on some question in moral or natural philosophy.

Even in our own unversities, goaded as they are by a sharp rivalry among themselves for gifts and students, we mark formalism in the abuse of the lecture system, in the endeavor to turn out examination passers, and in the refusal to grant the graduate student credit for supervised field work.

OBSOLESCENCE

Folly of Giving Too Much Power to the "Dead Hand"

The history of English charitable foundations is instructive as to the folly of regulating the present according to the will of the past. Owing to changes unforeseen by the testator, thousands of the twenty-eight thousand perpetual charities brought to light by the great survey instituted in England a century ago had become useless or even harmful. Funds had been left to provide forever for superannuated wool carders; for teaching children to card, spin, and knit; for apprenticing the children of poor Protestant soldiers in Cork, a city in which for a long time there

[4] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 350.

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had been no Protestant soldiers; for conducting services in th French tongue in the Walloon chapel of Canterbury Cathedra although the congregation had known no French for a hundre years; for disseminating the doctrines of a sect that had die long since; for repairing causeways and bridges in a wet distri which had been drained to the point of no longer needing caus ways and bridges; for the ransom of Christians held captive b the Barbary corsairs; for the relief of those imprisoned for deb for leper hospitals; for doles to needy persons who will stultif themselves by repeating some prescribed religious formula; fo schools with fixed courses of instruction reflecting the education ideas of the Elizabethan period.

The Idea That It Is Normal for Society to Change in Unpredictable Ways Is Very Modern

The demand for thorough social reconstruction which has mad such a stir in the last half-century gives color to the notion th people err chiefly in underestimating the stability of society. Bu it is likely that, taking one age with another, for *one* who look upon society as a living plastic thing there are *ten thousand* wh imagine the world will go on forever as they have known i Even minds that have caught the idea of flux do not expec change to invade all departments or anticipate the changes whic actually occur. Wisdom does not qualify men to read the socia future, for the wise and farsighted testators have failed a egregiously as the ignorant in forecasting society's path of de velopment. What then can be more foolish than to chain an perpetual endowment to the terms of a founder's will?

The Swifter Is Social Progress, the More Society Is Troubled by the Obsolescence of Its Structures

Even if it be not tied by the strict requirements in its deed o gift, a social structure will let itself fall behind the times unles outside pressure forces it to keep abreast of its opportunity Thus an old government office or bureau that can take its appro priation for granted wears a rut for itself, so that a "shake-up" may be required to get it onto the right lines. But then it wil wear a new rut as deep as the old one, and if swift change i going on all about it in a score or two of years it will need anothe upheaval to adjust it to new conditions. Hence the more rapidl society changes, the sooner it develops away from its structure and the oftener it must overhaul them or inject into them "new blood."

Productive funds likewise exempt a social structure from th necessity of justifying itself in order to win favor and support This is why the rich college or charity is likely to fall behind th

times and do little good. Adam Smith, who knew well the English universities, characterized them as — CHAP. XXV

> for a long time the sanctuaries in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices found shelter and protection after they had been hunted out of every other corner of the world. In general, the richest and best-endowed universities have been slowest in adopting those improvements [in science] and the most averse to permit any considerable change in the established plan of education.[5]

Good and Bad Aspects of Endowments

This, to be sure, is but one aspect of endowments. They do indeed make possible an obsoletism that would soon be the death of an institution with nothing to depend on but current support. On the other hand, they maintain men who devote themselves to rendering valuable services, which nevertheless do not command a fair price, either because they benefit all alike, or because those who receive them will not or cannot pay what they cost. The true policy with endowed institutions is not to suppress but to supervise them.

Various causes hinder a social structure from molding itself to the changing situation about it. One is the force of habit. This being strongest in the aged will be felt most when the structure is controlled by those who have grown old in it. If it is in a bad rut an outsider must be put in charge.

In All High Organization Change Is Difficult and Costly

An organization composed of a number of parts resists needed changes in its functions or methods because of the extra trouble they involve. After the parts have come to work together smoothly an alteration in a single part to adapt it to an outside situation may necessitate a whole series of adjustments between this part and all the others. The worry and friction until the machinery is again in good running order accounts for the stiffness of all intricate human organization. The more complex a structure the greater the pressure needed to keep it near its point of greatest usefulness.

Only Rare Minds Think of Readapting a Structure to New Conditions

It requires much more intellectual effort or ability to redirect the work of a school system, a bureau, or a charity than to continue on established lines. To go on doing the same thing in the same way is the line of least resistance. A growing sense of its futility will rarely rouse one to the exertion of studying the task afresh and devising new ways of tackling it. Often indeed

[5] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 357.

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mediocre minds are utterly incapable of originating a better adaptation of the structure to its opportunity, so that, unless able men are put in charge and given a free hand, the adaptation will not take place.

Those Who Man Old, Imposing Structures Become Impervious to Criticism

Finally an old, imposing social structure comes to have an atmosphere which in time soaks into and affects nearly everyone in it. One's subconsciousness becomes saturated with suggestions of the excellence of everything "we" do and the way "we" do it; of the greatness of the "institution" or "service" and its right to one's loyalty; of the bothersomeness of the pupils, orphans, patients, citizens, or enlisted men the organization serves and their ungratefulness for what "we" do for them; and of the ignorance, stupidity, and malice of the outsiders, who actually criticize "us" and want to change "our" ways. Steeped in this atmosphere, the man who is progressive in principle stands like a rock against reform in his organization; the man who pounces like a hawk on inefficiency anywhere else has no eyes for the red tape and circumlocution in his office; and the man with a keen sense of the absurd feels no twinge as he stores the gift toys to the orphan asylum in the loft, "where they won't get broken," or provides for a furnace in the plans of a government building in the cane belt!

ABSOLUTISM

No Structure Should Be Made Unmodifiable by Later Generations

Absolutism is a disease of social structures *absolved from* obedience to the judgment and wishes of their time. No doubt the instrument devised for carrying on some great and beneficent work of public benefit ought to be withdrawn from the meddling of later generations in case to-morrow will be more stupid than to-day and *will not know it*. But if to-morrow bids fair to be as wise as to-day or, if not, will realize the fact and cling to to-day's decisions, nothing is gained by putting what we devise to-day beyond the reach of to-morrow's judgment. To be sure, carefully framed and time-tested establishments should not be changed at the *passing whim* of a single generation, but unless there is reason to suppose that a people is degenerating they ought to be subject to its *settled will*.

The living wills to which every social structure should be made obedient are of such as know and care most about its problem. The policy of an endowed charity hospital, for example, ought

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A Structure Should Be Modifiable Not by the Majority, but by Those Who Know and Care Most about Its Task

to reflect the judgment not only of the dead founder, but also of the living, who best understand and are concerned about the relief of the ailing poor. This of course is altogether different from subjection to the state or to majority rule. It is quite possible that the educational foundations of minor religious bodies would not survive a popular vote, while in a time of bitter class strife a research institute in economics or sociology would be perverted or suppressed, whichever party were dominant. The power to redirect or modify a social structure should therefore lie, not with the political organization, but with some section of the intellectual-moral élite.

An unendowed institution will be kept in sympathy with its time by its need of current contributions. It is the financially independent establishment that is liable to be caught in an eddy. Ever since the church lost general control of charities, the favorite form of government for a foundation has been the board of trustees which fills vacancies in its membership, i.e., the co-optative or self-constituted board. The only alternative has been the board chosen by the religious body — which admits the sectarian bias — or by the state — which lets in the taint of "politics."

A Self-Constituted Governing Board Cannot Remain Representative

But the self-constituted board easily gets out of step with its generation. Any special tendency which may develop in it is likely to become intensified and fixed. The element which happens to be in the majority when a vacancy is to be filled picks a man of its way of thinking. He in turn helps to get in others of the same kidney, so that a passing bias becomes chronic. Just as the shifting of portions of the cargo in a listing ship hinders her righting herself and increases the list, so a mistaken temporary leaning in a board may be made lasting. It would be hard to invent a system surer to bring the institution under a clique and set it at odds with intellectual advance, moral progress, or social development. What has prevented our private foundations from becoming ossified has been the necessity of wooing givers, owing to the fact that few of them were rich enough to be able to take full advantage of their opportunities in a rapidly growing society. It is to be feared that foundations of ample means, like those of Carnegie, Sage, and Rockefeller, will in time show the unadaptedness to be expected of self-continuing boards.

Then too the rivalry of public hospitals, charities, and universities has often obliged the private foundations to be more pro-

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gressive than they wished to be. It needs but little acquaintance with the tendencies in well-endowed and therefore financially independent institutions of learning to convince one that but for the state universities — which are obliged to make their work a broad social service — they would have persisted in excluding women, requiring the classics, stressing the "culture" or enjoyment studies dear to the leisure class, and equipping youth for "success" rather than for usefulness.

It Is Chiefly the Rivalry of Public Institutions Which Has Prevented Our Foundations from Becoming Ill-Adapted

The problem of the close corporation has been often met. We know what happened to the English rotten boroughs in 1832 and to the old governing bodies of the English municipalities in 1833. In 1853 England subjected the boards in charge of her thousands of endowed charities to a government body, the Board of Charity Commissioners. The French Revolution ended the autonomous establishments for public benefit in France and put education, poor relief, and other social-welfare concerns under the direct control of the state. In Germany the communities, corporations, and proprietors which carry on charities originally in charge of the church have been gradually losing their autonomy, since the state more and more interferes in their action or takes over their resources and responsibilities.

The Close Corporation Will in the End Come under Direct State Control

In this country the state has not asserted itself, but the public is becoming enlightened enough to resent the type of government provided for the great foundations of recent years. Such oligarchic control is the less excusable now that we know of a better way of choosing trustees. Recently one of our greatest universities provided that the faculty, the alumni association, and the board itself shall take turns in filling vacancies in the board of trustees. The only security that a public-service institution shall constantly reflect in its ideals and policies the best thought of its time is to found it on the intellectual-moral apexes in society. Thus interest in the advancement of natural science apexes chiefly in universities, the government scientific bureaus, and the national scientific associations. Here then are given the groups that should share in selecting the trustees of a scientific-research institute. Enlightened concern about public health comes to a head in public-health associations, anti-tuberculosis associations, medical societies and colleges, and like groups. Where are better sources of judgment as to who should have a hand in governing a medical-research foundation? There is little intelligent solici-

An Endowed Institution Should Be Governed Not by a Self-Constituted Board but by Trustees Chosen by the Responsible Groups Best Acquainted with Its Problem

tude for the poor that does not express itself in charitable societies, charity-organization societies, and a host of other philanthropic groups. Generally those included in such groups work with a deep and unselfish interest and are ahead of, rather than behind, their time. If boards in charge of endowed orphanages, rescue homes, and free hospitals filled vacancies from names submitted in turn by these groups, it would be impossible for the management to continue long at odds with the best contemporary knowledge and ideals. No doubt the board itself should fill every third or fourth vacancy in its membership in order that unorganized or minor interests should not go unrepresented. Moreover, when a nominee is personally obnoxious to a part of its members a board should have the right to call for another nomination.

Here then is a means of recruiting the governing boards of quasi-public institutions which insures their ready response to the best forces of their time and yet does not entangle them with the political organization and open the door to "politics." If the ultimate authority over the enormous blocks of wealth being left for public purposes is not linked in some such way with the living élite of society, it is absolutely certain that in a century, perhaps in much less time, the stately foundations rising about us will be cursed by our posterity as citadels of stupidity, prejudice, and perhaps even of political conservatism and class self-interest.

PERVERSION

There Is No Way of Insuring an Institution against the Pull of Gravity

Founders cherish the pathetic delusion that their college, charity, or religious house may be kept to the charted course; that what they launch with enthusiasm will look sunward through all time. This vain hope inspires the endeavors of the friends of a beneficent organization so to fortify it by means of irrepealable charter, autonomy, and gifts in perpetuity that no meddling hand may ever interfere with its blessed work.

But alas, no human foresight can save from degeneration a structure that has high aims and puts a strain on ordinary human nature. Despite your checks and safeguards, in a few generations perhaps it will have become the exact opposite of what was intended. Your beacon is now a will-o'-the-wisp, your rock of salvation a quicksand, your healing spring an infected pool. There is indeed no way to keep it true to its purpose save to make

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it responsive to those in each generation who are spiritual brothers of the founder.

The More Brilliant Its Success, the Sooner an Institution Will Become Infested with Self-Seekers As

In the higher realm nothing perverts like quick success. A furore floods a movement with enthusiasts incapable of rising to the plane of the founders. The warmer the reception of a new art, the sooner it will be discredited by imitators and quacks. The higher a young religious order flames up, the sooner its pure fire dies in the rush of the unspiritual. With rapid expansion the membership grades down, and after the pioneers and their disciples are gone the character of the organization changes. Thus three centuries after St. Francis his "Little Brothers" were "arrogant mendicants, often of loose morals, begging with forged testimonials, haunting the palaces of the rich, forcing themselves into families, selling the Franciscan habit to wealthy dying sinners as a funeral cloak to cover many sins." Erasmus dreamed that St. Francis came to thank him for chastising the Franciscans.

It Wins Members and Wealth It Will Be Headed by an Administrator Rather than an Inspirer, So That Its Fire Dies Down

As a body expands, the man of organizing ability is called to the helm rather than the inspirer and prophet. A university which has grown rapidly owing to the rare learning and zeal of its teachers may, a generation later, come under the control of men skilful in organizing the teaching force and handling large classes. Impatient at having to spend so much of their time on administration, the real scholars, bit by bit, relinquish their authority to organizers, and the spirit of the institution changes. In this way Frate Elias, skilful organizer and friend of the Pope, but not in the least a saint, succeeded St. Francis at the head of the Franciscan Order. After Constantine the bishop of the church becomes less apostolic, while the typical Methodist bishop of to-day is scarcely a spiritual son of Wesley.

Forms and Rules Count for More, the Spirit for Less

With the organizer comes less faith in spontaneity and more stress on form as embodying the founder's ideal. The life of the monastery is directed less by religious impulse and more by rules, the work of the research institute less by fruitful ideas and more by routine. Everything runs "as if by clockwork," only the one does not produce great characters, nor the other great discoveries. While St. Francis lived the stern rule of absolute poverty was applied with "the genial concessions and exceptions he knew how to make," whereas half a century later, under St. Bonaventura, his monks had to follow a formal and lifeless discipline.

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To carry flowers or a staff, to twirl the end of one's girdle cord, to sit with crossed legs, to laugh, to sing aloud, were all unworthy of Franciscan decorum. St. Francis cherished the sweetest friendship with Santa Clara, but in time the friar was forbidden even to look at a woman, much less speak familiarly with her.

When by its merits a body has gathered momentum and won prestige it becomes a standing temptation to the unscrupulous. If they can worm into it or, better yet, gain control of it, they can convert its store of power to their private purposes. Thus the popes of the Renaissance enriched themselves and their families by misusing the vast authority of the Roman church, while the representatives of the East India Company employed the great power of the company to practice extortion upon the rulers and people of India in order to build up their private fortunes.

The More Benefits the Body Offers Its Members, the Less Will They Resent Usurpation of Control by an Inner Ring

As a body gains wealth and popularity, it holds its members by benefits, so that they will tolerate a concentration of authority which would wreck a young society. Masterful organizers who love power for its own sake magnify their office. In a religious organization control becomes established in the clerical order. St. Francis was a mere layman, but Albert of Pisa, the first priest to become head of his order, instituted that laymen should no longer be elected as officers. In England by the middle of the sixteenth century the charitable foundations were regularly in the hands of monks and priests. A royal edict took the direction of hospitals from clergy and nobles and lodged their management in the hands of "bourgeois, shopkeepers, and laborers." Early in the same century the right of choosing officers in the English craft guilds was restricted to their liveried members, and later, control passed from them to a still more select body, the Court of Assistants, which, beginning as an informal committee of the wealthier brethren in livery and especially such as had held offices in the guild, became a co-optative council well-nigh absolute in the affairs of the society.

Soon after Control Is Concentrated the Benefits, too, Are Concentrated

Thus the body becomes machine rather than organism. Without voice the rank and file lose the genial *we*-feeling that once warmed their hearts. They stick to the organization for the benefits it gives or the opportunities it offers, but their loyalty is less pure than when it was truly theirs. Moreover, just as control slips away from them to a higher class, so may the benefits leave them. The Roman baths were originally intended for the

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poor, but under the later empire they were the exclusive pri of the wealthy and one of their most luxurious forms of e ment. The thirty-three endowed grammar schools of L were all metamorphosed to teach the children of the higher Harrow, one of the most expensive of English schools, founded by a bricklayer for the free education of the ran which he had been born. Male trustees twist foundation for the sexes equally, to the service of the male sex. F stance, the endowments of Christ's Hospital given for the destitute classes and " for girls as much as for boys " were in 1865 to be educating 1,100 boys and only 25 girls, near from the middle classes.

Finally the Institution Serves Its Managers But Not Those Whom It Was Intended to Serve

Finally the institution becomes an end in itself. The u sity exists for the benefit of its dons. The state prison is ducted as a provider of cheap labor for the prison contr A local charity becomes the means of enhancing the social tige of the ladies back of it. The courts of chancery inst for the protection of orphans whose money was liable to r propriation by unscrupulous relatives had become in Di time a machine which sucked up all their money in interm lawsuits, the lawyers being far more dangerous to the or than the guardians from whom the lawyers were to protect Military orders like the Knights Templar and the Knights pitalers, founded to defend the Holy Sepulcher, came to each other more than they fought the Mussulman. In a n nium and a half the assembly (*ecclesia*) of the believers in ligion of love was transformed into a great temporal mon throttling intellectual freedom and cruelly destroying its ex and critics.

In View of Its Liability to Perversion an Institution Not Controlled by Society Should Have Fair Play but Nothing More

Since the independent structure is never safe from perve organized society should beware of bestowing upon it favo privileges. An unmodifiable charter should never be gr Buildings actually used for public worship, education, or may be left tax free, but the exemption should not extend to property of a private corporation. The one-sided partne so common in some of our states, whereby the public fur an annual subsidy to be expended at the discretion of the p charity, has shown the ugliest tendencies and should cease. lic funds should never be given to an educational institutic under public control. No legitimate service should be wi

by the state in order to leave the field clear for the private agency. The public asylum, school, university, library, or research institute should be set up in order to correct and spur the private institute. The self-constituting governing board should be looked upon with suspicion, and the state's right of visitation, report, supervision, and revision should not be allowed to lapse through disuse.

CLASS AND CASTE

CHAPTER

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CHAPTER XXVI

STRATIFICATION

Stratification Is a Social Disease

SIDES the social layers which result from conquest there re layers which form within a people in consequence of ı processes. Such stratification is virtually a social dis- /hich checks the natural sifting of human beings, clogs the f capables and the descent of incapables, benumbs the faculties of the masses, arrests the circulation of sym- and, if not remedied, ends in the paralysis, perhaps the up, of the group. Examples of stratified society are nu- s enough in both ancient and modern times.

Ancient Babylonia

Babylonia under King Hammurabi " was a group of city- ıces in process of unification through the influence of a alized religion, a powerful centralized government, a closely ependent commerce, and a well-recognized legal system protected property rights and stimulated agriculture and ry. The state was personified in the priest-king, in whom oined personal prestige and divine authority. Crown lands held under a feudal tenure by a class of priests, devotees, , military and civil officials, in whose interest the laws were tain respects carefully framed. To presumably the same status belonged a class of landowners, bankers, and mer- . Next in the social scale came the tradesmen and arti- followed by the tenant farmers who held their lands under etayer system. In the next stratum were the free wage- g laborers; while last of all came a great body of house her slaves, upon whose labor the entire economic structure rgely based." [1] " Babylonian society was pyramidal. The was the apex, and the broad base rested upon a foundation ves. Social control was mediated from class to class. and status are embedded in the code. In precise tariffs ı values are set forth." [2]

[1] cent, "The Laws of Hammurabi," *American Journal of Sociology*, (, p. 741.
[2] *l.*, p. 753.

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Caste in the Later Roman Empire

The caste system of the later Roman Empire was not bu
by Roman conquests but was the product of forces withi
ciety. Says Dill: "An almost Oriental system of cast
made every social grade and every occupation practically h
tary, from the senator to the waterman on the Tiber, or th
tinel at a frontier post. In a society where poverty is a
branded with infamy, poverty is steadily increasing and
becoming more insolent and aggressive. The middle or bou
class was almost extinguished. Roman financial administ
was paralysed, and at its close the real victors and sur
were the great landholders, surrounded by their serfs an
pendents." [3]

Inheritance of Social Functions

"The tendency of the later Empire was to stereotype s
by compelling men to follow the occupation of their father
preventing a free circulation among different callings and
of life. The man who brought the grain of Africa to the
stores of Ostia, the baker who made it into loaves for dis
tion, the butchers who brought pigs from Samnium, Luca
Bruttium, the purveyors of wine and oil, the men who f
furnaces of the public baths, were bound to their callings
one generation to another. It was the principle of rural se
applied to social functions. Every avenue of escape was
A man was bound to his calling not only by his father's
his mother's condition. Men were not permitted to mar
of their guild. If the daughter of one of the baker caste m
a man not belonging to it, her husband was bound to her f
calling. Not even a dispensation obtained by some means
the imperial chancery, not even the power of the Church
avail to break the bond of servitude." [4]

Society a Pagoda of Several Stories

In the fourth century A.D. Roman society formed a py
At the base was the *plebs*, comprising the corporations of a
and merchants. In the middle came the smaller proprietor
tinguished into simple *curiales* and *principales*. The top
comprised those who had the title of Roman senator.
classes were strictly separated. "There is nothing in com
said the law, "between the *curiales* and the senators, b
the plebeians and the *curiales*." All these classes paid tax
not the same taxes. The members of the *collegia* paid
contributions to the state, but bore none of the municipal b

[3] "Roman Society," p. 100. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

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The *curiales* bore the burden of public charges and those of the city. Senators paid heavy taxes directly to the Empire. These taxes were paid into different hands. Each class had its heads. Corporations had their syndics, the *curiales* their *duumvirs,* or their Defender. The senators had chiefs in every province and moreover *defensores senatus.* Each class came under a special jurisdiction, for each man must be judged only by his peers.

Sympathy Extends Not Up or Down in Society, but Only Out through One's Social Layer

How horizontal social feeling becomes in a caste society is brought out by Dill: "It is difficult for a modern man to conceive the bounded view of society taken by people like Symmachus and Sidonius, the cold, stately self-content, the absence of sympathy for the masses lying outside the charmed circle of senatorial rank, the placid faith in the permanence of privilege and wealth, the apparent inability to conceive, even in the presence of tremendous forces of disruption, that society should ever cease to move along the ancient lines. They had little care for any but their own caste and family, as the representatives of Graeco-Roman culture. With what was regarded as a laudable ambition to add to the 'honours' of the family, and a strenuous devotion to the study and imitation of the great authors, there seemed to the stately noble no reason why the calm ceremonious senatorial life should not go on forever. Society had been elaborately and deliberately stereotyped. As a rule, whatever a man's energy or ambition, he was doomed to work out his life in the precise lines which his ancestors had followed. All ideas of improvement were nipped in the bud, blasted by the stifling atmosphere of a despotism which, with whatever good intentions, received no guidance or inspiration from the thoughts or needs of the masses, and spent all its strength in maintaining unchanged the lines of an ancient system, instead of finding openings for fresh development. The same immobility reigned in the education of the privileged class. They felt no material need to stimulate invention and practical energy, and their academic training only deepened and intensied the deadening conservatism of unassailable wealth and rank." [8]

Caste in the Old Régime in France

In eighteenth-century France 1 per cent. of the population belonging to the privileged orders possessed half the soil and this the richest and best improved half. A third of the soil was held by absentee lords who, having abandoned their castles to live

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

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at court, had lost sympathy with their people and considered only how to squeeze revenue out of them. The resident lords, in order that they might hunt as their ancestors did when France was half-wild, preserved game until the peasant's crops were devoured, while he was forbidden to rear fences which might hamper the chase. The clergy claimed exemption from taxation and all they contributed to the state was a free-will offering. The nobles were free of *taille, corveé,* and military conscription. More than half of what was spent on the army went to the officers, not one of whom could be a plebeian. To be a captain it was necessary to prove four degrees of nobility. All ecclesiastical properties went to abbés and bishops of noble family. All high posts, ecclesiastical and lay, and all sinecures, were reserved for nobles and their protegés.

Fixed Structure of Feudal Japan

When Commodore Perry opened relations with Japan its social organization embraced: first, the throne and the court nobles; second, the military class, *daimyos* and *samurai;* third, the common people or *heimin.* The function of the Mikado was to mediate between his heavenly ancestors and his subjects while all affairs of state were entrusted to the Shogun and the military class. The court nobility, descendants of former mikados, comprised one hundred and fifty-five families. They ranked above the feudal chiefs, filled the court offices, and devoted themselves to literature and art.

About fifty-five out of a thousand of the population were hereditary *samurai* who served as retainers of the two hundred and fifty-five *daimyos* or chiefs of great feudal estates. Half of the peasants' assessed income went to these feudal chiefs and their retainers. Below this class come about fifteen-sixteenths of the population known as *heimin,* or commoners. They were divided into three classes: husbandmen, artisans and traders, the last standing lowest. Below these came the *eta* (defiled folks) and the *hinim* (outcasts), altogether about a million people.

Legal Recognition of Social Orders under the Tsarist Régime in Russia

In Russia, until half a century ago, the law recognized, beside the clergy, four social orders, viz., nobles, merchants, townsmen and peasants. The Code contained no less than sixteen hundred articles relating to "classes, orders, or conditions." The right of holding serfs was reserved to the nobility. The higher orders were exempt from the obligation to render military service and to pay a poll tax. The peasants were tried by courts of their

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d only they could be flogged. There were certain gov- schools for the children of the nobles and other schools hich those of the peasant class were excluded. Each ıd its own assemblies and officers. The nobility and the merchants did not associate but were distinct in their ıd even in their costume.

Social Strata in Roumania

ıeration ago the inhabitants of each Roumanian village vided into three classes: First, the distinguished vil- ront-men, called *fruntasi* or *oameni de frunta:* Second, llemen, *mylocasi,* or *oameni de mana adona,* men of sec- ıd: Third, the hind-men or *codas* (tail-men). Each cording to his family, personal gifts, reputation and for- ıs ranged into one or other of these three classes, which ı their separate customs, rights and privileges.

The Genesis of Caste Presents a Problem

annot survey these strange formations without wonder- ı what motives and by what processes they are built up. sts upon a theory of heredity which is a caricature of h. Unearned privilege is an affront to the natural sense e. That the idle should lord it over the industrious and macks of "Alice in Wonderland." The stigma on man- r flies in the face of the instinct of workmanship. It ıcredible, too, that productive folk should go on forever a race of drones. A social order so preposterous needs, e, to be accounted for.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE RISE OF GROSS INEQUALITIES

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ALL about us we see men rising or sinking in respons influence, or power on account of their *personal* qu but this does not result in distinct social layers. Social there will not be unless there is some kind of *inheritanc* occupation, of prestige, of office, of authority, of property one hand; of lowly calling, of unfreedom, and of disabil the other.

Superiority of the Fighting Sex

One of the earliest social differentiations is that betwe sexes. In the predatory epoch, out of which grew the bar culture, the subordination of women and their treatment a tels arose from the fact that they could not fight. Sin core of the tribe was the body of warriors, and all other ac became subsidiary to the martial activity, *fighting capacit* the point of view from which persons and sexes were rated. mere workers, including women and those weak of bod therefore, into a lower social position.

Descent from the Gods as a Basis for Superiority

Another early basis for hereditary superiority was affor *kinship with the divinity.* When the intermingling of n different kindreds had broken down the tribal system and tuted the tie of a common worship for the tie of blood, not members of the community could be thought of as children god. But since such gods were, in origin, the deities of old families, the members of these families might plume selves on their descent from the gods and make such a pe a basis for aristocratic pretensions. Thus, among the Gre well as among the Semites, royal and noble houses long con to trace their stem back to a divine forefather.

But by far the commonest basis of aristocracy is *weal* great fortune not only exempts a family from humilific e ments and enables it to bedazzle with a splendid style of but through nearly all history it has commanded ennobl Birth, no doubt, explains the ranking of *individuals,* but th

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Possession of Great Wealth the Commonest Foundation of Social Superiority

cause of the rank differences among *families* has been wealth — wealth, moreover, *in a large block,* and therefore not gained in ordinary ways. The ups and downs of fortune which happen all about us in consequence of individual differences in ability, enterprise, character, or diligence shed little light on the origins of fixed classes. Through the thousand channels it controls, the dominant class always propagates the idea that social distinctions have originated in differences in personal capacity and virtue, and that they owe nothing to crime, fraud, corruption, favoritism, or privilege. The truth is, however, that the fortunes which become dynamos of social power are far from being mere by-products of the ordinary distribution of wealth according to economic traits.

The First Comers Sprout into Aristocrats

Priority is one basis of acquisitive advantage. In the mediaeval towns, the determination as to which of the fugitive serfs should be master and which servant chiefly depended on which ran away the earlier. It was not long before the "old burgher" families drew a line against the newcomers. The former ran the guilds, ruled the town, monopolized trade, and reserved for themselves the benefits from the communal lands. The city thus became divided into "burghers" and "inhabitants."

In Australia adventurous sheepmen early pushed on into the public domain in advance of the government surveys, and "squatted" with their flocks on vast areas from which their shepherds excluded all settlers. Whole districts of valuable crop country lay untilled in the hands of pastoralists, who soon became wealthy and powerful men. When the state later attempted to resume its rights over these tracts the "wool kings" were too strong to be dispossessed, and the government had to content itself with exacting a small rent upon the area occupied.

Booty as a Corner-Stone of Nobility

Booty may give a seigneurial class its start. Thus in the Dark Ages peaceful agricultural communities hired *scholae,* or bands of unruly men gathered about *hirdmen,* or temporary chieftains, to protect them. But the warrior bands had more opportunities for enrichment than the peaceful tillers in the communities. Success in fighting brought them droves of cattle, iron, and slaves. Says Kropotkin:

> There was plenty of waste land and no lack of men ready to till it, if only they could obtain the necessary cattle and implements. . . . And if one of the *hirdmen* of the armed brotherhoods offered the

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peasants some cattle for a fresh start, some iron to make a plough if not the plough itself, his protection from further raids, and a number of years free from all obligations, before they should begin to repay the contracted debt, they settled upon the land. And when . . . these pioneers began to repay their debts, they fell into servile obligations toward the protector of the territory.[1]

GRANTS OF LAND AS FOUNDATION OF A LEISURE CLASS

Historically a Large Block of Land Has Been the Economic Basis of Nobility

Mobile productive property is comparatively a late thing in the world, so that, through most of human history, a landed estate has constituted the economic basis of a noble family. Hence *grants of land* play a leading rôle in social destiny. When the elders of Israel importuned Samuel for a king, the aged prophet warned them: "He will take your fields and your vineyards and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants."[2]

Early Egyptian kings bestowed on distinguished military officers portions of the crown domains. The absorption of the Roman *ager publicus* by senators and other insiders made them enormously rich and started the senatorial aristocracy on its career of six centuries. William the Conqueror distributed his newly won kingdom into about sixty thousand parcels of nearly equal value from each of which was due a "knight's service on horseback." As the Castilians drove back the Moors in Spain the land thus won was divided into huge fiefs and given to magnates on condition of their rendering military service.

Ancient Japan

In Japan in the seventh century a people essentially patriarchal in constitution was divided into governing and supporting classes. The former consisted of a civil nobility of rank and office, the higher ranks and offices being accompanied with definite grants of rice land to be held during tenure of office and exempted from the payment of tributes and forced labor.

In 1586, under Queen Elizabeth, the plan for peopling the province of Munster in Ireland proposed to divide it into seignories of from 4,000 to 12,000 acres, to be offered to the younger sons of gentlemen, who would "have the manrode of so many families and the disposing of so many good holdings," being "a thing fit for gentlemen of good behaviour and credit and not for any man of inferior calling."

[1] "Mutual Aid," p. 156.

[2] I Sam. viii: 14.

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Unequal Success in Grabbing Public Land Lays a Basis for Hereditary Economic Inequality

Wallace describes how inequality arose among the Cossacks when communal lands became private property.

"As the population augmented and the opportunities for marauding decreased, the majority had to overcome their repugnance to husbandry; and soon large patches of plowed land or waving grain were to be seen in the vicinity of the 'stanitsas,' as the Cossack villages are termed. At first there was no attempt to regulate this new use of the *ager publicus*. Each Cossack who wished to raise a crop plowed and sowed wherever he thought fit, and retained as long as he chose the land thus appropriated; and when the soil began to show signs of exhaustion, he abandoned his plot and plowed elsewhere. But this unregulated use of the communal property could not long continue. As the number of agriculturists increased, quarrels frequently arose and sometimes terminated in bloodshed. Still worse evils appeared when markets were created in the vicinity, and it became possible to sell the grain for exportation. In some stanitsas the richer families appropriated enormous quantities of the common land by using several teams of oxen, or by hiring peasants in the nearest villages to come and plow for them; and instead of abandoning the land after raising two or three crops they retained possession of it, and came to regard it as their private property. Thus the whole of the arable land, or at least the best parts of it, became actually, if not legally, the private property of a few families, whilst the less energetic or less fortunate inhabitants of the stanitsa had only parcels of comparatively barren soil, or had no land whatever, and descended to the position of agricultural laborers.

"If this had taken place in a British colony, or in some other community living under the *laissez faire* system of administration, the communal land would have been in this way permanently converted into private property, and those who were not proprietors would have been obliged to gain a livelihood as servants or to emigrate elsewhere." [3]

Shameless Favoritism in the Disposal of Public Lands in Spanish America

It is the New World, however, that affords the best view of the manufacture of social superiors by grants of land. Throughout Spanish America the agricultural natives were divided among, and "commended" to, the conquerors, and as the growth of a colony brought more land within reach it was always passed out

[3] "Russia," p. 362.

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in large tracts to those within the governing circle, or their friends. The "Laws of the Indies" prescribed that lands should be apportioned according to one's station, the gentleman's portion being at least five times the peasant's. The fact is that not one rood of good soil went straight to the cultivator. To-day all down the west coast of South America there exists nowhere a population of independent small farmers.

Land Monopoly in Mexico and in California.

Since the separation from Spain, the public lands of the Spanish American republics have been alienated in the old way to capitalists, speculators, and "insiders." Mexico, up to the recent revolution, was owned in a few thousand holdings, most of them very large, and one of them embracing eight million acres, or as much as Connecticut and New Jersey combined. The unfortunate validation of huge Mexican grants to the extent of nine million acres of the choicest land by the American courts after our occupation of California gave society there an early plutocratic cast from which it has not yet fully recovered. In 1855 a justice of the United States Supreme Court declared that "principalities are won by an affidavit and conferred upon the unscrupulous few, to the exclusion and detriment of the many."

In Argentina

In Argentina there are holdings stretching for hundreds of square miles, and ranches which a train takes the best part of a day to cross. The pampa, cleared of Indians by General Roca's expedition in 1879, was promptly alienated at a price of three cents an acre, after great quantities had been presented to the officers who took part in the expedition. Half a century ago the government allowed one man to acquire, at an average price of three and one half cents an acre, *a hundred square leagues* of land which, after having made some scores of millionaires, is now worth *five hundred times* the purchase price. Until lately the smallest unit of public land ever considered by the government was the square league, and the only question was how many such leagues the grantee should obtain.

In Australasia

In Australasia the alienation of public lands went forward in such a fashion that, about the end of the last century, in New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand, 105,500 persons owned thirty thousand square miles, in lots of less than a thousand acres, whereas 1,255 persons owned fifty-five thousand square miles in holdings of ten thousand acres and above.

In colonial Virginia manorial families got their start in huge

land grants obtained by favor or bribery. Several generations of wealth and pride on the one hand, and of dependence and humility on the other, might hinge on a secret agreement among the members of the provincial council to carve great estates for one another out of the public lands temporarily in their custody.

In Virginia

Even worse was the land grabbing in colonial New York. An Amsterdam merchant, Van Rensselaer, acquired from the Indians for a few "duffels, axes, knives, and wampum" an estate of seven hundred thousand acres, which, entailed to the eldest son for over two hundred years, gave a single family an utterly factitious political and social importance. After New Netherlands became New York, the creation of great landed proprietors with feudal rights over the people on their estates was facilitated by a royal governor, Fletcher, who in the closing years of the seventeenth century gave princely grants in return for bribes. A Bayard received twelve hundred square miles; a Smith, a block fifty miles long; a Beekman, one estate sixteen miles long and another twenty miles by eight miles; a Schuyler was given land extending for fifty miles, while a Livingston became lord of a manor of four hundred square miles. Despite the efforts of Fletcher's successor, Lord Bellomont, the magnates were too strongly intrenched in provincial assembly and courts to be ousted from the grants they had corruptly obtained.

In New York

Even after a royal order was issued limiting a future grant to two thousand acres, great estates were built up by the trick of using "dummies" as co-grantees. With some of the New York patents went the hereditary right to a seat in the legislature. Thus by a few shrewd strokes at an early day certain scheming and grasping men were lifted to be founders of aristocratic families, society was forced from its normal course into the path of patronage and dependence, and the seeds were planted for a hundred years and more of privilege, bitterness, and strife.

Deplorable Social Consequences of These Wholesale Thefts of Land

The disposition of the public domain of the United States, undoubtedly the largest and most valuable body of land that has ever been distributed by government, reveals an incessant struggle between the intentions of the people and the efforts of the greedy. In spite of the Homestead law of 1862 which, with the pre-emption acts, brought about the best distribution of virgin land that has been achieved in the New World, and which, in a single generation, undoubtedly contributed more to human wel-

A Constant Struggle in the United States to Prevent the Public Domain Being Absorbed by the Few

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fare than any law in history, there has been a serious engrossment of natural wealth. In 1909 the pending cases of alleged fraud and illegality in the acquisition of public lands involved a value of one hundred and fourteen millions of dollars. Seven thousand square miles of land were granted to canal companies. A quarter of a million square miles went to railroad companies. Out of a hundred thousand square miles taken up under the Swamp Land acts vast areas were of the richest agricultural land, acquired by means of perjury, fraud, and corruption. In 1884 thirty-two cases of illegal fencing reported by the land office involved the use of seven thousand square miles of the public domain. In 1903 a land-office report estimated that in the preceding twenty-five years more than sixty million dollars' worth of timber had been stolen from the public lands and forests.

In 1885 an honest and fearless commissioner of public lands declared that he found himself "confronted with overwhelming evidence that the public domain was made the prey of unscrupulous speculation and the worst forms of land monopoly." Twenty years later the Public Land Commission reported that "perhaps in general a larger proportion of the public land is passing into the hands of speculators and corporations than into those of actual settlers." "Inquiries made as to how a number of estates, selected haphazard, were acquired," showed that "almost without exception collusion or evasion of the letter and spirit of the land laws was involved."

It is, of course, impossible to measure how much such original mal-distribution of the public domain has contributed to the rise and domination of wealthy families in American society, but no one doubts that it has been a factor of prime importance in causing this sinister phenomenon.

THE STATE AS CREATOR OF INEQUALITY

Whether the State Will Raise Up or Smooth Down Inequalities Depends on Who Controls It

It is impossible to characterize the state as essentially either the source or the curb of hereditary social differences. Its tendency in this respect depends altogether on who controls the state. The class state will be, if not a fountain of inequalities, at least their mainstay. To the degree that the state comes under the control of broader social layers it will offer resistance to the development of extreme inequalities and will hedge the acquisitive struggle with rules designed to make it fairer.

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The Military State Creates a Nobility

The state is, in its earliest form, a fighting organization, and at its first appearance it creates a fresh and sharp differentiation. The passage of the Israelites from the régime of judges to that of kings brought into existence a nobility which soon usurped the authority of the elders. The relatives of the king and his chief war captains became the great men of the realm, so that the old assembly of the elders of the tribes fell into disuse. At a later period the pristine equality of the priests among themselves was lost, owing to the fact that superiority was conceded to priests from families from which high officials had been taken or which had received marked favors from the monarch.

In the Roman Empire the State's Rankings Determined the Social Hierarchy

Although in republican Rome the state appears as protecting inequalities which it had not itself created, under the Empire the state came to play a great part in creating inequalities. From Diocletian on, the rankings of the servants of the state fixed degrees of social distinction. Says Bury:

> In the time of Constantine only those who had held the highest official rank, consuls, proconsuls, or prefects, were members of the senate. The new forms of court ceremony, which were instituted by Aurelian and Diocletian and elaborated by their successors, gave to such personages precedence over lesser dignitaries, and they were distinguished by the title of *clarissimi*, "most renowned." Social rank depended on precedence at court, and precedence at court depended on official position. Thus, under Constantine and his immediate successors, *clarissimi* and senators denoted the same class of persons, though regarded under different aspects. Officers of lower rank were grouped into two classes, the *perfectissimi* and *egregii*, who were not members of the senate. These included the governors of dioceses and provinces, dukes, *correctores*, and others.[4]

In the Teutonic Kingdoms Nearness or Service to the King Alone Gave Social Distinction

In the Teutonic war bands which more and more filled the foreground as the Empire lost its grip, the thing that counted was nearness to the prince. To be "friend" or client of the headman became a title of honor in address and inscription. The *comes* or "companion" became ancestor of all "counts" and the *comites*, the first rank of nobles.

In all kingdoms founded by such war bands, the service of the king was the source of all distinction. In France in the sixth century the top class was the senators, noble by ancestry and rich by hereditary wealth. A century later, under the Frankish kings,

[4] "History of the Later Roman Empire," Vol. VI, p. 39.

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the nobles were simply the high royal functionaries, the big me of the palace. They all got rich, to be sure, but their wealth wa the by-product of the high offices into which they had been lifte by the royal will.

The feudal system was a mode of organizing military power i a country, and for a long time the enjoyment of a fief carrie with it the obligation to maintain armed forces and render mili tary service. But the fiefs, at first granted for life, became hered itary and later all the feudal dues were abolished. Nationa defense came to be provided for on an entirely different plar and the lordly estates originally granted for the maintenance o a vital public service became private property, pure and simple.

The imperial Russian government by replacing the electe Atamán of the Don Cossacks with officers regularly promote created a kind of hereditary aristocracy which by means o imperial grants got possession of a large portion of the land which was formerly common property.

Until Modern Times the Monarch Was the Chief Source of Great Fortunes

There is a widespread impression that in modern Europe ennoblement has rarely amounted to more than royal recognition of the success of the fortunate. It is true that since Europe beheld a king under the guillotine monarchs have been chary in using the public wealth to enrich their favorites. But one needs only to go back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to find, not only titles and honors, but also crown lands, confiscated estates, money grants, monopolies, lucrative offices, sinecures, and hereditary pensions lavishly bestowed by kings upon their servants, supporters, and favorites. Up to the epoch when great fortunes began to be made in trade and manufacture, the sovereign had immense power in determining who should constitute the leisure class.[5]

[5] In his scathing reply to the Duke of Bedford, who had the temerity to criticize his pension, Edmund Burke says: "The grants of the House of Russell were so enormous as not only to outrage economy, but even to stagger credibility. The Duke of Bedford is the Leviathan among all the creatures of the crown. He tumbles about his unwieldy bulk, he plays and frolics in the ocean of royal bounty. Huge as he is, and whilst 'he lies floating among the rood,' he is still a creature. His ribs, his fins, his whalebone, his blubber, the very spiracles through which he spouts a torrent of brine against his origin, and covers me all over with the spray—everything of him and about him is from the crown."

LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS AS PROPS OF THE SOCIAL HIERARCHY

Laws and institutions have had much to do with social stratification. It is hardly possible to keep a nobility on a lofty plane without resort to primogeniture and entail. When landed property is divided equally among the children, the prolific family soon loses its splendor and prestige. If the title passes to all the sons, it loses its scarcity value. Where, as in Germany, all the sons of a baron are barons, the title becomes insignificant. Italian counts and Portuguese marquises impress only those who do not realize how numerous they are. In Russia, owing to the fact that lands as well as titles are inherited by all the descendants of a noble house, the aristocracy has always shaded down into the common people. The merest cab driver may turn out to be a "prince."

At the lower end of the social scale are often the unfree, who are in this condition because the law gives a far-reaching effect to the act of some ancestor. Thus, M. Fustel de Coulanges writes:

Hereditary Status Rests Absolutely upon Law

> The sources of the mass of serfs that covered the soil of France for a thousand years are as follows: Some were serfs by birth, having descended from the slaves of Roman Gaul, or of Germany. Some were the captives of some raid. Some became slaves in consequence of crimes committed. Finally, there were many descended from free-born men who for various motives consented to become serfs, and became such usually by writing a letter stating that of their own will they become so and so's serf.[6]

If We Had the Old Laws We Should Have the Old Classes

The thickest stratum of unfree is found when the law allows a debtor to pawn himself for a loan, when the starving man can legally contract himself into servitude, when the parent can sell his child, and when slavery is a hereditary condition. Had we such laws as have for centuries endured among some Christian peoples there is no shadow of doubt that every period of industrial depression and unemployment would precipitate tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens into unfreedom. Apologists for the existing order would then insist that their hard lot was the "natural" recompense of inefficiency, just as such apologists now insist that the monstrous fortunes among us are the "natural" recompense of superior ability!

[6] *"L'Alleu et le Domaine rurale,"* pp. 289–90.

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In the middle and southern American colonies, besides the negro slaves there were great numbers of white bond servants in a state of temporary involuntary servitude. Aside from some four thousand who were prisoners taken in civil war, they were felon convicts, which, however, does not always imply great turpitude in a time when every excuse was snatched at to stock the tobacco plantations with labor from the submerged classes of English towns.

Their social status is thus described:

The Sole Reason We Do Not Have Bond Servants and "Redemptioners" Is That Our Law Recognizes No Such Classes

None could marry without consent of the master or mistress, under penalty of an addition of one year's service to the time set forth in the indenture. They were worked hard, were dressed in the cast-off clothes of their owners, and might be flogged as often as the master or mistress thought necessary. If they ran away, at least two days might be added to their time of service for each day they were absent. Father, mother, and children could be sold to different buyers. Such remnants of cargoes as could not find purchasers within the time specified were bought in lots of fifty or more by a class of speculators known as "soul-drivers" who drove them through the country like so many cattle and sold them for what they would bring.[7]

Besides there there were great numbers of "redemptioners," or immigrants too poor to pay their passage, who, on their arrival in America, sold themselves to him who for the shortest term of service — usually five years — would reimburse the captain of the ship for the cost of their passage. Who can doubt that tens of thousands would even now make their way to America on such terms if such contracts were enforceable under American law?

Often wealth confers advantages which bring yet more wealth. Thus the founders of the Danish aristocracy were simply peasants who fortified their houses during deadly village struggles and then used their advantage. For this reason the laws of the Frisians forbade any one to rear himself a house of stone; only the church might be stone-built. In old English times a hardy refugee from another community — lawbreaker or fugitive from oppression — offered himself as fighter to that man in the community who appeared to be ablest to keep and protect him. Such

[7] McMaster, "The Acquisition of the Social and Political Rights of Man in America," pp. 34–35.

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"house carls," having no ties to the rest of the community, became fit instruments for imposing their master's will on his fellows. Thus the man who had a little the start of his neighbors became able to browbeat them, override community rights, appropriate community land, and make himself lord of the district.

When the State Fails to Protect, the Weak "Commend" Themselves to the Strong

The advantage from greater wealth grows in the degree that the state fails to furnish equal protection and justice. In the imperial domains of the later Roman empire the members of the senatorial aristocracy, becoming too independent owing to the immunities rashly granted them by the state, got out of hand and encroached upon the small neighboring landowners. Since in criminal matters the nobles were responsible to no one save the emperor or his immediate representative, the pretorian prefect, and since the lawsuits were decided by judges drawn from this class, the man whose land had been seized by a noble had no certain redress. Hence, the commoners fell into the practice of seeking from the strong that protection which the law should have afforded them. Each "commended" himself to some lord, and the *patron* relation spread through society. The petty landowners became tenants-at-will upon their ancestral acres, and over them the nobles wielded sovereign powers usurped from the state.

Feudalism in America before the Era of Railroad Regulation

Before the advent of genuine governmental regulation our great railroad companies, by giving or withholding special rates, rebates, and facilities, destroyed or built up industries, rewarded or punished cities and states, made or ruined business men, and nursed monopolies like the oil trust and the anthracite coal trust. The failure of the state to exact equal treatment for shippers led to the shipper (as it were) "commending" himself to the railroad company. In the same way nothing but the long struggle of the trade unions has spared the laborers in some industries, e.g., the coal-mining industry of Colorado, from the necessity of virtually renouncing all appeal to the laws supposed to protect them and "commending" themselves to the conscience and humanity of their employers.

STATIC TIMES COMPARED WITH DYNAMIC TIMES

It is in changeful times or in changeful fields that new peaks or even plateaus are upheaved in society. While conditions continue static, the struggle for wealth, power, or prestige alters

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Static Times Emphasize the Family Line

only slowly the social landscape. From one generation to the next its features remain much the same. Generally the high can stay up, while the low must stay down. Wealth, income, social power, sometimes even place and office, pass from father to son, even if brains do not. Individual differences in ability and character bring about some interchanges between the social strata, but not many. The family line establishes itself whenever it can and, in the absence of new fields of opportunity, the lot of a man depends much on his inheriting or failing to inherit such advantages as wealth, place, connections, or education.

Dynamic Times Emphasize the Individual

On the other hand, rapid growth, headlong economic progress, the cropping up of chances in unexpected places, permit the sudden rise of new men. The discovery of the New World no doubt caused in the end more displacement of social power than any happening in history. But on a smaller scale we see the same thing at our elbow. The "boom" of a big city means great profits to some from rising land values. A new region is a fascinating gamble, since the discovery of rare minerals or an outlet for ore, coal, or lumber, owing to the advent of a new railroad or the clearance of a waterway, is sure to lift some prospectors or settlers into Millionaires' Row. The eager exploitation of the natural wealth of Colorado and California made great changes in American social registers.

Social Strata Are Twisted and Broken by the Upthrust of New Fortunes and New Prestiges

But new fields, like the electrical and the automobile industries, offer opportunities as rich as do cornucopia provinces like British Columbia or Saõ Paulo. Inventions, such as the telephone, the bicycle, the trolley car, and the motion film, hatch a brood of new fortunes. The introduction into a region of some new crop — sugar beets, hops, or citrus fruits — throws chances in the way of the foresighted and enterprising, while some bright men mount into the empyrean on the wings of a clever idea, such as founding a "ten-cent" magazine, teaching by correspondence, popularizing health foods, or pushing a method of curing stammering or pursuing physical culture at home. War, like a continental upheaval, may alter most of the wealth courses, ruining old families while new Croesuses are made through munitions, shipping, army contracts, and the floating of war loans.

When army promotion goes by seniority, how slow is the rise of the talented subaltern; whereas war gives a "leg up" to a Clive, a Bonaparte, a Skobeloff, a Kitchener, or a Pershing!

During a dull era in politics re-election is the rule, office shows a fondness for certain families and regular political dynasties appear; but an upheaval by disillusioned farmers or workingmen is likely to bring into public life demagogues and constructive reformers who otherwise would never have been heard of.

Scientific eminence cannot of course be entailed like a fortune. There are times, however, in which the prestige of the discoverer is, at least, a life estate, whereas in epochs of great intellectual fermentation laurels are constantly redistributed. In our time, thanks to the discovery of radioactivity, the germ origin of disease, immunity, the mutation of species, the Mendelian law of inheritance, mental suggestibility and psycho-analysis, a host of eager investigators are sharing in a glory which ordinarily would be monopolized by the retired explorers of older fields.

Old Wealth May Stay Up by Participating in New Opportunities

Let it not be forgotten, however, that the *channels* of social power may not shift as much as do its *sources*. The top people are sometimes nimble in adjusting themselves. Wealthy old families may "get in on the ground floor" of a new economic development, gather cream from a virgin mineral region or a field like the electrical industry, instead of keeping to father's line of investment. Our great capitalists have gained control of much of Alaska's resources, while the gold of the Transvaal has repaired the fortune of many a British noble. Likewise a public man of an old political family may be nimble enough to get on the winning side of a popular agitation, while the scientific investigator may keep his laurels green by leaving his earlier vein of research and going over into a new and more promising field.

LEGITIMATION

Few Great Fortunes Have Their Origin in the Rendering of an Equivalent Service to Society

It is striking how frequently the fortunes which support social superiority originate in force, fraud, or corruption. One recalls the estates carved out of the church lands by Henry VIII after the dissolution of the monasteries; the profits from mingled crime and trade piled up by means of the Dutch East India Company; the oriental loot brought back to England by the "nabobs"; the lucrative Indian monopolies of tea, salt, opium, and spice; the wealth heaped up in the African slave trade; the infamous fortunes of the tax farmers under the old régime in France. Coming nearer home, there are the American fortunes founded on cheating in the army supplies during the Civil War, on railroad

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wrecking, on customs frauds, on the stealing of public lands, on proprietary medicines and food adulteration, on public franchises won by bribery, on tariff favors corruptly obtained, on prison-labor contracts, on vice catering, on tax dodging, and on numerous other iniquities. I refer not to methods of wealth-getting which a later generation has learned to condemn, but to acquisitive practices which outraged the contemporary standards of right and were pursued to a triumphant conclusion only because bribery and corruption turned the edge of every instrument the people sought to use against such practices, or because a secret control over sources of opinion deceived or confused the public as to what really was going on.

In order that these dungheap fortunes may be sublimated into social luster they undergo a process of *legitimation,* whereby ill-gotten wealth is made to look precisely like well-gotten wealth. The gatherer of tainted money may have to endure lifelong odium, but his descendants, when they get ready to retire from acquisition and devote themselves to enjoyment, may exchange it for sweet-smelling forms of property which will yield less dividend but more prestige. Then, too, as the crimes, frauds, and treacheries which lie at the base of family pride and pretension recede a little into the past, they are quickly hidden under a veil of oblivion.

How Ill-gotten Fortunes Are De-odorized

Many motives, some of them far from bad, are at work to bring this about. The present holders of ill-gotten fortunes not only have every interest in suppressing the truth, but they may be quite innocent of misleading the public as to the real character of the founder of the house. Then the rising generation is regularly fed with fairy stories which cloak the grim realities of the socal mêlée. Its school-teachers, moreover, are nearly as ignorant and credulous as their pupils respecting the origins of private accumulations. To spare national pride, the shameful episodes and scandals, particularly those which reflect on conspicuous and influential families, have been expurgated from school history. Some of the most social-minded persons, namely those interested in institutions of social welfare, higher education, and scientific research, cherishing the hope of recovering portions of ill-gotten wealth for public uses, refrain from alluding to historical facts which might alienate possible donors.

Through advertising, the use of credit, etc., the newspapers are

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ndent on the financially powerful that they generally keep
s to the skeletons in the ancestral closets of such persons.
s is the range of partisan political discussions, they rarely
ıt the public with bits of history which might be resented
nsive by valued party workers or contributors. Let it be
n mind, too, that the present holders of ill-gotten fortunes
: very decent and philanthropic persons, so that to the
it will seem wanton and malicious to rake up the piracies
· grandfathers.

Most Social Pretensions Are Founded on the Most Elaborate of Fictions

; there is a kind of conspiracy of silence as to the origins
y fortunes which sustain present social pretensions. If a
should dig out the truth from court records, assessment
eports of public officers, and findings of committees of
gation, he would hardly find a publisher. So, of all im-
historical matter, this is the most perishable, the soonest
en, the hardest to revive. Yet such oblivion legitimates
ılations of the most scandalous origin and leads millions
able and useful people to accept as their social superiors
nplace individuals who have no atom of distinction save
nferred by the skilful expenditure of income from inher-
under.

SECONDARY DIFFERENTIATION

Character Contrasts between the Superior and the Inferior

t differences in social status presently give rise to con-
n character which serve to accentuate and justify these
ıces. Normally, the personal ideal that grows up within
litary upper class is to be proud, free-handed, and high-
l. If the class is also a martial and ruling class, its ideal
:lude courage and domineering will. Born to wealth and
the members of a privileged order not infrequently mani-
ı independence of character, a frankness of speech, a
ity of manner, and a dignity of bearing which are inter-
as natural traits of the *aristoi* or best. Hence, it is pos-
› popularize the myth that the nobility had its origin in
liberate promotion of the best, and that its *raison d'être*
l service.

the other hand, by the presence above them of the privi-
the masses are liable to be warped out of their true line of
ter growth. They accept the master-idea of the disgrace-
; of work; yet for them there is no other lot. Their en-

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forced economies and frugality of expenditure are taken as proofs of a want of natural dignity. So far as they lack adequate legal protection they find themselves under the necessity of combating force with deceit. In case the masses are mostly disinherited, they lose the property sense and are despised for their petty thievery. Thus, when concentration of wealth and power in the upper class is marked, the resulting want of manliness and truthfulness in the common people is held to reveal a natural defect, and inferiority of social status is justified as being the inevitable recompense for inherited weakness of character.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GRADATION

. existence of social grades is established, not so much by
: assumption of superiority by some, as by the fact that
:knowledge such superiority. *Plebeians* may gird at the
ns of *patricians*, but their eagerness as individuals to be
to patrician circles betrays their secret sense of inferior-
.rue social hierarchy is as real to the lower grades as it is
;her.

In Early Times the Aged Were Distinguished

simpler human groups one finds a temporary grading
seniority. Among the Eskimos, the Bushmen, the Aus-
the Fuegians, the Veddahs, the Dyaks, the Caribs, and
ıer nature peoples, there is marked deference to the aged.
:he Homeric Greeks experience was the only education
alone gave that. The counselors of the king were called
or elders, although in war time few of them would be
e basing of distinction on age is reasonable enough in
es when there are no short cuts to wisdom *via* the record
men's experience in books. Generally the older man
more and has heard more of other men's experiences.

Fighting an Honorific Employment

barbarian stage of culture, people are graded chiefly
ş to the dignity of their employments. The leading
employment is *fighting*, which is a better test of prowess
·k and is graced by an element of exploit. The warrior
ularly lords it over the working class, which includes, of
all the women. The taproot of the European feudal
was not landholding, but military exploit. One did not
ting men because he held a fief; he held a fief because he
ing men. As the old saw put it, "who would be a gen-
:t him storm a town."[1] Although in Western Europe
n has been dead a third of a millennium, its value stand-
. influence a third of the human race.

the words of the old ballad:

"To pillage, to rob, that is no shame,
The best in the land do quite the same."

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Government Confers Prestige because It Implies Mastery

Closely related to martial pursuits is *government*, which has always been an honorific occupation. The notion that those who govern are servants of the people has played but a late and slight rôle in the history of the state. Generally, those who have to do with government regard themselves as ruling rather than as serving. They enjoy prestige because they are able, not only to shun all pursuits tainted with vulgar usefulness, but obviously and irresistibly to impose their wills upon other men. The service of the state has been so honorable that often even its petty officials are looked up to by private persons much superior to them in real importance. The military-dynastic prestige of states like Prussia and Japan exalts even minor civil officials above leading merchants and professional men. The reason why Great Britain has been able to recruit for her colonial empire her ablest and best-trained young men is that in the eyes of the English upper caste government is much more honorable than business. The type of man who in this country works to the head of a great business, in England spends his best years in exile and is content with an occasional visit home and a little money rather than forfeit his caste in "trade."

Those Who Have to Do with the Gods Are Honored

The *professional offering of sacrifice and prayer* is another honorific occupation. At first, to be sure, rites are so simple that the petitioner approaches his god directly. But in time it comes to be considered prudent to have the sacrifice offered by some one who can do it in a workmanlike way, and who is believed to enjoy divine favor. In Homeric Greece the priest was generally a man who by repeated sacrifices and services had made himself dear to a god and had then set up an altar on his own account, or else he was a noble to whom his fellow-tribesmen had confided the care of a common shrine. As a supposed expert in "getting results" from a sacrifice the priest could command fees, so that he stood high, not only from his favor with the god, but also as a man of substance. In Homer's eyes all priests were rich.

Not only does the priest as servant of a mighty potentate enjoy a social standing which reflects the exalted station of his master, but he becomes the parent of various intellectual pursuits and learned professions which in time win no small credit. In Greece there began to be visible a scholar's pride, and it was a Greek who protested that the mathematicians of Sicily degraded their science when they applied it to the problems of machines.

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Agriculture a Dignified Occupation, but Not Shopkeeping

: the economic employments *agriculture* has generally
her than trade and manufacture, and *wholesale trade*
an retail trade. In England a nobleman may engage in
or wholesale trade without loss of dignity, but he may
a shop. It is a paradox that a people which keeps going
and shopkeeping has no epithets more damning than
an" and "shopkeeper." In Venice, however, a com-
ity-state, the rich merchant did not quit trade on being
but combined with success the rôles of tradesman and

Hand Work Generally Despised

ial employments, on the other hand, have been demean-
rough a large part of the world to-day the stigma on
abor keeps the proud unproductive, incites them to
umerable schemes to live without work, and prompts
offer desperate resistance to any move which seems to
their system of living off other people. In China and
the well-to-do wear their fingernails long in order to
their exemption from labor. Frequently the nail is six
nches in length, supported by a silver case, and in some
it reaches a growth of twenty inches. To the Oriental
at offends most is work that soils the hands. The copy-
k will starve rather than turn to begriming tasks. The
of engineering has to speak sharply to his surveying
o get them actually to carry chain and to drive stakes,
leem it "coolie work." The old-school mandarin looks
foreign mining engineer as a kind of coolie because he
hands. For this reason, when, a few years since, the
udents began to return home with American degrees, an
s made to rank those with a *technical* education lower
: with a *liberal* education.[2]

Manual Labor Involves Spiritual Defilement

h America everybody "who is anybody" shuns physi-
as if it were an infection. In Argentina the American
expert setting up steam threshers has to check his
doff his coat and "pitch in" lest at evening he be put
ie peons in the barn instead of sitting at the ranchman's
ie observatory assistant considers it beneath his dignity
a box of precious astronomical instruments just from
turns the job over to a stupid peon. In Peru, univer-
rs in mining engineering, who had been given the run

s, "The Changing Chinese," pp. 336–37.

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of an up-to-date mine under an American engineer, refused to follow him in donning overalls and operating the greasy machinery. Their idea of a gentleman's technical education is to stand by in clean raiment and watch the machine go while the expert explains its operation. The high-school professor of chemistry in Peru finds great difficulty in inducing his students to perform with their own hands the assigned laboratory experiments.

Slavery Taints All the Kinds of Work Which Slaves Perform

In our South the presence of the ignorant and servile negro has built up strong reaction habits respecting manual labor. The old-time gentleman farmer rode about his plantation on horseback and often gave the closest attention to farm work. But under no circumstances would he doff his coat and wield an implement himself. After the Civil War many of this class, having lost their slaves, were obliged to till their land themselves. To the Southerner, the pathos of this experience lies, not in the fatiguing nature of farm work, but in the mortification it brought to men bred in planter traditions.

How the disdain for manual labor overpowers one like a creeping paralysis may be seen from what befalls the American workman in Hawaii:

> The presence of Orientals demoralizes some white mechanics. A carpenter wants a board and tells a Japanese to get it, then he finds it convenient to have the man saw it, hold it in place, nail it, and so unconsciously he gradually begins to confine his own activity to the mental side of his trade alone, to the entire exclusion of any further muscular exertion than is necessary in order to keep out of the way of his Asiatic helpers. This flatters his race pride, he begins to associate an idea of degradation with the manual part of his craft, and he becomes morally and physically unfit to ply his trade under the conditions surrounding him.[3]

Menial Service the Most Demeaning Employment

Still lower than handicraft is menial labor. Probably our American colleges are the only higher institutions of learning in the world where a student can wait at table and tend furnaces without becoming a social outcast. In missionary schools in China pupils at first refused to bring in chairs for the seating of guests; it was "coolie work." In Cuzco, Peru, the ladies in the English mission hospital lost caste with the Peruvian ladies because they had been seen sweeping the walk and dusting the win-

[3] Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor.

ows. The inference ran: "They must have been servants in eir own country." So, too, the Chinese of Chêngtu inferred at the French officers they saw walking about in the streets — nstead of being borne in chairs — "must be coolies at home."

In Peru the ambitious cholo apes the "decent people," shuns real abor, and seeks a light, clean-cuff, ill-paid job rather than work as a arpenter or smith. He will stoop to any parasitism, accept any lick-pittle dependence, in order to avoid honest sweat, and be able to wear white linen, swing a cane, and play the dandy on street corner or in church porch. In Chile, where the master-aim is "to live at the fiscal teat"— to use a local phrase — the poor flee useful labor at the first chance. "My mozo," said a Valparaiso physician, "who came raw from the hacienda seven years ago, a mere ragamuffin glad to carry a bag for a dime, is now so uppish that he won't be caught in the street with a parcel in his hand, let alone carrying a box on his shoulder.[4]

The "Dignity of Labor" Does Not Elevate Menial Service, but Depresses It

The disgrace of manual labor is felt most in a society composed of the descendants of conquerors and conquered, for here such abor is the badge of the beaten and servile element. In Spanish America, at least, race pride is very clearly the root of the gen-leman's horror of work. Aversion to menial service, on the ther hand, may be strongest when the spirit of democracy makes ach too proud to be at the beck and call of another. This is hy it is so difficult to induce native American young women to id in the household save under the name of "help" and as uasi-member of the family rather than servant. The scarcity f native-born domestics is largely owing to the unwillingness of any housewives to forego the airs and condescension of the mistress." The higher social position of factory girls explains hy, the country over, domestics with board earn about the same ages as mill girls without board. The latter are willing to take wo-fifths less pay in order to spare their self-respect. That orking girls at their dances sometimes hang out the sign, "No ervant girls admitted" is not quite so undemocratic as it ap-pears. The same feeling accounts for the great difference in popular attitude toward the millionaire who marries his steno-grapher and the one who marries his cook. The one affair is romance, the other comedy. It is significant that occupations

[4] Ross, "South of Panama," p. 168.

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which minister to the body — those of barber, hairdresser, geon, masseur, manicurist — were once humilific, and they risen in dignity only in the degree that the service came associated with skill and training.

Wealth Decisive in Ancient Society

As we recede from the barbarian mind what one *does* m less than how much one has, so that the principal basis of g tion becomes *wealth*. In Homeric Greece the distinction bet poor and rich was marked. Kings were always wealthy, their riches had no doubt much to do with their elevation republican Rome the basis of recognized inequality was w The figures yielded by the "census" fixed one's rank. T Roman it seemed perfectly natural that the rich should c tute the aristocracy; still, he recognized that time added t respectability of wealth and felt a certain contempt for the *venu*. Only slowly might one work up into the aristocracy advancement from grade to grade was regulated by strict To raise one's family a single step was the ambition of a life Under the Empire classes were yet more distinct. At the ater or hippodrome each man had his place marked accordi his rank. Knights could not mix with senators nor *plebs* knights. The senator had a purple band on his toga; the k wore a golden ring. The senators were *clarissimi;* the kn *egregii* or *illustri*.

The Rich Strive to Monopolize the Honorific Employments

Distinctions of wealth tend to blend with and reinforc invidious distinctions among employments. The rich stri reserve to themselves "noble" occupations, such as wa government, sport, exploration, learning, the fine arts. If do not exclude the commoner, they make access to such pu costly. Thus knighthood has always been reserved for the alry arm, since only the man of means could provide hims mount. For the gallant foot-soldier there has been no such r nition. In the same way the wealthy have monopolized, s as they could, all but the minor posts in government, the m being, not so much to control the policy of government to own advantage as to gain prestige. At Oxford and Camb universities, the training schools for the British ruling clas students are obliged to live like gentlemen in commons or i vate apartments quite as expensive. There is no place wha for the poor young man, let alone one who is "working his In the same way in England preparation for the learned pr

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sions has been made needlessly costly in order to keep an advantage for the sons of the well-to-do.

The Heir More Esteemed than the Money-Getter

Wealth *acquired* confers far less dignity than wealth *inherited*. Thus in early Cincinnati, while the aristocracy of the town was unquestionably founded on pork, it made a great difference whether a man killed pigs for himself or whether his father had killed them. An American at a Scotch house-party recounts that the butler went about among the guests inquiring of each how many acres he had inherited, in order to seat them properly at dinner.

The secret of the distinction is that the money-getter is thought of as having slaved and served for his money, but in a generation the sweat by which it was acquired has dried, the tricks resorted to, the toiling, lowly beginning, the fawning for favors or orders or contracts or patrons or customers, have been forgotten. Visible exertion, solicitude, and eagerness have been replaced by the cold unanxious calm of opulence. The money-getter is accessible, the wealthy may be exclusive. The one has negotiated, mutilated, even sacrificed, his personality for gain; the other has absorbed the wealth into his personality.

Peculiar Distinction Attaches to Certain Kinds of Wealth

Often one kind of wealth confers more prestige than another. In the pastoral stage the size of one's herd is what counts. "In the lower stages of culture," remarks Nieboer, "a rich man cannot build a palace or keep a motor car or buy pictures; he can only show his wealth to the public by keeping a large number of men or domestic animals continually running about him."[5] In feudal society the extent of one's landed estate was decisive, whereas in modern society it matters little what kinds of property are represented in one's sheaf of securities. Nevertheless, in England no millionaire is really in line for social and political recognition until he has planted himself on his country estate, while a like fondness for rural property as a social springboard is showing itself among rich Americans. It is noteworthy that through the Middle Ages the rich Jews, being obliged to keep their wealth in *unseen* mobile form — money, jewels, etc. — never got from it the consideration which land ownership conferred.

[5] "Slavery as an Industrial System," p. 406.

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DERIVATIVE CRITERIA OF SUPERIORITY

Even when wealth is the bedrock of superior social status, one's actual rating depends on certain conventional tokens of opulence. Among these are:

Free Spending Is Highly Honorable

Scale of living. An obvious lavishness contributes to high social repute. In dress, furnishings, equipage, and especially entertainment, good form fixes standards which are costly to attain. Any skimping, any sign of concern as to expense, is damning. Phrases like "cheap skate," "A cheap coat makes a cheap man," are charged with contempt for frugal spending. The outworking of the principle of conspicuous costliness appears in the disdain of the useful as compared with the "ornamental," in the value of mere rarity, in the insistence on "stylishness," in the esteem of material above form and in the preference for the handwrought over the machine-made.[6] People of limited means who aspire to "be somebody" are by this principle forced into a hollow manner of living which sacrifices comforts, even necessities, to show a façade type of expenditure resulting in "Queen Anne front and Mary Ann back."

Self-service Is Disgraceful

Abundance of personal service. The rendering of menial service even to one's self degrades. In the Old South the planters kept great numbers of house servants to wait upon them. Before the war a Southern representative expressed amazement in Congress on learning that a Northern colleague blacked his own boots, and declared that no "gentleman" could do a thing like that. On the other hand, Abraham Lincoln, on being greeted with "Why, Mr. President, do I find you actually blacking your own boots?" replied, "Well, whose boots *should* I black?" It was a German philosopher who damned socialism by declaring it would result in universal having-to-black-your-own-boots (*Allgemein stiefelputzen müssen.*

No Gentility without Menials

In India the cheapness of servants results in incredible standards of being waited on. A little Anglo-Indian girl at her first tea in England was observed to be weeping. It came out that never before in her life had she been expected to *stir her own tea.* In the same way the aristocratic spirit of the later Roman Empire showed itself in the fact that the men of the senatorial families kept about them an incalculable number of servants, and never

[6] See Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class," ch. V.

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in public without a cortège resembling an army. But lay at the older English universities American Rhodes are looked at askance for doing for themselves things e British student has done for him by his "scout." In- to exist without the services of menials is looked upon isite of gentility.

th America to-day no first-class passenger carries his bag cab and railway coach. In hotel or club the guest is re- y the servants to the degree that he will be waited on. es things for himself, he is despised and insulted. The lady goes to church attended at a respectful distance ll servant carrying her prayer book and umbrella. The e astronomer shrinks from looking after and covering ument. The American rector of a Peruvian university t an example of self-help in order to rid his students of that in their archaeological excursions they must take rvants to care for the horses and prepare the meals. ing served is a mark of gentility, it will be long before mericans take kindly to the "self-serve" cafeterias so among us.

onial cleanness. As means of giving servants enough to grow up among the wealthy standards of cleanness which mystical compared with that hatred of dirt which shows the Dutch, Yankee, or Japanese housewife. Thus, in at his hands may be immaculately clean, the man who or in a fine family is kept from the heavier labors of the d. Then he is supplied with a tray to receive the visiting order that even his clean hands may not touch it, and he hands which hold the tray are covered with white

Gainful Pursuits Are Humiliating

tion from all useful employment. Not to have to do for a living is signal proof of a fortune exempting one common lot. The gentleman may be very busy, but he usy with his pleasures, his sports, his hobbies, his philan- his public services; not with gainful pursuits. If he thing remunerative, it will be work of the desk, not of The distinction roots, no doubt, in the contrast of intel- ith manual, of plan with performance, of giving orders ing them. But it is possible that the age-old scorn of abor has sprung in part from its repulsive associations,

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e.g., sweat, grime, bad odors, ill-kept teeth, uncared-for finger-nails, and neglect of the body. If so, it may gain dignity with the appearance of educated, well-paid men who, nevertheless, work with tools. In the well-groomed electrician or engineer who still gets his hands oily, manual labor loses its old offensive associations. If handwork generally were performed by well-read, self-respecting, cleanly people, no doubt the stigma on it could not be sustained. From this point of view, the cheapening and diffusion of the bathtub, the shower-bath, underclothing, the tooth-brush, the nail scissors, the safety razor, and the leather shoe are democratizing society by sapping the very basis of class distinctions.

Importance of Manners

Good breeding. A leisure class always gives great attention to the arts of social intercourse and cultivates the impulses appropriate to pleasure association. Those "to the manner born" despise *parvenus* as lacking the gracious self-effacing ways of "gentle" folk, and insist that nothing but breeding can form the soul of the gentleman or lady. When wealth shifts to new families, dignity, quietness, and refinement are the emphasized assets of the old element. For instance, an English traveler visiting Frankfort in 1803 observes that the nobility there lose no opportunity to point out

> the distinctions that ought to be made between their families and those of the bourgeois, who, though they have by commerce or some profession equally ignoble attained great wealth, which enables them to live in a style of magnificence unbecoming their rank; yet their noble neighbors insinuate that they always retain a vulgarity of sentiment and manners, unknown to those whose blood has flowed pure through several generations, unmixed with that puddle which stagnates in the veins of plebeians.[7]

A hundred years later a visitor in Charleston, South Carolina, remarks:

> The highest society of Charleston displays contempt toward the plutocrat. Although at its most exclusive functions may be seen a seamstress or a street-car conductor whose family, impoverished by the "war between the States," has in no way lost its social status, the merely rich are inexorably excluded. No newspaper there would

[7] Moore, quoted by Giddings, "Descriptive and Historical Sociology," p. 265.

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venture or care to print an account of these exclusive assemblies. The social set that provides the standard of social taste and tone for the city would not tolerate the sycophancy of the "yellow journals" that devote whole columns to what rich women wear at the New York Horse Show.[8]

Esteem for an Ornamental Culture Protects the High-Born from the Competition of the Rising

Possession of an ornamental culture. Another test by which the born members of the leisure class fend off the pushful bourgeois is the possession of lore and skill which the self-made have had no time to acquire. Such lore will be as remote as possible from the knowledge underlying the useful arts and professions. It will have to do with means of self-expression and sources of enjoyment rather than with the utilitarian branches. Thus Dill observes of the aristocracy in later Roman society:[9]

This class, separated from the masses by pride of birth and privilege and riches, was even more cut off from them by its monopoly of culture. An aristocrat, however long his pedigree, however broad his acres, would have hardly found himself at home in the circle of Sidonius if he could not turn off pretty *vers de société* or letters fashioned in that euphuistic style which centuries of rhetorical discipline had elaborated. The members of that class were bound to one another by the tradition of ancestral friendships, by common interests and pursuits, but not least by academic companionship and the pursuit of that ideal of culture which more and more came to be regarded as the truest title to the name of Roman, the real stamp of rank.

But Learning May Be Valued for Its Own Sake

Learning, however, may serve as a quite independent basis of distinction. Among the ancient Irish it appears to have possessed a great social value. High honors and rewards were conferred upon the poet, teacher, or historiographer. In bodyfine and social rank the several grades of learned and professional men were on a level with the chieftain grades. Kings promoted their tutors to high positions and during an interregnum the regent was a cleric and poet. In the later Roman Empire, also, learning appears to have shone with its own light:

The senatorial class prided themselves, as we have seen, on their culture quite as much as on their birth and opulence. And they held in corresponding estimation the class whose business it was to maintain the literary tradition. Symmachus, at the beginning of the cen-

[8] E. H. Abbott, "Religious Life in America," p. 119.
[9] Dill, "Roman Society," p. 161.

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tury, and Sidonius, towards its close, were aristocrats to their finger tips, valuing even to excess hereditary rank. Yet both Symmachus and Sidonius admitted freely to their inner circle men who owed their position solely to literary skill and dexterity of the kind then admired. They lived on terms of fraternal intimacy with men whose days were spent in the drudgery of the classroom.[10]

In China public monuments are erected to eminent teachers and commemorative arches record the pride of a town in a son who has won honors in a state examination. In Germany productive scholarship enjoys such prestige that a stream of first-class ability continually pours into university careers, while in the United States it is so little appreciated that the college faculties fail to get their share of the men of talent.

PERSONAL RATING VERSUS SOCIAL CLASS

Hereditary Social Distinctions Are Never Founded on Worth Differences among Individuals

What, it may be asked, is the relation of the social gradation I have been describing to the ratings men continually make of their fellows on the basis of *ability, success,* and *character?* The answer is that while such differences greatly influence men in their treatment and trust of one another, they do not of themselves create social grades. Sometimes the social hierarchy pays no heed whatever to such values. At best it takes account of them, but not as if they were the natural foundation of social grades. We consider a society as remarkably healthy in tone when the man of unusual achievement, the poet, artist, thinker, or explorer, has entrée to the highest social class. But one never finds such a class composed entirely of achievers, irrespective of their pecuniary means and style of living.

Character, too, may be given no little weight in placing one in the social scale. The hero or saint, the founder of a religious order or a new philanthropy, is likely to be a privileged person, above all conventional distinctions. On the other hand, the rich or well-born who shows himself mean or craven, makes himself ridiculous, or flouts the current moral standard may be cast out from his social class. Nevertheless, such concessions of class to common-sense personal ratings should not blind us to the fact that definite and inheritable social gradings *never* rest on practical worth-differences among individuals, but always on impersonal

[10] Dill, "Roman Society," p. 337.

differences in respect to employment, function, wealth, and the conventional signs of wealth. CHAP. XXVIII

RESULTS OF GRADATION

The recognition of impersonal differences affects the classes in various ways:

1. *The inferior is required to repress all signs of emotion in the presence of the superior.* Thus in Japan under the old régime the code of a military camp governed the contacts between classes. Talking in the presence of the superior, or laughter, or curious questions, or expressions of surprise — anything revealing the slightest emotion on the part of the humbler — was considered discourtesy and punished with great rigor.

2. *Personality is very unequally developed in superior and inferior.* Says Gulick of Old Japan:

Personality Dwarfed in the Social Inferior

> There was no redress for the peasant in case of harshness. It was always the wise policy, therefore, for him to accept whatever was given without even the appearance of dissatisfaction. This spirit was connected with the dominance of the military class. Simple trustfulness was, therefore, chiefly the spirit of the non-military classes.
>
> While, therefore, it is beyond dispute that the old social order was communal in type, and so did not give freedom to the individual nor tend to develop strong personality among the masses, it is also true that it did develop men of commanding personality among the rulers. Those who from youth were in the hereditary line of rule, sons of Shōguns, daimyos, and samurai, were forced by the very communalism of the social order to an exceptional personal development. They shot far ahead of the common man. Feudalism is favorable to the development of personality in the favored few, while it represses that of the masses. Individualism, on the contrary, giving liberty of thought and act, with all that these imply, is favorable to the development of the personality of all.[11]

3. *Status, not bargain, regulates dealings between superior and inferior.* Says Gulick:

> The idea of making a bargain when two persons entered upon some particular piece of work, the one as employer, the other as employed, was entirely repugnant to the older generation, since it was assumed that their relations as inferior and su-

[11] "Social Evolution of the Japanese," pp. 121, 375.

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perior should determine their financial relations; the superior would do what was right and the inferior should accept what the superior might give without a question or a murmur. Among the samurai, where the arrangement is between equals, bargaining or making fixed or fast terms which will hold to the end, and which may be carried to the courts in case of differences, was a thing practically unknown in the older civilization. Everything of a business nature was left to honor and was carried on in a mutual confidence.[12]

Definite Differences in the Social Value of Men

4. *Fines and indemnities are graded according to social status.* The Babylonian code of Hammurabi fixed damages with reference to the social class of the injured man. With the rise of class distinctions in early Europe the rates of compensation came to be different among persons of different classes. The *wergeld* or social value of a man constituted the basis for fines and indemnities, and every man had a *wergeld* fixed by law. Thus in the code of the Alamans the life of a freeman is valued at 160 sous, freedman, 80, slave, 40. The Visigoths fix for the life of a freeman a compensation twice that for the life of a freedman. The Frisians make a long tariff of indemnities for every sort of blow, then add: "these figures are for freemen. For nobles multiply by three, for serfs take half." According to another Germanic code, the fine for a blow that breaks a tooth is for a noble 15 *solidi*, for a freeman 5, for a slave 2.

The Inferior Are the Mudsills of Society

5. *The inferior comes to be regarded, not simply as of less worth, but as existing for the sake of the superior.* In a Vedic metaphor describing "the altar of the King's state," the priests and the nobles are the bricks, while the common people are "the filling between the bricks." In the political thought of the slave-holding South the planter and merchant class were the people for whose benefit society existed — the "Spartans" — while the slaves and manual laborers were to the social edifice what mudsills are to a house.

In the Orient woman has worth, not in her own right, but as a means to an end, that end being the gratification and comfort of the male. Her lot is summed up in "the three obediences," viz., to father, then to husband, lastly to son. "A woman," says a Japanese manual on ethics, "should never weary of yielding to her husband, must form no friendships or intimacy save as sanctioned by him, must obey her husband with fear and trembling."

[12] "Social Evolution of the Japanese," p. 120.

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Unconscious Assumption That Woman Fulfils Her Destiny in Ministering to the Other Sex

Where the spirit of the Old South survives in its purity, an aborate "lady" worship fails to conceal the universal uncon-cious assumption that God placed women here for the sake of the ien. The male sex has obviously shaped the ideals girls are ught to realize, but the female sex has had little share in shap-g the ideals boys are taught to realize. It is a matter of course at women should find their mission in serving, pleasing, and in-piring men, but no one suggests that the male sex has its end in nything it does for women. Its end is within itself. The young oman must cultivate a conciliating and caressing manner, and void opposing or disagreeing with men. If she has opinions she issembles them, and if she has learning she hides it lest male ritation blast her with the reproach "unwomanly." To please ien she must wear delicate and flimsy clothes, no matter what hey cost her fingers or her purse, and shun the plain but con-enient "tailor-made" garments. Male opinion frowns on the idow who remarries as putting her own happiness above loyalty a man's memory; but no one thinks less of the widower who emarries. The divorced man goes everywhere, but the divorced oman is ostracized no matter what her justification. The men old under constant surveillance the reading, acquaintance, and ctivities of their womenfolk, and expect the woman to subordi-ate her own notion of what is proper for her to the judgment of er nearest male relative. The assumption is that woman's re-ute and standing are of more consequence to her menfolk than herself.

Again, the conception of the inferior as mere means to the life f the superior may apply to the significance of common people or the gifted. This view is voiced by Renan in the words: The bulk of humanity lives by proxy — millions live and die in rder to produce a rare élite, the masses do not count, they are a ere bulk of raw material, out of which, drop by drop, the es-ence is extracted."

CHAPTER XXIX

SEGREGATION AND SUBORDINATION

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IN case the sense of worth difference sharpens to such a point that the social superior shuns fellowship and intermarriage with the inferior, society comes to be made up of closed hereditary classes. Thus among the Saxons of the eighth century social divisions were cast-iron, and the law punished with death the man who should presume to marry a woman of rank higher than his own. The Lombards killed the serf who ventured to marry a free woman, while the Visigoths and Burgundians scourged and burned them both. Among the early Germans a freedman remained under the taint of ancestral servitude until the third generation, i.e., until he could show four free-born ancestors.

Those Who Have Gotten Up Kick Down the Ladder by Which Their Ancestors Climbed

As class lines harden, the upper class becomes more jealous of its status and resists or retards the admission of commoners, however great their merit or wealth. In the later Roman Empire —

> the law did not absolutely prohibit a curial from rising to another grade in society, but it made his progress so slow and difficult that escape by legal means was possible to very few. Even when a man had surmounted all barriers and become an imperial functionary or a senator, his children born before his elevation were retained in their original rank and his property remained liable for the municipal charges of his class. If a man attempted to hasten his rise or his deliverance by overleaping some of the stages of duty he was sent back to the original starting point.[1]

In this way *birth* or *purity of blood* becomes more decisive for social status than the differences of occupation or wealth which raised up the original social inequalities. Worth distinctions which in their early form may stimulate the ambitious to do their best become paralyzing as they stiffen into caste, because they grant no recognition to individual achievement.

The social distance between castes may become too great for

[1] Dill, "Roman Society," p. 214.

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the bond of common nationality to overcome.[2] The nobles of the Middle Ages lived in their caste rather than in their people and felt themselves closer to the nobles of another nation than to the commons of their own.[2] Something of this spirit has lived on in Poland. Says Palmer:

> One might almost say that the Poles consist of two separate races, so entirely distinct are the nobility from the great mass of the nation. To this complete separation between nobles and peasants nearly all the troubles of Poland have been due in the past. The Polish aristocracy is, in fact, a caste entirely apart from the people. This, it is true, is also the case among the aristocracies of nearly all continental countries, but in hardly any other nationality is the gulf so wide as almost to exclude the possibility of mutual feelings of respect. The Austro-German nobles, though no less a caste, are as a rule decidedly proud of the Germanic peasantry, and regard them as infinitely superior to those of other races. The Magyar nobles have, perhaps, an even higher opinion of the peasantry of their own nationality. The Polish peasant, on the contrary, is not regarded with greater contempt by the Austrians, Prussians, or Russians than he is, with rare exceptions, by nobles of his own race.[3]

In a Caste Society to Look Down on Someone Is an Indispensable Spiritual Solace

The attitude of aloofness shows itself first in the highest class, but presently the intermediate classes become infected with snobbery, and each grade shrinks from all below it. In England the wholesale tradesman looks down upon the retail tradesman, the

[2] Very cleverly Beaconsfield insisted upon the representative character of the English peers. In his great defense of Toryism spoken at Manchester, April 3, 1872, he says: "Suppose — which God forbid — there was no House of Commons, and any Englishman — I will take him from either end of the island — a Cumberland or a Cornish man, finds himself aggrieved, the Cumbrian says: This conduct I experience is most unjust. I know a Cumberland man in the House of Lords, the Earl of Carlisle or the Earl of Lonsdale; I will go to him; he will never see a Cumberland man ill treated. The Cornish man will say: I will go to the Earl of Port Eliot; his family have sacrificed themselves before this for the liberties of Englishmen, and he will get justice done me. . . ."

A privileged order may indeed start with strong local attachments which make them good spokesmen for local interests. But presently they become class conscious and feel with members of their order rather than with people of their county. When its privileges are attacked, the members of the titled order become intensely class conscious and their every move is dictated by class interest rather than the interest of their locality or their country. A privileged order assailed soon becomes narrow and selfish enough to deserve its finish.

[3] "Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country," pp. 77–78.

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latter looks down upon his clerk, the clerk looks down upon the woman who lets him lodgings, and she in turns looks down on the man who cobbles her shoes. In reverse, the man who works with his hands looks up to the petty shopkeeper and *he* looks up to the big tradesman. This one looks up to the banker or manufacturer, who looks up to the landed gentry, who look up to the peers, while at the apex of the whole organization stands the throne.

The Presence of Inferiors, unless They Are Engaged in Rendering Service, Communicates a Taint

Each class avoids its supposed inferiors as if their presence tainted the air. In India low-caste people are excluded from the temples. In England there is a rule that the railway porter shall not put any one into an apartment occupied by one of the nobility. Moreover, a holder of a first-class or a second-class ticket is entitled to a refund in case a passenger with a ticket of a lower class (his own compartment being full) is put in his compartment. The theory is that the ticket holder has paid for exclusiveness as well as for accommodation. An American university crew about to row in an English regatta was challenged on the ground that according to the regulations the contesting crews must be "gentlemen," while in fact some of the American oarsmen were working their way through college! In a quiet way the lowly born, save the winners of scholarships, are effectually excluded from the great endowed schools like Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, and from the two old universities.

Among ourselves the great focal points of caste spirit are army and navy. A junior officer seen talking in a human way to an enlisted man or putting a hand on his shoulder is reprimanded. The lieutenant marrying the daughter of a sergeant is boycotted and driven from the army. An officer has been known to raise a disturbance in a theater on finding his seat next to that of a sergeant, and an admiral has recorded objection on class grounds to the commissioning of the gallant chief of a battleship gun squad.

Sympathy Becomes Class-Bound

As society becomes aristocratic, humane feeling becomes class-bound. Thus an English newspaper gave thanks that while six hundred persons lost their lives in a Chicago theater fire, none of them was of any distinction. On the other hand, tenderness for the highborn makes even-handed justice impossible. It was easy to find law for imprisoning Stead, the fearless London journalist who in his "Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon" exposed the villanies of men in high social position, but none was found for

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punishing the villains themselves. The worst discoveries of the commission which investigated the frauds committed by British officers in the purchase of army stores during the Boer War were never made public, because of the eminence of the persons involved. No doubt their own class ostracized them, but it would not give the lowborn a handle for scoffing.

Origins of Hereditary Economic Dependence

Inequality is never so hopeless as when the inferior becomes dependent for security or livelihood upon the favor of the social superior. Before the reign of law the weak had to seek the protection of the strong. In Homeric times power regularly fell to the strong hand. Amidst conditions of insecurity, the submitting of one's self to the powerful constituted a kind of insurance; one consented to periodic exactions and dues in order to escape utter ruin. So men commended their lives and goods to individuals who appeared to be strong enough to protect them unless, indeed, they fell directly beneath such power through being conquered by it.

The feudalism Caesar found among the Gauls sprang neither from the conquest of one people by another nor yet from the fidelity of retainers to a military chief, but arose out of economic inequality coupled with state weakness. The state, being rudimentary, was unable to exact obedience of the great as well as of the small. Hence, the weak man, finding no shelter in the public powers, became an *ambact,* i.e., he sought the support of some strong man and paid for it with service. He addressed himself to one of the great men and besought protection against all other grandees.

If the Superiors Own and Run the State the Inferiors Sink into Dependence on Them

If the state, instead of keeping the social classes in balance, recruits its officials chiefly from the superior class, the lower orders will sink into dependence. Thus, under the Roman Empire justice was administered, not as with us by experts, but by high functionaries such as governors and prefects, all chosen from the senatorial nobility. Between the official and the local nobles soon grew up such fellow-feeling and mutual favor that ordinarily no man of humble station could win a lawsuit against a noble. Accordingly the weak man seeking justice had to provide himself with a powerful patron.

The handing over of state powers to the social superiors instead of committing them to paid and responsible public servants completes the subjection of those economically dependent on such su-

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periors. Says Fustel de Coulanges of the effects of the grants of immunity by the Frankish kings of the seventh century:

The Relinquishment of the Powers of Government to the Superior, Places the Inferior in a Hopeless Position

> Imagine a well-constituted administrative corps of dukes, counts, and *centeniers* who should be faithful representatives of the state and who should command the obedience of the people; it will be impossible that the great landowner should become an absolute master. In the public functionary the weak will find a support. Freemen will have no need of other patronage. The small landowners will not be under the necessity of yielding up themselves and their holdings. Tenants will have a regular contract and the guaranty of the laws. Freedmen and *coloni* will have certain well-defined rights. Even the serfs will be protected. But behold, the grant of immunity removes the public functionary, forbidding him "to enter." For the great landowner such an officer no longer exists nor does he exist for the mixed population inhabiting the domains of the great landowner.[4]

With justice, police, and power of taxation all in the hands of the proprietor the dependence of this population upon him becomes very great.

Economic calamity bearing particularly upon the smaller proprietor-holders will crush them into permanent dependence in case the law tolerates such a relation. The loss of an independent status by the petty landowners of the Roman Empire seems to have been connected with wars and disasters in the third century, which brought many farmers into debt to the great proprietors. This burden, together with the advantage of the big man in all legal contests, compelled great numbers to part with their land by pretended sale or gift and to occupy it under the *precarium* tenure.

Status of the Precarists in Late-Roman Society

The small peasant who solicited protection began by transferring to the protector almost everything he had. He did not leave his holding, but his sons had no claim on it. By donation or fictitious sale the man transferred the land to his protector, receiving in return a gracious permission to live out his days upon it. The proprietor might impose on the precarist any conditions he pleased. He might exact an annual rental or require manifestations of gratitude and deference, the *obsequium*. Since no formal contract defined the dependent's obligations, he might be lawfully dispossessed at any moment. His tenure was entirely at the pleasure of the patron. Hence he must gain and constantly keep

[4] "Origines du système féodal," pp. 411, 412.

the good will of the great man. He had to be always in the attitude of a suppliant. Short of slavery, no system more destructive of manliness can be imagined; yet under the later Empire freemen and property-owners unsheltered by the state were continually turning over their holdings to neighboring great proprietors, in order to receive them again under a precarious tenure. The Church bitterly denounced the spread of the practice, but was unable to arrest it.

The outcome of the unchecked exercise of economic power is thus described by Fustel de Coulanges:

Fatal Spread of Clientage because the State Failed to Furnish Equal Protection

> Clientage spread till it embraced the majority of people. Besides his slaves and *coloni* the household of a rich man included a numerous personnel of clients, some of high birth and rank.
>
> The society of the Roman Empire looked monarchic. But by the régime of the great landowner and by the practice of patronage it was thoroughly aristocratic. Insensibly the freeman had formed the habit of becoming a subject, not of the state or of the prince, but of another man. Everywhere was the patron, the seigneur; everywhere, too, the client. Under its various forms clientage embraced all classes, constituting, as it were, a staircase where men ranged themselves in a hierarchy.[5]

When the English government became mistress of the Scottish Highlands, the law, by construing the chief-clansman relation as if it were the landlord-tenant relation, plunged the bulk of the Highlanders into a condition of acute economic dependence. Says Professor John Stuart Blackie:

Scottish Landlordism

> Absolute freedom of contract between any two parties implies perfect equality of social position, and perfect independence as to the consequence of accepting or rejecting the offered conditions of the contract, but how little this is the case as between a small Irish or Highland tenant and a big landlord. To talk of freedom of contract between an omnipotent Hebridean Chamberlain and a poor Highland crofter is a trick of verbal legerdemain. The poor Highland crofter, whose situation has been made uncomfortable by a factorial ordinance in favor of a big farmer or a deerstalker, has no resource, he must accept the unfavorable conditions, or wander into another glen, where he will quite possibly find the fences of another deer forest barring his way, or drift in despair into the black slums of some smoky Glasgow.[6]

[5] "Origines du système féodal," pp. 245–47.
[6] "Scottish Highlanders and the Land Laws," pp. 196–97.

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As to the withering of character under such dependence, Professor Blackie remarks:

> If, under the pressure of the dreadful thunderclouds of eviction, Donald had sometimes shown more of the cunning of the fox than the boldness of the lion, he is only doing what a moral necessity imposed upon him, as indeed it would upon any body of human beings associated together under like unfavorable influences. When fear of penal loss and arbitrary treatment becomes the dominant element in the feelings of a whole people, their only defence seems to lie in a retreat behind the shield of habitual untruthfulness and resignation. How deeply this has poisoned the blood of the Irish Celts in these latter days!

The Old Régime in the Philippines

At the beginning of the American régime in the Philippines the mass of the agricultural Filipinos were tenants on large estates. The owner was the *amo* or master; his tenants were his *dependientes*. Most of them were hereditary bonded debtors of the *amo*. The debtor himself might not know the origin of the obligation which came down to him from his father, he was ignorant of its amount, nor did he understand how it increased or might be decreased. In crisis or trouble he appealed to his *amo*, thus adding new links to his chain. He had nothing laid by for the future nor any means of storing food to carry him from one harvest to the next. The *dependientes* were bound, not only to work for the *amo* on account of their "debts," but also to stand by him in all matters. They supported the political party he supported. If he took part in a revolution they fought for him, and if he joined the Aglipay secession from the Catholic church, they also became *Aglipayanos*.

Peonage in Western South America

Throughout the western part of our continent, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, free agricultural labor as we know it does not exist. Slavery has disappeared, but the institution of peonage binds the rural masses to the owners of the *haciendas*. In Southern Colombia, for example, four days in each week the agricultural laborer is bound to work at a wage of from five to ten cents a day in return for the use of a plot for his house and truck patch. Of course, such pitiful earnings do not suffice for the needs of his family, so he is obliged to run into debt to his *amo* for money or supplies. Since he can never work off this debt and the law does not permit him to leave the estate until it is liquidated, the peon becomes virtually a serf bound to work all

his life for a nominal wage. He can change employers only in case some one pays his debt, and this binds him to a new master. In general, the rural population of the tropical parts of Latin America are in a like state of dependence and subserviency.

In Some Parts of the United States Only the Labor Unions Stand between the Laborer and a Feudal Dependence upon the Giver of Work

The appearance of very large employers in places remote from the centers of population, monopolizing employment of a certain kind or within a certain district, as also the more and more cunningly concerted action of employers, through their associations, are creating in some parts of the United States a half-feudal dependence of the wage-earner. Workingmen are herded in company towns, lodged in company houses, forced to trade at company stores, paid in company money, and hampered in their comings, goings, and meetings by armed company underlings. In some cases even churches and schools are built and controlled by the company. Moreover, a hundred lumber companies united in an association may confront the applicant for labor with a printed form to sign, in which he declares that he is competent to do the work required and is familiar with all its duties, and furthermore requests his previous employers to furnish the company information as to his character and record. This means that as condition of obtaining employment the applicant must waive his right to sue under the law for injuries received in the course of his work and to sue under the law for defamation of character.

SUBORDINATION AND FIXITY

Dependence Excludes All Possibility of Competition between the Superiors and Inferiors

When the inferiors are severally in a state of dependence upon the superiors, the healthful circulation of families between the upper and the nether levels in the social system ceases. The upper people, even if they are victors in a universal rivalry to accumulate and rise, proceed to curb and stifle this rivalry in order to bequeath to their children their own high social position. Competition is too clogged and feeble to bring about rearrangements of the elements in society. There is no staircase by which brogans may mount and patent-leather boots descend. Peasant ability finds hardly a path up, while sloth or incapacity does not drop a "gentle" family into the toiling mass. Generation after generation, high families stay up, while lowly families stay down. Handicapped by dependence, ignorance, and unfair laws, the farm hand, no matter how hard-working and capable, never becomes an owner of land, never breaks into the charmed circle. In the West-

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coast countries of South America no laborer rises throug ancy to ownership as he does at times in Argentina ai oftener in the United States. With the whole machinery and the state in their hands, the proprietors see to it th clever lads from the people shall not elbow aside their own be they never so lazy and spendthrift.

In Chile, for example, the ruling class keeps the brigh from the mud huts of the *inquilinos* out of the better-paid o tions by providing a public elementary-school system whic not connect with the free state high school and university. private schools fit pupils to enter the state system; so th children of those too poor to pay tuition have no access government service and the liberal professions.

SUBORDINATION AND CHARACTER

Economic Dependence Saps the Very Citadel of Personality

All about us we see how the constant immediate depende one human being upon the favor of another blights nativ respect and self-assertiveness. The "tip" in lieu of a wage, by making the servant dependent upon the served, obsequiousness in the one and the patronizing spirit in the

The growing economic dependence of wives upon husban ing to the disappearance of household industries from the threatens to sap the character of the married woman and tutes a serious obstacle to her rising to a higher position home and in society. The dependence of professors of th cal or social sciences upon governing boards composed of w men or reflecting, perhaps anticipating, the wishes of poli or donors, jeopardizes that vigor of character and candor terance essential to their largest service. The dependence clergyman upon the financial "pillars" in his church leav less free to apply the touchstone of Christian principles to c business practices. Advertiser or "interest" control over papers is making many newspaper men feel like helots.

Dependence wilts manhood as surely as the tropic sur Northern energy. However stiff the native backbone of a few generations under the yoke will make them worms. type of character we stigmatize as "Asiatic" testifies, not presence of innate weakness in the races of Asia, but t long subjection to arbitrary power. The nearer is a cl the bottom of the social heap, the worse will its members

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formed in spirit, and the less often will they exhibit the normal traits of freemen.

Born Dependents Exhibit Unlovely and Contemptible Traits

In born dependents, servility, sycophancy, lying, and petty thievery are as natural as it is natural for a starving crop to be yellow; yet these by-products of pressure are pointed to as proofs of a poor moral endowment. Against a background of such faults stand out the more brilliantly the high spirit, manliness, and sense of honor of the hereditary superiors. Character-contrasts social in origin are interpreted as inborn. To divert attention from their underpinning of privilege, the superiors point to the low-caste and say: "Look, *they* are the dull-witted, the incapable; *we* are the well-born, the fittest. Our mastership and our reward are of Nature's own giving. We are the cream that rises to the top of the milk."

Social Inferiority Perpetuates Itself

It is impossible for inferiors generally to prove their mettle until they have freedom and knowledge, and hardly can they win these so long as they are shut out from government. But, since beings so benighted are clearly unfit to have a voice in governing, social inferiority tends to perpetuate itself. Those of low degree stay low until some vast upheaval such as the invention of gunpowder or of printing, the discovery of the New World, the growth of cities, or the rise of the capitalistic method of production gives able and ambitious commoners their chance to win knowledge or wealth and break into the master circle.

SUBORDINATION AND CHARITY

A Great Development of Charity Is a Bad Symptom

Often religious doctrines or humanitarian ideals beget in the superiors a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their dependents. Generosity and charity are not only considered becoming in the social superior, but, wanting them, he may be ostracized by his own class. An American who goes to reside on an English estate to which he has fallen heir is astonished to learn how much a country family is expected to give away. Far from being a good sign, such a growth of charity often means simply that healthful competition does not exist, and that by cunning devices the ruling class has so "stacked the cards" against the unprivileged that many of them are not able to look out for themselves. Whenever in normal times more than 2 or 3 per cent. of a population is helped by the well-to-do, it is safe to infer that

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the possessing element has made itself the keeper of the doors of opportunity.

THE FATE OF CLOSED CLASSES

Fifty years ago Bagehôt wrote:

> In all countries new wealth is ready to worship old wealth, if old wealth will only let it, and I need not say that in England new wealth is eager in its worship. Satirist after satirist has told us how quick, how willing, how anxious, are the newly-made rich to associate with the ancient rich. Rank probably in no country whatever has so much "market" value as it has in England just now. Of course, there have been many countries in which certain old families, whether rich or poor, were worshiped by whole populations with a more intense and poetic homage; but I doubt if there has ever been any in which all old families and all titled families received more ready observance from those who were their equals, perhaps their superiors, in wealth, their equals in culture, and their inferiors only in descent and rank. The possessors of the "material" distinctions of life . . . rush to worship those who possess the immaterial distinctions. *Nothing can be more politically useful than such homage, if it be skilfully used; no folly can be idler than to repel and reject it.*

An Upper Class Always Excludes Up-Comers If It Can

An upper class shrewd enough to perceive and act on this principle may maintain itself indefinitely. The new blood it absorbs corrects the thinning of "blue" blood. The heroes and achievers admitted brighten its fading prestige and lend color to its claim of natural superiority. But it is human nature for those who control a good thing to keep it all for themselves and their children. The greater the luster of a nobility, the more loath are its members to share this luster with outsiders. Hence, unless the iron hand of a monarch holds open the door in order to placate his commoners or to stimulate the zeal of his servants, an upper class closes itself to upstarts and becomes a hereditary caste.

A Closed Upper Caste Undergoes Degeneration but Gains Good Looks

Thenceforth it moves slowly but fatally toward its doom. As their achieving ancestors recede into the distance the patricians more and more owe their exalted position to privilege rather than to personal worth or conspicuous service. With the aid of the props which an aristocracy well knows how to provide the high-born fool or weakling stays up, while the lowborn man of ability

is shut out from wealth and honor. Shielded from that natural elimination of the unfit to which the common people are exposed, a closed upper class loses in the course of four or five generations the virility of its achieving ancestors and becomes an imposture. Nevertheless, thanks to mating continually with the most beautiful women in the population, it gains in good looks and is never so patrician in feature as in the period when it is unable to produce from its loins enough men of brains and force to vindicate its privileges.

Shifts of Degenerate Aristocrats to Keep up the Illusion of Superiority

Its tendency to beget handsome fools does not, however, cause an aristocracy to abate by one jot its pretensions to better clay. It nurses carefully its prestige and spares nothing in pose, manner, and surroundings that will keep up the illusion of its superiority. It realizes that entailed estates are not everything, for if their owners miss too many kinds of distinction they will cease to be looked up to. So it not only cherishes and parades its ancestral glories, but, whenever a new source of prestige appears, it promptly gets close to it. Aristocrats take under their patronage such dispensers of glory as minstrels, troubadours, poets, artists, orators, priests, and clerics. If hardihood is admired, their young men will be sportsmen and explorers; if letters are honored, they will play Macaenas; if learning is prized, they will varnish themselves with a thin coating of scholarship. Aristocrats of long lineage dare not let themselves be outshone. They must be the best groomed, the best mannered, the most splendid, must be seen against the richest background or in the brightest limelight. They must be among the first to fly, to navigate under water, to scale a peak, to cross a desert, or to visit a closed land. War with its command of the many by the few gives them their chance, for nobles have a traditional affinity for the martial. Moreover, they exalt themselves by appealing to a theory of heredity that science smiles at, and cry down the rôle opportunity plays in individual destiny.

Thus an effete hereditary caste contrives to keep itself at the apex of society until in some crisis it fails to meet the test and its hollowness is plain to all men. Then its privileges are abolished, it collapses like an empty sack, and the way is open for a new and abler group of families to climb into its vacant seats, or else for the social system to be modified in the direction of giving freer play to competition.

CHAPTER XXX

EQUALIZATION

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A POWERFUL motive is ever at work to stereotype social inequalities. In order to secure for their descendants the inheritance of a good place in society, the high are in a tacit conspiracy to rear barriers against the irruption of ability from below. A man who has a title, a high office, or an honorable function will keep it in his family line, if he can. However proud he may be of having risen by his own efforts, the "self-made" man generally leaves his money to his son, although by so doing he spoils his son's chance to "make" himself. With rare exceptions the successful have done their best to perpetuate in their families their every social advantage, even if they had to deform the system which let them succeed.

The Privileged Are Rarely the "Best" People

As we have seen, such a closed upper caste soon becomes a sham. Robes, titles, pomp, and state cannot hide from the shrewd eye the growing mediocrity of the so-called "best." From the eugenic standpoint the hereditary ease of the privileged families is quite the worst thing that could befall them, for it enables their fools to survive and multiply. The whole theory of caste shatters on the iron fact that achievers are not mating with their like and hence do not transmit their gifts undiminished to their sons. In truth, the leading element in a healthy democracy, recruited, as it is, from every stratum, more nearly comprises "the best people" than a titular nobility. A society following an élite made up of those who have met successfully all tests, of many who have come up under heavy handicap, is more truly "aristocratic" than one ruled by a privileged order.

The Middle Class Leads the Fight on Privilege

Who resist the endeavor of the successful to warp the social system toward status? Who level the barriers they have raised? Certainly not the ignorant and inert masses. The nether strata of a caste system are quite too short-sighted to make sacrifices to keep the gangways open for the ascent of their posterity. They will be found more intent on some immediate benefit — bread and

ircuses, largess and festivals — than on opportunities for their hildren. How often conservatives have won the votes of the opulace with money, drinks, or shows! It is *the middle class,* which has at once the wit to assault the doors of opportunity and he capacity to fill the posts to which they admit, that fights in ie forefront of the battle for the restoration of competition, although it is reinforced as layer after layer of the common people s enlightened.

The Civic State Resumes Governmental Powers and Reduces the Lord to the Status of a Private Citizen

An early step toward competition is to wrest the control of the tate from the upper class and to make it a civic or community nstitution. The feudal state knows subjects, not citizens, and hese subjects are subordinate to magnates rather than to the tate itself. The civic state tolerates no intermediate powers etween it and the citizen, allows no personal fealty to take precence over one's civic obligation, and bears upon the individual irectly, instead of leaving him under the jurisdiction of his social uperior. The state suppresses the superior's rights to judge and unish, to coin money, to keep armed men, and to wage private var. Public offices are no longer inherited, but are intrusted to hose who are loyal to the state rather than to their order. The naking of law is wrenched from the hands of the upper caste nd shared among the strong and rising elements in society. Then begins the unbuilding of the rampart of privilege and the ecognition in the inferior of rights which enable him to show what pith there is in him.

PERSONAL FREEDOM

Inequality depends greatly on how much power the law allows one human being to have over another. Is the husband at liberty to chastise, let, or sell his wife? Can the parent sell his child or bind it out during its minority or control its marriage? Does a debt or other obligation descend automatically to one's children? Is responsibility for it shared by one's kinsmen? Can the creditor seize the person of the delinquent debtor, cast him into prison, hold him to labor, or sell him? Is the son bound to follow the ancestral calling?

Even under slavery the status of the slave greatly varies. Sometimes the master is complete owner of the unfree, so that nothing he can do to him is unlawful; but in other cases the unfree has only a few duties to pay his master. Between these ex-

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tremes there is every stage. In the heyday of ancient slavery the slave had, in the eye of the law, no rights of any kind. He could not frequent the gymnasium or the public assembly nor follow certain arts — all these being reserved to the freeman. He could not atone for an offense with a fine; he must "pay with his body," i.e., be whipped. He could not testify save under torture, i.e., he "spoke with his body." But in time the law curtailed the master in punishing his slave and gave the slave the right to support, the right to hold property, and to dispose of it by will. The serf, who, being attached to the farm *(adscriptus glebae)*, could not be sold from home and family, was in a better position than the slave, who was a chattel.

The Law Gives the Slave Rights against His Master

Abolition of Serfdom

The substitution of fixed dues in work or money for the serf's unlimited obligation to serve his lord was an easement. Then doors of escape opened — manumission, purchase of one's freedom, military service, living for a year and a day in a borough. But then, for fear one parish might have to support a pauper chargeable on another, England passed acts of settlement which for two hundred years tied poor men down to selling their labor to local employers, because they were liable to be ejected from a strange parish. In England even into the nineteenth century traces of serfdom survived in the system of agricultural labor under year contract, with imprisonment for the laborer who broke his contract. On the Continent the rootage of domestic service in serfdom was long manifest in the employment of servants by the year, with imprisonment or holding back of wages as a means of enforcement.

Of Imprisonment for Debt

Of Peonage

Of Involuntary Servitude

Of Indentured Coolie Labor

In the American colonies the system of indentured apprenticeship amounted to term serfdom. In the second quarter of the last century the new legal principle that failure to pay a debt cannot impair one's personal freedom [1] cut the nerve of imprisonment for debt, and in 1867 peonage was made unlawful. The refusal of American law to require specific performance of the contract to perform labor saves men from being tied down by a promise made in a moment of rashness or distress. The recent recognition of the seaman's right to quit the ship any time the anchor is down removes the last vestige of involuntary servitude under American law. It is only lately that the death blow has been

[1] In 1829 it was estimated that 75,000 persons were annually imprisoned for debt in the United States.

given to the system of indentured coolie labor under which in the British colonies thousands of Asiatics have been bound by an enforced state-regulated contract to work for five years. CHAP. XXX

Every enlargement of personal freedom has been resisted by the powerful as a blow aimed at the foundations of society. To take away the creditor's power over the person of the insolvent debtor would, it was claimed, cut off the poor from borrowing. To set free the serf from the glebe would result in untilled fields and tramp-infested roads. To abolish the master's power to whip or jail the worker who did not serve through the period of labor agreed on would kill enterprise by legalizing strikes. To cut the lariat of debt slavery by which the planter holds the peon would cause the plantations to be abandoned, while the erstwhile peons would lead a lazy half-wild life in their shacks in the jungle. Yet none of these predictions have come true because in every case a higher type of relation was discovered. Thus, when Hawaii became a part of the United States, the Hawaiian sugar planters anticipated ruin because American law would not prevent their Japanese laborers from striking in the critical cane-cutting season and from exacting an exorbitant wage. What happened, however, was that groups of laborers entered into agreements to raise cane on shares under the planter's direction, and that adjustment, instead of being made by coercion, was brought about on a higher plane — that of partnership.

Unfulfilled Prophecies of Disaster

Economic Relations Placed on a Higher Plane

INALIENABLE RIGHTS

In the early history of contract absolute freedom to bind one's self is the badge of a free man, since any restriction upon such freedom would tend to assimilate him to the slave, who is below the level of contract. It was only after a long and terrible experience with debt slavery that the ancient lawgivers recognized that free will is not always a will to freedom and that they denied a man the power to bind himself into thraldom or to pledge his person for the repayment of a loan.

Under the feudal system the law of contract well-nigh swallowed public law. By the oath of commendation men could destroy at a stroke their own freedom and that of their descendants. The extension of such far-reaching effect to a promise was freedom of contract gone mad. The doctrine that men are "born free and equal" is not an assertion of natal equality in body or

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mind, but a rejection of the principle of inferior heredity status fixed by the act of some ancestor.

The Right to Contract Curtailed in the Interest of Freedom

Gradually it was found necessary to recognize in the normal individual certain powers essential to self-effectuation, of which he cannot divest himself, i.e., "inalienable rights." Hence modern law gives no force to a contract which without due equivalent cripples one's future freedom to act or to contract, e.g., to live in a certain place or outside a certain place, to marry or not to marry a certain person, not to carry on one's trade or business, not to exercise the right of franchise or to exercise it in a certain way, or to forego one's legal rights, as, e.g., the passenger's right to damages for injury through the fault of a common carrier.

Legal Rights of Which No One Can Divest Himself

Society will not permit the surrender of rights essential to the public welfare. Thus in some of our states the debtor cannot waive the statutory exemptions in his favor nor the mortgager his equity of redemption. Legal standard insurance policies have virtually removed insurance from the domain of contract. Personal safety is not to be contracted away; one cannot legally bind himself to engage in dangerous work or to remain in a dangerous place. Statutes clothing the worker with the right to be paid his wages in cash and the right to indemnity for injuries received in the course of his work will not allow him to contract himself out of these rights. An agreement to assign to one's employer the patents of all one's future inventions is invalid unless restricted to inventions of a particular character. The courts throw out an unlimited contract of a technical employee not to set himself up in business, not to use in the service of another knowledge of secret processes which he may have acquired in the course of his employment. In Germany there is doubt as to the validity of the clause in the contract of an apprentice binding him not to compete with his master in later life or to follow his trade within the German Empire. In all these cases, what at first glance appears a fetter on the worker's freedom to contract is really an enlargement of his freedom, since it prevents the stronger from snatching out of the passing distress or dependence of the weaker a lasting advantage over him.

Thus we see that the celebrated assertion of the American Declaration of Independence that men "are endowed by their

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Creator with certain inalienable rights" is not a "glittering generality," but the epitome of a great historic movement.

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

Organization of Enormous Importance in Equalizing Classes

Sometimes *organization* is the weapon by which the disinherited conquer for themselves a place in the sun. Demonstration of their collective strength may win them their first consideration from their superiors, or from officials, lawmakers, political parties, or public opinion. Uniting to formulate grievances, frame demands, oppose foes, reward friends, or name candidates may give political weight to a class which hitherto has been a cipher. Nor is this all. Organization opens the way to economic team work — cooperative buying, selling, shipping, or borrowing, boycott, strike, or concerted restriction of output — by which the weak, in case they are numerous, may wield a formidable power. There is, indeed, no class so humble that it cannot by hanging together hold back something its superiors want.

The Superiors Deny the Inferiors the Right to Organize

The strong are therefore solicitous to keep this ugly weapon out of the hands of the weak. If they dare, they crush all such lower-class organization as "conspiracy." It is not yet a century since in England the combination of workmen to raise wages or to shorten hours was punished without mercy, while over the rest of Europe anti-trade-union laws were in force half a century ago. Even yet, in many parts of the world, a strike is dealt with exactly as if it were an insurrection. The union of Irish tenants — the Land League — made the tenants so strong against their landlords that the English government suppressed it.

Or Deprive Them of the Means Which Organization Must Use

If they have to tolerate an organization of the weak, the strong try to wrest from it the means by which alone it may be made effective. They suppress picketing, outlaw the sympathetic strike, ban the strike to force out non-union men, and seize trade-union funds to pay damages to employers caused by acts ordered by the agents of trade unions. In the same way our railroad companies at first refused to allow the farmers' grange to build a cooperative elevator beside their tracks, while a landlord's government threw Irish tenants into jail for agreeing not to take a farm from which a tenant had been unjustly evicted.

Another recourse of the strong is to circulate calumnies to blacken the character of the unions formed by the weak. They

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Or Calumniate Their Organizations

picture them as lawless — some of them are — and revolutionary. Under absolutist government they set the police on them by the cry that they mask a "political" movement. Among us farmers' unions were declared to be tainted with "agrarianism," workingmen's unions with "socialism." The secrecy of such organizations — which is but that of the ordinary business corporation — is pictured as a cloak for sinister purposes and seditious plotting. Every wild utterance of an organizer is eagerly caught up and circulated as an index to their subversive aims. The leaders of the movement are portrayed as selfish, unprincipled men, and their followers are scolded for wasting their time and money on meetings and agents instead of attending quietly to their work. Only after their unions have survived this campaign of calumny and vindicated in the public eye their lawful and useful character does the weaker class reap in full the benefits which organization ought to confer.

THE DOWNWARD PERCOLATION OF CULTURE

Community of Culture Saps Class Distinctions

To round out their monopoly of wealth and power the ruling minority covet a monopoly of literature and learning. Often they cultivate close relations with the literati, encourage the caste spirit in artists and scholars, and do what they can to exclude the industrial classes from the acquisition of communal treasures. There is, nevertheless, a tendency for culture to soak down among the common people, with the result of blunting the consciousness of class distinctions. The sentiment of equality among the Chinese is no doubt connected with the wide diffusion among them of Confucian ideas. The marked growth of democratic feeling among the French since the Revolution hinges in part on a permeation of the national culture into the lower social levels, so that in urbanity, self-possession, and household decencies the workers are much like the upper classes.

The industrial classes in Cuba are so saturated with the Hispanic culture that social distinctions can scarcely be maintained. Says a Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor:

Social Democracy of the Cubans

Cuba is one of the most democratic countries in the world. Nowhere else does the least-considered member of a community aspire with more serene confidence to social equality with its most exalted personage. The language, with its conventional phrases of courtesy shared by all classes, the familiar family life of proprietor and

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servant, master and apprentice, a certain simplicity and universality of manners inherited from pioneer days, and a gentleness of temperament that may be both climatic and racial, which shrinks from giving offense by assuming superiority of rank in intercourse with others, have all contributed to render class assumptions externally less obvious in Cuba than in most other countries where equally great differences of race, culture, and fortune exist. The Cuban is naturally self-possessed. It is difficult to fancy him having stage fright. He is so imaginative and Tarasconese that he frequently confounds ideals with realities, and as his ideal of himself is usually an exalted one, this disposition does not incline him to diffidence or humility. He is therefore apt to assume an artlessly familiar air with his employer, and to try to put their business relations, so far as their social aspect is concerned — which is to him a most important one — as nearly upon a partnership basis as possible. . . .

His friendliness toward his employer is usually well-meaning, even if unwisely manifested. It is somewhat akin to the easy, inquisitive, but sympathetic familiarity one finds in a New England village. . . .

One desirable outcome of the aspiration toward social equality on the part of Cubans is their aversion to tips. Employees who had made some money sacrifice by leaving piecework to act as guides about a factory refused, evidently with considerable embarrassment, the offer of a gratuity. A poor countryman who had left his field labor for several hours to show a trail through a tract of forest would only accept compensation under protest — and when it was turned into a gift for the children. These same men would have made as shrewd a bargain as possible and would have haggled for hours over *centavos* in a matter of trade, but for a service of courtesy money was no compensation for their sense of wounded dignity in accepting a gratuity.

THE DIFFUSION OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

There is a pseudo-equalization by which the hereditary superiors confronted with rich upstarts are obliged to share with them their social power. In ancient India trade originated differences in wealth which cut across the caste system and led the Brahmins to make a sharp distinction between the very rich and the ordinary members of the third estate, who still remained a despicable caste "created for the king to devour." The new tendency found expression in the naïve words of the epic poet: "That which is called *the wealthy* is a very important member of the state; for verily a man with money is the top of all creation."

The Arrival of New-Rich Has No Democratic Significance

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As the Roman Republic garnered the spoils of conquest, the ancient patrician families were quite overtopped by the new aristocracy of wealth. With the rise of the modern state the feudal hierarchy was compromised by the creation of competing ranks by state authority. In seventeenth-century France hereditary nobility was conferred on grand councilors and officers of the chamber of accounts, on doctors, regents, and professors of law, and on judges of the higher courts; so that nobility ceased to imply the possession of a fief. Later John Law's financial schemes enriched thousands of nobodies and created a race of *parvenus,* who by their enormous wealth forced admittance into the *noblesse,* frequently intermarried with them, and so weakened the caste taboo.

During the last century the expansion of Europe has let loose upon its old land-holding nobility countless winners of new fortunes made in foreign trade, colonial exploitation, railroad building, manufacturing, and the seizure of natural wealth all over the globe — gold fields and diamond fields, mineral deposits, nitrates, forests, and water-power. Under plutocratic pressure the aristocrats have had to open their ranks and admit to the charmed circle, if not the new rich, at least their children. The thoughtless hail such cross-differentiations as if they had a democratic significance, but, in fact, the struggle to determine who shall sit highest does nothing to lessen social inequalities.

Reducing Hereditary Economic Disabilities

Real diffusion of economic opportunity is brought about by the leaking out of the jealously guarded secrets, the "mysteries," of the various "crafts" and arts, by the abolition of the caste requirement that the son shall follow the calling of his father, by the breaking down of gild restrictions upon entrance to the skilled occupations, and by the abandonment of the policy asserted under the old régime in France that "the right to labor is a royal right which the prince may sell and subjects must buy." Equalizing, too, are the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the limitation of testate succession, and the adoption of the principle that the estates of persons who leave no will shall be divided equally among the heirs. Cooperative credit, cooperative trade, and cooperative production have a like tendency, as well as the extension of government credit to farmers and the appointment of an expert adviser to help them to get the most out of their farms. The development of skill by public vocational education as well as by

free professional schools preparing youth for the higher walks make the well-paid callings more accessible.

Chances for Poor Men vs. Chances for Rich Men

Much depends upon the shifting ratio that "poor men's opportunities" bear to opportunities for possessors of capital and technical knowledge. The gratuitous distribution to actual settlers of some two hundred million acres of the American public domain has had an incalculable effect in raising the economic, and therewith the social, plane of millions who work with their hands. Alluvial gold deposits have yielded small fortunes to tens of thousands of "placer" miners, whereas gold occurring in ore, since it can be extracted only with the aid of elaborate machinery, has largely gone to benefit the possessors of capital. The abandonment of the simple hand-labor processes for extracting natural wealth and the growing necessity for large initial capital for success in most lines of productive enterprise appear to have greatly lessened the ratio of "poor men's opportunities" to capitalists' opportunities. At the same time the perfecting of credit institutions enables the man of proved capacity to gain earlier control of the capital which he needs and thwarts many endeavors to make business enterprises hereditary. Besides this, entrepreneur ability — so scarce as to command that exorbitant price known as "the rewards of business success" — is in the way of being made more plentiful and cheap by schools of business administration, which disseminate a knowledge of the technique of such success.

Making Ability Abundant

THE SPREAD OF A MARGIN OF LEISURE

The Diffusion of Leisure Augments the Political and Social Weight of the Hand-Workers

Again and again the crudeness of the ideas of the masses has defeated well-meant attempts to give them more voice in government. They have been political zeros partly because of their intense preoccupation with the stern task of gaining a living. Until they win a margin of free time the words of Jesus ben Sirach hold good:

> The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure;
> And he that hath little business shall become wise.
> How shall he become wise that holdeth the plow,
> That glorieth in the shaft of the goad,
> That driveth oxen, and is occupied with their labors,
> And whose discourse is of the stock of bulls?
> He will set his heart upon turning his furrows;

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> And his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder.
> So is every artificer and workmaster . . .
> So is the smith sitting by the anvil . . .
> So is the potter sitting at his work . . .
> All these put their trust in their hands,
> And each becometh wise in his own work . . .
> They shall not be sought for in the council of the people. . . .[2]

But certain developments are giving the plain people time to look up from their work and to eye the common weal. Free land, bringing a cessation in the struggle for food; the coming into being of a population of iron slaves — the machines — to do man's bidding; the greater speed and concentratedness of labor, which call for a shorter working day — these create for the workers a margin of leisure. Well employed, this means time to read, to think, to confer together, to reach a common understanding, to organize, whereby the workers gain ability to conquer and to utilize for themselves political power.

THE DIFFUSION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Social Superiors Are Afraid to Let the People Have Education

Knowledge is a kind of light and it is the illumined who make their way up the social scale. Moreover, ignorance is the darkness in which thrive the fungi of superstition, falsehood, and prejudice, which wither in the sun. Hence social superiors endeavor always to keep under their control the instrumentalities of education.

Significance of the State's Educational Policy

The mediaeval church taught the children of the common people what was essential to salvation, but had no idea of educating them to rise in life. The state at first institutes universities to provide it with trained servants, but as it gains in social purpose it pushes general education. In fact, the spirit of a government may very well be gauged by noting its policy with reference to the different grades of education. If it is generous in elementary schools but stingy in high schools, it reflects the ideas of the comfortable classes, who can pay tuition. Only when it opens an educational path to the summit for every youth able to climb the Parnassian steeps is it in the way of democratizing knowledge.

The cost of instruction is, however, but one item in the cost of an education, for the child must somehow be maintained while it is studying. The power of the bright sons of the poor to com-

[2] Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. The passage is too long to quote in full.

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Gratuitous Instruction Not Enough

pete for the prizes of life with the sons of the well-to-do is limited by the financial inability of their parents to keep them long in school. It appears that out of 100 children who enter American city schools 45 drop out before reaching the sixth grade. Only 25 enter the high schools, and of these but 6 complete the course. The United States Commissioner of Education estimates that one-ninth of the pupils who began school in 1905 graduate from the high school, and that one in seventy will graduate from college. Since a higher education is rapidly becoming requisite for the better places in industry, government, and the professions, it is plain that free instruction goes only part of the way toward putting the children of the poor on an equal footing with the children of the well-to-do in vying for these better places. A society earnestly bent on equalizing educational opportunities would see that no capable child quit school because its parents could not support it or needed its earnings.

What the Equalizing of Educational Opportunities Implies

Nor should we lose sight of the quality of the instruction society offers the children of the ill-to-do. The public elementary schools provide one teacher for forty or fifty pupils, while the best private schools insist on one teacher to every ten or fifteen pupils. In the private high schools, which teach a considerable proportion of the children of the comfortable classes, the annual cost of the instruction furnished averages $94 a pupil, while in the public high schools the cost is $56 a pupil.

In a word, a society that seriously went about it to wipe out caste, in so far as it rests on differences in preparedness for one's life-work, would spend three or four times as much as Americans now spend and would take and devote to the better distribution of knowledge a billion or two of dollars that now go for luxury, show, and vice.

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

The possession of a vote does not endow an unlettered, ignorant man with the wit to use it to realize his ends. The diffusion of political power does not, therefore, bring government at once under the control of the broader layers of the people. But, once government responds to the will of the masses rather than to the will of the classes, there are many things it may do to soften inequalities and to prevent social advantages from becoming hereditary.

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Equality before the Law

It may realize the equality of all before the law, neither riches nor poverty, neither intelligence nor ignorance, to receive consideration in the courts. It may also offer equal opportunity for citizens to serve the public according to their ability. Banishing inheritance of offices, property qualifications for office-holding, nepotism and favoritism in the award of office, it may make all offices accessible to the most competent as ascertained by impartial tests, irrespective of their party allegiance or service.

Steep Taxation of Inheritances

Government claims a serious fraction of the people's income, so that it is no small matter whether it taps the upper or the lower social levels. By heavy levying on luxuries and on the unearned increment, as well as by a progressive taxation of property or incomes, the peaks are made less towering. The anti-social haughtiness that, after two or three generations of divorce from hard work, grows in a family like a fungus on a dead tree may be forestalled by inheritance taxes so steeply graded as to thwart the money-maker's endeavor to endow his line for all time.

Equal Access to Natural Resources

There will be fewer unearned fortunes, too, if nuggets of public wealth — such as forests, minerals and water power — are not carelessly left lying about. Forethought and care with respect to the disposition of the public domain will cause natural resources to yield livelihoods for many instead of fortunes for a few. The curbing of monopoly in its protean forms by government regulation or ownership means fewer centers to poison the social body with the virus of competitive extravagance and contempt for labor.

Protection of Little Properties

On the other hand, the state may do much to protect the little properties — so precious in fostering family independence and self-respect — against their enemies. "Blue sky" laws, wise usury laws, the suppression of "loan sharks," the regulation of pawnbroking, public pawnshops, in some backward countries the inalienability of the cultivator's holding, have this tendency. American law has been solicitous to limit the power of the creditor over the debtor. Instances are the *homestead exemptions*, which are general in our states, *personalty exemptions*, which reserve the tools of the artisan, the library and instruments of the professional man, and the stock and implements of the farmer from seizure by the creditor, and *wage exemptions*, which often go so far as to put sixty days' wages of the head of the family beyond the reach of legal process.

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Encouragement of the Formation of Little Properties

Finally, the state uses means to encourage the formation of small properties. Among these are found mechanics' lien laws, the regulation of insurance companies and savings banks, postal savings banks, the fostering of savings and loan associations and other forms of cooperative endeavor, the protection of the small investors in big companies, and, in some countries suffering from landlordism, the disintegration of large estates by special taxation, or the state purchase of such estates in order to create small proprietors.

Let it be noted, however, that only a part of the social legislation of the modern state is anti-class. Ameliorative measures, such as the provision of parks, playgrounds, and other communal means of enjoyment, public health conservation, factory inspection, workingmen's compensation, social insurance, old-age pensions, legal minimum wage, and public employment bureaus make welfare more general, but do nothing to lessen those inequalities of prestige, of self-respect, and of self-assertion which underlie the hierarchy of classes.

REFLECTIVE STANDARDS OF APPRAISAL

Juster Appraisal of the Successful

Upper-class prestige, resting always on a more or less visible basis of fortune, is impaired to the degree that people leave behind them the juvenile or barbarian admiration for the money-maker. The upper class strives ever to propagate the idea that the rich are the virtuous, the "better" people. But critical observation indorses the conclusion of the economist and moralist, John Ruskin:

> In a community regulated only by laws of demand and supply, but protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, unsensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person.

To the degree that this view spreads, the class hierarchy is undermined.

Again, the rich and leisured are looked upon as "betters" so long as people are ruled by individual aims, for each sees them

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Social Science Sets the Upper Class in a New Perspective

in possession of what he most covets. But in proportion as a group consciousness quickens in men, they consider the rich and leisured in relation to the welfare of the group. Strong national consciousness, for example, always weakens the sense of caste, and the merely rich are never so little worshiped as when the "*we*-feeling" of people is intensified by a defensive war.

Consequences of Making Social Service the Test of Desert

Now economic development has been quietly building us into an organism with interdependent parts. Few active persons today are engaged in supplying directly the wants of their families. They are working for an indeterminate body of consumers, customers, or patrons, and hence it is easy to think of them as serving the "public" or "society," as, in effect, *social functionaries*. But from this point of view the street-sweeper or road-mender gains in dignity, for he is rendering a service with which we cannot dispense. If he does his work skilfully and conscientiously, it is illogical to despise him.

On the other hand, from the social point of view, the envied idle rich not only have no claim to special consideration, but appear as the drones of a hive, the camp followers of an army, the stowaways of a ship, the deadbeats of a business. Leisure, to be sure, is honorable in those who, after having fought a good fight, retire betimes to rest and enjoy. But *unearned* leisure is an altogether different thing. So far as the interests of society are concerned, the hale man who all his life does nothing to balance his account with his fellow-men is a sheer parasite. That he lives upon the income of property he has inherited does not make his position less degrading. After all, a man's account is with his own generation rather than with his forbears. What the heir consumes costs the toil and sweat of his contemporaries; so that society may well say to him, "This is what we are doing for you; now what are you doing for us?"

Value and Cost of the Services of the Leisure Class

The scandal of able-bodied persons loafing or playing through life in the midst of their busy fellows has pierced the skin even of the upper class, so that they are fain to justify themselves by dwelling on the various counter-services the leisured render society — their unpaid work for the public, their philanthropic services, their attention to community affairs. But, while their property claims against society are definite and enforceable at law, their obligations are vague, only such, indeed, as they choose to acknowledge. The fact is that, with perhaps a twentieth part

of what the leisure class costs it, society might go into the market and secure services equal in worth to the services it receives from them.

Paid Public Service Is Cheapest in the Long Run

The feudal king obtained a district military captain by bestowing a fief; the modern state gains an educated army officer for a small fraction of the cost of a fief. Was chivalry, after all, "a cheap defense of nations," as Burke insisted? A few castles of the Middle Ages harbored men of letters and learning; but to-day, if society wants a scholar, it does not leave him, to seek a noble patron; it creates a professorship. In relieving distress, society no longer waits for Lady Bountiful; it calls in the retired doer or hires a trained social worker. From her nobles Europe has received much valuable public service for which she never paid, while America has paid her officeholders for much public service she never received. Still, the Europeans have paid infinitely more than the Americans for such service. We now see that to have faithful, high-minded public servants you do not need to maintain a landed aristocracy; what you have to do is to open attractive careers for trained men. In a word, the hereditary leisured have never rendered society a service which cannot now be had on far better terms from salaried, qualified workers.

Private property is a social-welfare institution because the hope of acquiring property powerfully stimulates the economic activities of the capable. But when accumulations are so handed on as to create generations of drones and butterflies, they are not a blower but a damper. Hence, just as inheritable functions, offices, and privileges have been abolished with good results, inheritable great fortunes will be made impossible. Not that a son may not inherit enough of his father's wealth to live on, but that no one may inherit a fortune so large as to kill in him all incentive to work and to tempt him into an extravagance of expenditure and conduct which discourages or corrupts the useful members of society.

CHAPTER XXXI

SELECTION

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Differences between Natural Selection and Social Selection

SOCIAL processes and institutions in some measure react upon and modify a people by checking the increase of certain types or stimulating the increase of other types. Such "social selection" is not to be confounded with the "natural selection" stressed by Darwin. We see the latter in the differential death rates caused by climate; by germ diseases which attack non-resistant stocks; by diseases which strike down the inferior in physique; by the accidents of life and the hazards of occupations which snatch away the reckless; by vice which purges from the ranks those fierce of appetite and weak of will.

While Nature thus eliminates the unfit, society eliminates the misfit. Nature rejects the ill-constituted, the badly made; society preserves them but may burn the heretic and hang the criminal. For the most part, however, institutions determine not who shall live, but who shall leave progeny. They select not *survivors,* but *parents.* If society moulds the race, it does so chiefly by influencing one or more of the following factors: (a) the inclination to marry; (b) amount of marriage — polygamy, monogamy, etc.; (c) the age of marriage; (d) the will to have children; (e) the ability to rear children to maturity. Society thus discriminates between types on the basis of their volitions, whereas Nature discriminates for the most part on the basis of their bodily traits or their instincts.

To tell how in the past society has moulded the race would be too great a task. All that can be attempted here is to consider the selective aspect of certain features of contemporary society.

WAR

Early hand-to-hand combat was a searching test of quality and favored the survival of the bravest, strongest and most adroit. Modern war, however, calls into the danger zone the pick of the young men, leaving the physical and mental culls to stay at

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Modern Warfare a Promiscuous Destruction of the Physically Superior

ome and propagate. Now that we destroy our enemies by lethal achinery, battle no longer spares unusual prowess as it often id in the days of individual combat, but mows men down in-scriminately. Beyond all question the World War caused a ster destruction of the superior and entails a graver decline in nate human quality than any happening in all previous story of man.

Victory in Warfare No Proof of Racial Superiority

The Teutonic doctrine that war is an inter-group test of fit-ss to survive is a superstition befitting Central Africa. No ubt race quality is one factor in deciding which side wins. it when one considers the weight of other factors such as nparative size of the belligerent peoples, their natural defenses, ir access to the highways of commerce, their mineral resources, ir stage of industrial development, their training in technique, ir degree of specialization upon warfare, and the like, the umption that the victors in modern warfare are a "superior" ed, while the vanquished are an "inferior" breed, is worthier gorillas than of rational beings.

OBLIGATORY CELIBACY

Sacerdotal Celibacy a Loss to the Race

A priesthood like that of the Roman Catholic Church is in point intellectual and moral endowment much superior to the gen-l population from which it is drawn. Its celibacy there-e causes a superior current of heredity to be lost to the race. w serious this loss is may be gauged by showing what science l letters would have missed had the Protestant churches fol-ed the Catholic church in requiring sacerdotal celibacy. assiz, Berzelius, Encke, Euler, Jenner, Linnaeus, Emerson, llam, Hobbes, Addison, Ben Jonson, Lessing, Richter, Swift, omson, Wieland, and Wren, as well as a host of lesser rs, were sons of Protestant clergymen.

Pedagogical Celibacy Handicaps the Superior

In the United States, education is served by more than half nillion women school teachers who in point of native ability l character belong probably in the superior fourth of the pulation. The school board policy of employing only unmar-l women and of discharging them, no matter how efficient, if y marry, enforces a pedagogical celibacy which may perhaps good for education but cannot be good for the race. The irts should uphold the woman teacher's right to marry and r children without forfeiture of position. On eugenic

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grounds preference should be given the married rather than the single teachers, there should be many half-time positions enabling a teacher to be at the same time wife and mother and there should be no talk of a "moral obligation" of normal school graduates to teach when they prefer to marry.

CHARITY

Not all the Poor Are "God's Poor"

The theory that the poor are simply the "unfit" cannot be accepted, nor yet the opposite theory that poverty is essentially a malignant ulcer which attacks and breaks down adjacent social tissue, sound and unsound alike. It is necessary to discriminate among the dependent. There are "God's poor" but then, too, there are "the devil's poor." The wise and benevolent seek out and relieve the former. The medieval doctrine that almsgiving is virtuous and will have its reward, no matter what its effects may be, has been discredited for a century. What we have learned as to the part played by indiscriminate charity in perpetuating degenerate stocks makes us afraid to give money with our eyes shut.

Mistaken Charity Increases Cretinism

In the valley of Aosta in Northern Italy, and in other Alpine regions, once was rife the form of idiocy known as *cretinism*, which is associated with goitre. Thanks to a mistaken charity this type was aided to mate and propagate until a horrible special variety of human beings had come into existence. Happily in recent years these unfortunates are no longer permitted to marry and breed, so that the type has nearly vanished.

"Distinctive conditions like misery, disease, and vice, though their action is largely indiscriminate, nevertheless attack degenerate stocks with special virulence and have some tendency to diminish them relatively to those that are sounder."[1] This will not deter the social-minded from doing their best to exterminate these cankers, for they realize that "gangrene is not the best caustic." But if they banish alcohol, conquer the poverty diseases, kill the infections spread by sex looseness, and abolish the slums, shacks and dumps which the degenerate haunt, they have removed certain natural filters from the human current. Unless other selective agencies are substituted the good-for-nothing live longer and rear more children than formerly.

The Banishing of Alcohol, Disease and Slums Checks the Elimination of Degenerates

It follows that as we succeed in ridding society of misery,

[1] Cooley, "Social Process," p. 230.

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They Must Be Filtered Out of the Population by Other Means

disease, and vice we should install artificial filters to intercept degenerate types. Such filters are: The custodial care or sterilization of the feeble-minded; relief of the chronic-pauper type only on terms which exclude their further increase; social pressure to deter persons with transmissible bodily defect from propagation; and the forcing of minimal standards of cleanliness, decency, child care and schooling upon those congenital incompetents who are able to maintain themselves just above the line of self-support.

THE INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY

In Wealthy Families the Inheritance of Property Checks the Elimination of Degenerates

The inheritance of wealth by the children of the rich exempts them from the common lot of having to "make good" and enables some to propagate who would have left no progeny had they been allowed to find their natural level. An inherited fortune is a life belt holding up the individual who lacks ordinary capacity to keep himself afloat by his own efforts.

Up to a Certain Point the Transmission of Property Is Eugenic

This is not, however, to decry the inheritance of property. In any social order worthy of respect success in accumulation ought to be a *prima facie* evidence of uncommon ability. The legal right of such men to leave to their children property enough to help them rear their families would therefore appear to be eugenic in tendency. On the other hand, an inheritance which virtually endows the son for life relieves him from the necessity of doing anything and tempts him into idleness and self-indulgence. This is bad for the family stock as well as for society.

The Capable Have Small Families in Order to Live "Decently"

The influence of the rich as a class upon the fate of other elements is bad. In a democratic age, when the power and the will to rise in the social scale have become general, the example of those buoyed up by inherited wealth has a pernicious effect upon the fecundity of the capable. The luxurious style of living developed in this class bedazzles many of the able and ambitious and they exert themselves to live up to extravagant standards of consumption. To do this on their limited income obliges them to keep the family small.

It Is Better That the Gifted Should Be the Pace-Setting Class

Happy the society in which the gifted or the achievers constitute the apex, for achievement is no enemy of progeny. It is bad, however, when the rich are the topmost class, for their valuation of everything and everybody in terms of money acts as a sterilizing poison on the rising business and professional

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men who constitute the "middle" class. Expenditure is, indeed, about the worst possible basis for assigning individuals their places on the social staircase. A dynastic-military society like Prussia, which most honors and looks up to the higher servants of the state, conserves the fecundity of its capables far better than a democratic society with a strong plutocratic taint.

SUCCESS

The Development of a Hereditary Leisure Class Should Be Prevented by the Taxation of Inheritances

If the heavy taxation of inheritances should do away with the mere rich, while their places on the social dais were taken by the most successful in the higher walks of life, competition would be healthier. No doubt many pace-setters would have the means to live in a style which the less successful could not copy without economizing in children. But in such a society, there would be more credit in achievement and less in ostentation. The inquiry would not be "How much has he?" or "How does he live?" but "What has he done?" The strain of income would be less and the nursery would have a place in the home.

Low Fecundity of the Successful in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century

There is no question that in the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century the superior failed lamentably to reproduce themselves. Among the college graduates of the eighteenth century in New England only 2 per cent. remained unmarried, while in the Yale classes 1861-1879 21 per cent. never married, and of the Harvard graduates 1876-1879 26 per cent. remained single. Between the earlier and the later periods the average number of children to a Harvard graduate declined from 3.44 to 1.92, while for Yale graduates the number fell from 3.16 to 2.55. A similar tendency appears in the families of the graduates of other American colleges. Dr. Cattell's investigation of the families of 1000 contemporary men of science shows that on the average they leave less than two surviving children. In 1905 a student of mine asked of each member of a certain state legislature, "How many children did your father have?" and "How many children have you?" The members of the assembly came of families which averaged 7½ children and were fathers of 4½ children. The members of the senate came of families of 8 children and were fathers of 3 children!

As a rule, the bright farm boy who becomes a banker, a railroad official, or a professional man, leaves fewer children than his duller brother at the plow tail. The farm family whose

members push on to college and rise into the higher callings does not multiply like the commonplace family which sticks to the soil. The diffusion of stimulus and opportunity upon which we pride ourselves, seine the trout out of the stream just so much the faster. The reason why you meet oftener with gifted individuals among the Russian peasants than in the English countryside is that the latter has been fished out.

Draining the Capables out of the Rural Population

Says the superintendent of public instruction of a New England State commenting on the famous classical academies which preceded the public high school: "Out of these academies went a steady stream of sons and daughters who were, other things being equal, always the strongest of the generation, for otherwise they would not have gained this education. They became lawyers, or physicians, or clergymen, or schoolmasters, or business men in the cities, and the girls went with them prevailingly to be their wives. The unambitious, the dull, the unfortunate boys and girls of the old countryside, who could not get to the academy, as a class remained behind and became the dominant stock. And the old academy, having sorted out and sent away the ambitious stock, is now dormant."

Of Late the Rising Are Thinking More of Self-Perpetuation and Less of Vanities

This sort of thing will produce in time a spent and middling race. We may hope, however, that the sinister process will not continue. There is nothing foreordained in the present clash between personal ambition and progeny. In the Orient, in Eastern Europe, in this country until the middle of the last century, the desire to get on does not kill fecundity. The one thing needful is to get back to the simple life. A family of five children is no serious handicap to male achievement and may come to be a matter of course among the capable if they become sensible enough to despise the game of pecuniary competition and deliberately stand aloof from it. Eugenic ideas have spread abroad only in the course of the last quarter of a century. As they captivate the strong we shall see more of them take pride in their children rather in their Oriental rugs and their motor car. The situation is distinctly better than it was twenty years ago and every year the redemptive forces gain strength.

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THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

College Women Are Increasing Rapidly in Number and Are Drawn from the Superior Stocks

Women now enjoy equal access with men to higher educat institutions and the fact that more than a third of our co students are women forecasts a time when the daughter will as good an opportunity as the son. To-day perhaps one Ar can young woman in forty-five is within college walls. A distant date the proportion will be one in thirty, one in tw perhaps even one in ten!

College women are, of course, a section of a far larger of girls who are their peers in ability but who, on account of marriage, competing interests, want of encouragement, or of funds, do not attend college. Still it does not seem ur sonable to suppose that the college women are recruited the brightest 15 or 20 per cent. of each generation of girls. this is so and if the time is coming when a third or even a of this *élite* will attend college, it is a matter of great sig cance how college affects their reproduction.

A Great Increase of College Women Will Be Deplorable unless Graduation Is Earlier

College women marry two years later than non-college wo of the same social class and for this class marriage occurs or three years later than for women in general. Furtherm only one out of two college women marries, whereas in general population nine women out of ten marry. More the average number of children born to a married alumn our famous women's colleges in no case runs as high as and for some colleges the average is less than one. Since lege life occupies a woman's May, her time of greatest phy attractiveness and of strongest mating impulse, it cannot bu terfere with reproduction. What then must be the effect the superior stocks when one girl in twenty or even one in goes to college? The eugenist can welcome such a tide of y women into college halls only in case better teaching in the l grades enables the average student to graduate at twenty.

A Career Is More Unfavorable to a Woman's Motherhood than to a Man's Fatherhood

But the rush to the colleges is only a part of a vast m ment of women to emerge from the home and share in the of society. Women now look forward to the same opportun for preparation and achievement that men enjoy. To what tent should they avail themselves of these opportunities? like paternity, maternity plays havoc with a career. The man who bears five children spaced about 2½ years apart

stays at home until the youngest is six years old has invested sixteen years of her life in her family. Whether, by reorganizing household work and by shaping things so that the mother can work four or five hours a day at her profession, we can cut down this investment we do not know. In the present, at least, the cost of a real family is heavy, and the woman who bears it is under a handicap in competing with men.

"Achievement" Antagonistic to Motherhood

There is, then, a repulsion between motherhood and what is called "achievement." Young women sense this and the gifted dedicate themselves to a career while the others marry. The "pass" woman is much more likely to marry within five years after graduation than the "honors" woman. Of girls who write the examination for a teacher's certificate those who fail will probably marry sooner than those who succeed. If the emancipation of women results in the talented turning away from motherhood to the service of society, talent will be rarer among posterity.

Let Gifted Women Find Honor in the Superiority of Their Children

The eugenist prefers to see the professions postponed to the nursery. He would have the first-rate women bear gifted children and let the second-rate women become teachers, social workers, physicians and newspaper writers. The right way to check the infecundity of the superior women is not to bar them from walks now open to them but to *shift the social emphasis*. Brilliant girls covet careers because the career is honored. Many of them would be content as mothers if motherhood were equally honored. But this is impossible until superior motherhood is differentiated from commonplace motherhood, which in turn awaits a marking system by which superior children can be discriminated from commonplace children.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN RELATION TO THE GROUP

XXXII Socialization
XXXIII Estrangement
XXXIV Social Control
XXXV Super-Social Control
XXXVI Individuation
XXXVII Liberation

CHAPTER XXXII

SOCIALIZATION

" socialization " is meant here the development of the *we*-feeling in associates and their growth in capacity and o act together. The process is affected by a great variety nditions and circumstances and is not the same for those never come into personal contact as for members of a pri- group.

ns of the same land have a capacity for mutual sympathy the identity of their early impressions from the physical onment. Not that they will love one another — unless they homesick in a far country — but when they have to choose :en strangers and their countrymen, they will prefer the . The recurrent unheeded impressions constitute, as it the stable background of individual experience. When e discover that they have the same background they are :d and draw together.

" The Native-Born " Kipling brings out clearly what it is ends to make one people of those reared in the same climate cene. The Australian calls upon his friends to drink

> To the hush of the breathless morning
> On the thin, tin, crackling roofs,
> To the haze of the burned back-ranges
> And the dust of the shoeless hoofs —

Canadian's toast is

> To the far-flung fenceless prairie,
> Where the quick cloud-shadow trail,
> To our neighbor's barn in the offing
> And the line of the new-cut rail;
> To the plough in her league-long furrow
> With the gray Lake gulls behind —

Africa has characteristic odors as well as sights and sounds. on drinks

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To the home of the floods and the thunder,
  To her pale dry healing blue —
To the lift of the great Cape combers,
  And the smell of the baked Karroo,
To the growl of the sluicing stamp-head —
  To the reef and the water-gold.

Still other elements hold the heart of the English bred in India. They drain the cup

To our dear dark foster-mothers,
  To the heathen songs they sung —
To the heathen speech we babbled
  Ere we came to the white man's tongue.
To the cool of our deep verandas —
  To the blaze of our jewelled main.

It is thus that each land becomes "home" and, however sharp the strife among its sons, they are likely to draw together when confronted with an alien people. Here indeed is the primitive strand of nationality.

EMOTIONAL COMMUNITY

Strong Common Emotions Link Hearts Together

From the reminiscences exchanged on an "old settlers' day" it is evident that what knit the hearts of the pioneers was the vivid experiences they passed thru together — intense social pleasure at merry makings and celebrations as well as suffering and anxiety caused by floods, draughts, blizzards, prairie fires, and Indian outbreaks. If foreign-born are interspersed among native settlers such experiences bring them all into sympathetic relations, and then the interchange of ideas gradually assimilates them. It is significant that the non-British immigrants into the American colonies in the 18th century were assimilated much sooner when they settled on the Indian-fighting frontier than when they dwelt in groups in the safe seaboard strip.

The Stimulating Emotions Have the Greater Social Value

Has one emotion the same value as another for generating fellow feeling? It is likely that the expansive emotions enlarge the heart more than do the depressive emotions. Golden moments, when one escapes from confining walls and beholds large horizons, when one has a delicious and unwonted sense of free and onward life, beget the *we*-feeling. Religious conversion

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is such an experience, and it ought to show itself in a greater force and range of sympathy and love.

Socialization Followed the Downfall of the Tsar

During the early days of the first Russian revolution people were exalted out of themselves. Absolute strangers met each other and suddenly talked like old friends. In a milk shop people would help themselves and leave the right pay. The worst-looking specimen of a man would step off the path into the wet snow to make room for a woman or child. "A boundless bright good will flowed like waves from all the streets up into every room in the town. It was one of those vast miracles that come to a nation only at moments." "It was a dazzling revelation of the deep powers for brotherhood and friendliness that lie buried in mankind." It passed soon, not because such social feeling is transient, but because differences of aim and ideas made themselves felt.

People Are Drawn Together Who React in the Same Way to Intense Experiences

Common hardships, perils, and maltreatment, as well as common deliverance, success, and triumph, socialize those who react to them in the same way. But unlike reaction to strain sunders men, as we see in the antipathy of martyrs to apostates, of fighters to skulkers, of rebels to cringers. Not those *in the same situation* but those who *feel and act alike in the same situation* are drawn together.

A Common Master Experience Begets Free-Masonry

A master experience is likely to segregate those who have had it. The converted come into fellowship, for the unregenerate cannot understand them. Russian revolutionaries with antithetical principles are brothers while they are hounded and persecuted, but not afterward. To war veterans the civilian is forever an outsider. Simple sea-faring men are never quite themselves with "landlubbers." Motherhood may inspire a sisterly feeling among women. A kind of free-masonry invites lovers of outdoors or wilderness hunters. Those who have been "up against it" or "down to the bottom dollar" are of a fraternity to which the darlings of fortune can never belong.

THE COMMON MEAL

Feasting Together Overcomes Pointless Suspicion and Reserve

From savage life to our own, eating and drinking together has been the favorite reviver of good feeling and the seal of amity. Nor have intoxicants and narcotics been without a social rôle. They have been, in the words of Giddings, "the crude excitants of social feelings in crude natures." Feasting together begets

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a genial and expansive frame of mind. The ancient village community set such store by it that every available opportunity, such as the commemoration of the ancestors, the religious solemnities, the beginning and the end of field work, the births, the marriages, and the funerals, were seized upon to bring the community to a common meal.

The Common Meal a Vital Institution

In the medieval guild "the common meal, like the festival at the old tribal folk mote — the *mahl* or *malum* — or the Buryate *aba*, the parish feast, and the harvest supper, was simply an affirmation of brotherhood. It symbolized the times when everything was kept in common by the clan. This day, at least, all belonged to all; all sat at the same table and partook of the same meal. Even at a much later time the inmate of the almshouse of a London guild sat this day by the side of the rich alderman." [1]

Even now, when we wish to weave a bond of fellowship or to fire men to join in a generous undertaking, we gather them about the banquet board. Indeed, to "break bread together" has a symbolic, even a mystic, significance, and we will not sit at meat with those against whom we intend to draw a color line or a social line.

RÔLE OF THE FESTIVAL

Social Significance of the National Festival

In olden time the larger societies provided for periodical assemblage in order not to disintegrate into bickering local groups or social classes. The socializing value of such assemblage lies in this: that in one another's presence people are deeply moved in the same way at the same time and are conscious of their community of emotion. In the words of Tarde [2] a festival is "that sovereign process by which the social logic of the sentiments resolves all partial discords, private enmities, envies, contempts, jealousies, moral oppositions of all sorts, into an immense unison formed by the periodic convergence of all the secondary sentiments into a greater and stronger feeling, into a collective hatred or love for some great object, which gives the tone to all hearts and transfigures their dissonances into a higher harmony. Hence, the more a society in becoming complicated multiplies these dissonances, the more it has need of magnificent and frequent fes-

[1] Kropotkin, "Mutual Aid," p. 175.
[2] *La logique sociale*, pp. 325–6.

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tivals. This major feeling, this tonic note of the public heart, is sometimes a national hatred which is magnified and intensified by expressing itself in mimic combats, by the slaughter of captives, by all these bloody and ferocious criminal festivals in which primitive civilizations delight. Sometimes it is a great national love for a god or for a man, a national worship or admiration, religious, patriotic, or political in tinge.

The Festival Unites All by a Common Overruling Emotion

"In the multifarious Hellenic festivals, Olympian games, Isthmian games, Panathenian processions, the triumphal return of the victorious athlete, etc., was expressed intense admiration for strength, agility and beauty, and for the heroes in which these qualities were embodied, also respect and love of the god or the goddess of the city — piety and patriotism blent in a unique combination. Rome had its triumphal marches of generals to the Capitol, its apotheoses of emperors which, like its gladiatorial games, glorified its love of glory, its appetite for dominion and conquest. The Middle Ages had its canonization of saints, its coronations, its jousts, its exposure of reliquaries in procession, all of them expressions of chivalric, feudal, or monarchic mysticism.

"We have our patriotic, political, or humanitarian festivals, such as military reviews, the funeral of Victor Hugo, the bringing back of the ashes of Napoleon, the unveiling of statues in honor of great writers, great artists, greater or lesser statesmen. There are no festivals . . . which have not the virtue of binding for the moment all souls into one bundle, united by a dominant feeling.

Religious Festivals

Public worship is but a variety of periodical assemblage and originally its social or national purpose was obvious. "The most important functions of ancient worship," says W. Robertson Smith, "were reserved for public occasions, when the whole community was stirred by a common emotion." "Universal hilarity prevailed; men ate, drank, and were merry, together, rejoicing before their god. Feasting, dancing, song and music were present." We read of "orgiastic gladness," "intoxication of the senses," "physical excitement of religion," and "hilarious revelry," as characterizing the later Semitic religious gatherings in contrast with the natural exhilaration of the primitive feasts. A people without letters, arts, or trade, living in scattered rural settlements, has little to keep alive mutual interest.

Minor Rôle of the Festival in Modern Society

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Wanting are the ties created by education, travel, news, common literature and central authority. But at the periodical religious feast a common emotion lifts the people to a consciousness of their oneness.

GROUP LIFE AS A SOCIALIZER

The members of a large well-ordered family are trained out of their native egoism by constant practice in adjustment to others. Hence, among those apt in winning and leading men — politicians, labor organizers, evangelists, and promoters — are found an unusual number who grew up with several brothers and sisters and so had no chance to form the solo habit.

Participation in the Life of a Group Socializes

Membership in an enduring and exclusive organization cannot but take one "out of himself." The common name, war cry, or flag, symbolizing the identity of the group, becomes in time an independent center of emotion, a charged Leyden jar. With its distinctive banner, colors, slogans, songs, festivals, and commemoration day, the group takes on personality and attracts a love which is not the same thing as love for its present members. Not only state and church gather such stimuli to feeling but, as well, colleges, guilds, political parties, and religious and fraternal orders.

Genesis of the Spirit of Loyalty in Boys' Gangs

To be hated and set upon by a common enemy generates the *we*-feeling. This is the case of the boys' gang, which can survive the persecution of other gangs only if the members are loyal to one another. In the gang, therefore, is born that spirit of loyalty which lies at the foundation of most social relations. "This gang loyalty, however, is by no means a loyalty to individuals only; it is a loyalty also to ideals. The boy refuses to 'squeal' under pressure, partly to shield his fellows, but still more because squealing is contrary to the boys' moral code. He joins the tribal wars, partly because, like the good barbarian he is, he loves his neighbor and hates his enemy, but quite as much because certain fightings are demanded by the gang's standard of honor." [3]

Disloyalty Unforgivable

"Disloyalty is the one unforgivable offense in boyish eyes, the one crime which inevitably leads to expulsion from the gang." . . . "Among twenty-one boys who had been expelled from their gangs eleven were put out for disloyalty, three for

[3] Puffer, "The Boy and His Gang," p. 144.

fighting in bad causes, and but one each for all other reasons. There is no other institution on earth that can take its place beside the boys' gang for the cultivation of unswerving loyalty to the group."

The Gang Exacts Obedience and Self-Sacrifice

"Close beside loyalty and fidelity come the related virtues of obedience, self-sacrifice, and cooperation. The boy who will not obey the captain cannot play with the group. Baseball and football are impossible without cooperation, and they demand constant self-sacrifice of the individual to the team. The gang fight, brutal and useless as it commonly is, also calls for the highest devotion. It is fought not for personal ends but for the honor of the gang." [1]

Transforming Power of Boys' Clubs

The boys' club, under wise supervision, may have a magical effect in socializing even the little Ishmaelites of the street — the newsboys and bootblacks. With a growing interest in the club comes an ambition for its success, i.e., the corporate spirit. The joint ownership and management of the club and its common property is a most effective check upon the thievish propensities of its members. "When a boy has so far conquered the covetousness his hard lot of deprivation has bred into him so that he can, night after night, use tools and games which all boys desire to possesss, and at the closing hour put them in their places and leave them behind him, he has taken his first lesson, probably, in that social conduct which makes of the individual a good citizen of his community." [5]

Delinquents May Succeed in Self-Government

Nearly ninety years ago a very considerable and successful experiment in self-government was tried in the Boston House of Refuge, the second reformatory for children established in this country. A quarter of a century ago the George Junior Republic began to demonstrate that even in children the endeavor to find and apply rational rules of conduct creates a willingness to obey such rules. Then came the inmates of the Ione reformatory in California, with proof that they could make and enforce reasonable laws. More arresting, however, was the launching by Warden Osborne of the Mutual Welfare League in Auburn Prison, New York. Of late, self-government has been extended even to the inmates of military and naval prisons, so that the

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 152.

[5] M. W. Law, "Our Ishmael," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VIII, p. 844.

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delinquent soldier actually has more to do with shaping the rules he lives under than does his exemplary comrade!

Growth of the Spirit of Loyalty to the Whole Group

The point for us is not that lawbreakers have sufficient intelligence and fair play to make and administer good laws relating to their common life, but that in so doing they are socialized. As a challenging communal enterprise self-government identifies each inmate with *all* his fellow-inmates. The traditional fealty of the lawbreaker first to himself and then to his "pal" yields place to the new fealty to the whole body of prisoners. A man who has experienced this spiritual enlargement and self-discipline is likely to turn out a better *socius* on his return to society.

School Self-Government

Schoolmen have caught the significance of these autonomous societies, and in hundreds of schools they have introduced pupil self-government. In the "school state" or "school city" popularity is won not, as in the autocratic school, by slyly or defiantly breaking rules, but by loyally living up to them, for they embody the wishes and sense of right of the pupils. Then, too, the apprentice-citizen is nipped by the inexorable logic of obeying yourself the laws which you expect the others to obey. A boy elected to the presidency of the George Junior Republic by unanimous vote of his fellow citizens felt impelled to call them together the next day, confess a theft committed some months before, surrender himself to the police, and go to jail! A lad who learns the difficult art of team work and conforms willingly to restrictions growing out of the very nature of associate life is already half socialized and well on his way to becoming a good citizen in a democracy.

Feeling Can Be Stabilized by Associating It with Something Permanent

Feeling is fitful, but it can be steadied by association with something permanent. Conjugal love is no guarantee that a union will not end in the divorce court, unless it is linked with respect founded on a judgment of esteem. There is no beautiful filial love which does not owe something to a conviction of indebtedness. Love of country is stabilized by the persuasion that one's country is the envy of all the world.

Group Possessions Provide an Enduring Support for the We-feeling

Now, fluctuation in the *we*-feeling which constitutes the group may be overcome by the interest attaching to common group possessions. A national territory is such a prop of patriotism that the Zionists insist upon Jewish sovereignty over Palestine as a means of upholding national feeling among the Jews the world over. The guilds of the Middle Ages insured themselves long

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life when they reared their beautiful guild halls. A religious society strikes root when it builds its own church and parish house. A college fraternity is quite justified in desiring a chapter house of its own, a literary society in fitting up a hall for itself. Noble municipal buildings — schools, libraries, museums, art galleries, and parks — fan the fading embers of civic feeling in the people of a city. The splendid town halls of Ghent and Bruges were inspirers as well as achievements of city patriotism.

The Durable Owned Home is a Support for Family Feeling

The "old homestead," the ancient roof-tree, the entailed estate play a great rôle in keeping alive family feeling. On the other hand, the nomadic tenant family characteristic of the modern city is likely to be loosely knit and to have no sense of oneness with ancestors. Always the well-to-do, who can build themselves massive homes which last for centuries, have preserved family solidarity better than the poor, whose flimsy habitations bring them little from their forbears. Perhaps the rich would not lay such a curious emphasis on lineage did they not realize that the working class will never be able to compete with them in pointing to ancestors. Save in mating, it is not lineage that matters, but the quality of the individual himself.

SPORT AS A SOCIALIZER

A Common Passion for Cooperative Play Socializes

A common master-enthusiasm socializes. In congested urban quarters the passion for play which springs up after the opening of a recreation center levels moldering barriers between nationalities and confessions, Americanizes the foreign-born, and creates a neighborhood consciousness. With access to wholesome pleasures the laborer no longer drinks and beats his wife in sheer reaction from his grinding existence. The community becomes humanized. Children who hurt themselves at play cease to inquire anxiously, "Will it cost much and will my mother whip me?" The young people drop their rough manners, and foreign-born mothers no longer shrink from allowing their sick to go to the hospital.

Athletic Sports Emphasize Personal Value as Against Inherited Status

At American colleges in the Orient, athletic sports have been found to be arch-propagandists of the doctrine of human equality. Youths of diverse races, religions, ranks, and castes find their level on the football field, where a prince may be tackled by a peasant, and on the baseball diamond, where the son of a pasha

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may be caught out at first base by the son of a licorice grower. At first the haughty, slow-moving scions of the ruling race — Turks, Druses of Lebanon, or Manchus — stand by watching the "madness" of the Americans and wondering why the strangers do not spare themselves exertion by hiring servants to play for them. But presently the pulse of youth quickens, the game "gets" them, and they forget their rank in novel excitement and pleasures.

In Porto Rico, the Philippines, China, wherever Americans have gone, they have made sport a means of winning the people and of creating good will among the natives themselves.

In a live public school in a Babel district one can see how the spread of new interests breaks down old fences which hold folks apart. A goal kick by the son of a Polish shoveler, a prize tabouret from the hands of the son of a Sicilian fruit man, a medal for dramatic recitation won by the daughter of a pedlar from the Ghetto, undermine old noxious prejudices which otherwise would pass down to the next generation.

Good Sportsmanship Promotes Success in Cooperation

Antagonistic team games have the further merit that they teach the players to be good losers. In the earlier football matches between the teams of the mission colleges in China a team would retire from the field with great dignity when the game was going against it and it was in danger of "losing face." The lesson it gradually learned of taking a thrashing with a smile is greatly needed in some other parts of the world. The ready resort to revolution in Latin America comes from the inability of the losers of a political contest to reconcile themselves to defeat. Their excess of personal pride is an obstacle to socialization. In Peruvian universities one is struck by the dearth of associations among the students — no fraternities, no athletic teams, no social, literary, debating, press, dramatic, musical, or scientific societies such as flourish in our universities. One finds no class feeling, no university spirit, no love of Alma Mater, no heart-warming reunions of alumni, in a word, none of those corporate forms which loosen the hard soil of natural egoism and prepare it to admit later the spreading roots of public spirit and good citizenship.

The cause is not indifference. The students want societies, but fail in their endeavors to cooperate because individually they will not compromise. Again and again valuable organizations

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serving a real common purpose are wrecked by the touchiness and self-will of the members. Clubs break up because those outvoted on some question leave in a huff. This exaggerated sense of personal dignity is a heritage from the old aristocratic Hispano-American social order, which intensified self-feeling to such a degree that it became a bar to organization and team work.[6]

"Consciousness of Kind"

Thus far the socializing factors considered involve some kind of *resemblance*. Sympathy springs up between those who feel themselves to be *alike* in some essential, who have some momentous experience, emotion, or possession *in common*. Professor Giddings therefore argues that what knits human beings together is the *consciousness of kind*. This phrase is indeed apt and illuminating, provided it be borne in mind that in most cases what calls forth fellow feeling is not the perception of general resemblance, but awareness of likeness or agreement in *specific matters*. One is drawn to the stranger hunter at the camp fire not by the thought "He is a good deal like me," but by the thought, "He is a *real sportsman!*"

COMMUNITY OF INTEREST

Interest Exerts a Constant Pull, Like Gravity

Perception of resemblance, however, is not the only thing that socializes. We are drawn toward the unlike if consistently they are found to be helpful to us, and become alienated from even our kindred if continually they get in our way. In other words, community of interest tends to socialize, whereas clash of interest leads in time to coolness and ill-will. *Interest* does not work so immediately and dramatically as *likeness and difference*, but it produces great effects if there be given time for it to work.

The Kinship Bond Decays if Interests Diverge

Even in early society, when kinship was the foundation of social obligations, kinsmen did not remain *socii* unless they had a common interest. W. Robertson Smith says,[7] "A subgroup or horde which habitually lived apart from its brethren was very likely to form covenants with aliens, and this often led to a conflict of obligations in case of war and loosened the old tribal bond. In the long run, then, the strict bond of kinship could not maintain itself except within the limits of a local group

[6] See Ross, "South of Panama," pp. 235–7.

[7] "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," p. 24.

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habitually moving together." On the other hand, if two groups had a vital common interest they "made believe" they were brothers. "A covenant in which two groups promised to stand by each other to the death was originally accompanied by a sacramental ceremony, the meaning of which was that the parties had commingled their blood." [8]

Fighting in the Same Cause Socializes

Hearty cooperation in matters of moment is indeed a great socializer. Fellow feeling quickly develops among fighters in the same cause. "Comrade" is a word to conjure with. Agitated by strong common emotions — fear, anxiety, grief, and elation — those who have long striven shoulder to shoulder against the same foe become dear to one another.

Athletic and debating contests between colleges generate "college spirit"; matches between town ball teams and hose companies foster town patriotism. The accepted remedy for petty bickering among country neighbors is to get them to *do* something *together*. How worth while it is does not much matter.

Group Consciousness Revives as Fresh Common Interests Are Discovered

As a growing city becomes unwieldy in size its people split into occupation groups and social classes; but the *we*-feeling revives if fresh common interests are discovered as, for example, public sanitation, the extermination of the malarial mosquito, or protection against impure food. The same happens if the encroachments of a public utility company sow in the hearts of all the nettle of common grievance and set them the common task of curbing an "octopus." The persuasion that typhoid, drunkenness, prostitution, and degrading poverty are not inevitable, but can be banished by the right community action, renews the feeling of "our" city.

Naturalization Releases Certain Socializing Influences

An element without voice in community decisions will be poorly socialized. The naturalization of the foreign-born in America may not improve our politics, but it sets in motion certain forces which tend to weave the immigrant into the community. The politicians seek out the newly-fledged citizen and try to win him. They vie in endeavoring to interest him in our political contests, plying him with ideas and arguments to which he would have remained a stranger. Thus, the franchise helps bring him into the citizen circle, so that we may well feel uneasy when an element permanently settled here, e.g., the Portuguese or the Sicilians, shows indifference to citizenship.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

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Segregated Voters a Menace

An uncontrolled voting group is a menace to the state unless it is in a measure socialized. What can be hoped from voters who cannot read, who do not send their children to school, who belong to no organizations, and who live to themselves and never learn of common concerns by mingling with their neighbors? The voter should come into the circle of fellow citizens and expose himself to their influence.

Nationalism from a Blessing May Become a Nuisance

The cultivation of the sentiment of nationality in despised or down-trodden peoples — the Celtic Irish, the Poles, the Czechs, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the Armenians, etc.— has been a means of socializing them and saving them from discouragement and degradation. But after a people have achieved "self-determination" the further sharpening of their consciousness of nationality has the opposite effect, for it obstructs the natural growth of good will and brotherhood among the peoples.

COLLISION OF INTEREST

We Become Hostile to Those Who Are Often in Our Way

The converse of the truth that finding others useful or helpful to us kindles sympathy is the truth that finding others in our way engenders hostility. Harmony of interest socializes; clash of interest alienates. This is why brotherhoods have always been solicitous lest their unity be shattered by feuds. In the ancient village community every quarrel between individual members was treated as a community affair, even the bitter words uttered during a quarrel being considered an offense against the community. Every dispute was brought before arbiters, or, in the gravest cases, before the folk mote. The medieval guild took measures that no quarrel between guild brothers should fester into a feud or breed a lawsuit before any other court than that of the guild itself. The Christian sects, particularly those which take primitive Christianity as their model, aim to settle by brotherly counsel or by friendly arbitration every dispute between the brethren, and even cast out the member who incontinently hales another into the law court. In rural America to-day it is accounted a blot on the neighborhood if two worthy neighbors are allowed to become embroiled in a law suit.

Neglected Disputes Fester and Poison Personal Relations

Another precaution is to set up rules which make clear what each is entitled to in every case in which the interests of fellow members may be opposed. Forewarned, the brothers accommodate their expectations to what the established rule awards

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them and thus glide by ticklish situations which would certainly breed trouble were there no accepted formula of right. Still another recourse of the brotherhood is to stress and idealize the agreements of interest of its members and to keep in the background or slur over their divergences of interest.

NATIONALIZATION

War, Especially Defensive War, Nationalizes

Nationalization, which knits together great numbers who will never meet face to face, is but a variety of *socialization*. Because it thrills and moves a whole people in the same way at the same moment, war is a master solvent of private, local, and class egoisms. France first achieved national consciousness in her Hundred Years' War with the English kings. The war with Great Britain in 1812 had a great nationalizing effect upon Americans, while the contemporary struggle of the Russians against Napoleon quickened and deepened Russian national consciousness. A seemly military undertaking on foreign soil is a sovereign remedy for antagonisms within the state. The French expedition against Algiers under Charles X had this purpose as well as the intervention of Napoleon III on behalf of Italy. In April, 1861, Secretary Seward urged President Lincoln to close the breach between North and South by picking a quarrel with France and Spain.

In revolution followed by foreign war petty parochial and provincial interests are submerged like landmarks in a deluge. The crises crowded into the years between 1789 and 1815 made the French the most unified of peoples and nationalized for all time the German Alsatians and Lorrainers.

Crowd Experiences May Help Engender the National Spirit

Crowd intoxication takes people out of themselves, and their sharing of an intense emotion begets sympathy. A series of crowd unisons socializes a people and prepares them for action in concert. The national spirit did not appear full-statured among the French at the fall of the Bastille. It grew up gradually out of moving common experiences in mobs, risings at the sound of the tocsin, *levees en masse*, political gatherings, and civic festivals. The American national spirit, too, seems to have had its birth in the numerous tumultuous gatherings which near the beginning of our revolution mobbed the officials and persecuted the friends of George III.

The *symbol* has played a leading rôle in conjuring up national

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Rôle of the Symbol in Nationalization

spirit. After the beginning of the New Era in 1867 the leaders of Japan nationalized the Japanese people by concentrating upon the person of the Mikado the sentiment of loyalty to the lord which the feudal system had so forcefully developed in them. The slogan "For Tsar and Fatherland" made the ignorant Russian serf-soldier as pliant to church and state as if he had understood and shared their aims. As a rallying point, like the queen bee for the swarm, royalty is retained by democratic peoples who have no intention whatever of being governed by a monarch.

Participation in Politics Nationalizes

Participation in national politics lengthens the radius of the citizen's consciousness. The provisions in the Federal Constitution for the indirect election of senators and of the president indicate that its framers did not expect the ordinary voter to concern himself with the Washington government. But as their imaginations were stimulated by schooling, newspapers, travel, and internal migration, the Americans developed opinions on national problems, gained control of the national parties, made of the presidential elector a push button, and finally took over the selection of senators. The horizon of the citizen was widened in a way never anticipated by the "Fathers."

Significance of the Change of Type of American Political Nicknames

The percolation of national sentiment to lower and broader strata of the American people is revealed in our styles of political nicknames: Washington was the Father of his Country; Madison, Father of the Constitution; Webster, Defender of the Constitution; Harrison, the Cincinnatus of the West. Side by side with these high-sounding titles, but beginning a little later and growing more marked as the Western note crept into politics, ran a series of nicknames of popular origin expressing greater intimacy of feeling. Jackson was Old Hickory; Taylor, Old Rough and Ready; Clay, Gallant Harry of the West; Douglas, the Little Giant; Lincoln, Honest Old Abe and later Father Abraham.

Other Factors Creating the Modern Sentiment of Nationality

Thoroughly to nationalize a multitudinous people calls for institutions to disseminate certain ideas and ideals. The Tsars relied on the blue-domed Orthodox church in every peasant village to Russify their heterogeneous subjects, while we Americans rely for unity on the "little red school house." In point of fact, however, many things conspire to create modern nationality. We Americans have seen religious revivals, the penny newspaper,

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the "ten cent" magazine, cheap editions of the classics, lyceum lecture courses, Chautauquas, "open forums," social settlements, and university extension diffuse comprehension and sympathy through social strata which hitherto had shared little in the life of the great society.

DISRUPTIVE IDEAS

Ideas which Loosen the Social Cement

There are ideas which disrupt as well as ideas which socialize. The pseudo-Darwinian struggle-for-life philosophy causes each to eye his fellow man as a possible competitor. The theory of an irrepressible conflict of classes in modern society is a dividing sword. In a few minutes' conversation with the women soldiers of the Battalion of Death guarding the Winter Palace on a night in November, 1917, the Bolsheviki were able to detach the working-class girls and break up a harmony that had stood the battle test. For the first time these girls beheld their comrades-in-arms as *bourgeoisie*, i.e., aliens. Likewise the idea that all employers are exploiters and that there can be no truce until private employment utterly disappears may kill in a simple-minded employee the natural good-will he feels toward an employer who has always treated him well.

Struggle Between Cementing Ideas and Disruptive Ideas

Such an idea will make little headway, however, among those rooted in opposite ideas. The disappointments foreign-born socialists meet with in making decently-treated native American wage earners "class conscious" are not due altogether to the influence of "free land," or the chance of climbing into the employer class. These wage earners have been so well socialized as "Americans" that it is not easy to persuade them to think of themselves as exploited proletarians. Contrary to the socialist assumption, they *do* have much in common with their *bourgeois* fellow citizens — patriotic memories, aversion to kings and nobles, belief that "a man's a man for a' that," respect for hard work, pride in the spread of American ideas over the world, a certain chivalry toward women, sentiment for children, affection for the public school, enthusiasm for base ball, and scores of other things. Moreover, manners in America are genial and democratic. The wage earners have not been discriminated against politically. They are not despised as laborers are in societies with feudal traditions. Organization saves them from having to "knuckle down" in every dispute between them and the

employer. Thanks to free public education the children of the workingman may be found at any social level. Hence only those native wage earners take freely to syndicalism who in remote mining camps, or lumber camps, or as homeless, womanless, voteless, floating laborers, come into contact with the ugliest side of private capitalism.

THE EXPANDED SELF

The Spheric Self

Socialization may be figured as an expansion of the individual self which takes in other persons and their interests. Now, there are various axes along which the self may expand. There is the *spheric* self which incorporates persons chiefly according to their propinquity. Those who are dearest are the *neighbors*. One cares most for those one sees oftenest and least for those below the horizon. Until lately this was the prevailing type; but reading, travel, city life, the rise of the professions, and social stratification are unfavorable to it. It is the basis of neighborhood consciousness, community cooperation, and local self-government.

The Linear Self

Then there is the *linear* self, which keeps to the family line, ranging back among one's ancestors — particularly the illustrious — and forward among one's anticipated descendants. It prompts a man to sacrifice much in order not to dishonor his forefathers or handicap his posterity. It nourishes a character which wins respect but not love. This concern with the dead and the unborn detracts from sympathy with one's fellows — save blood kin — so that family feeling is often a rival of social feeling. Democracy distrusts and fears loyalty to family, because it has been stressed by its traditional enemies, kings and nobles. The late Nicholas Romanoff was not ill-intentioned, but he brought untold suffering upon the Russian people because of his feeling for the House. When the Tsar was fondling his son the Tsaritsa would exclaim, "Surely, Nicholas, you will not hand on to our boy less authority than your father bequeathed to you!"

The Flat Self

The *flat* self results from the confinement of social feeling to those within one's stratum. This self excludes those below one in the social scale because as beings of coarser clay they inspire only contempt. Altho those above are admired and envied, the *we*-feeling does not extend to them because they are "different" and, moreover, they look down on one. This horizontal

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socialization weakens the barriers of dislike and jealousy between neighborhoods, parishes, and provinces but, on the whole, it creates more ill-will than it removes. Hostile local communities can avoid trouble by having little to do with one another, but hostile social classes cannot avoid contacts and relations.

The Vein Self

The *vein* self expands along a vein of folk who are like us or have the same major interest. In big democratic cities fellowship tends to follow occupational lines, steamfitter consorting with steamfitters, newspaper man with newspaper men, the artist in Bohemia with other Bohemians. They are competitors actual or potential, to be sure, but this fact is overshadowed by their community of interest, grievances, and hopes. Those not in love with their calling or without a calling may follow a slender vein of interest, so that they are brotherly only with a special group—baseball fans, spiritualists, Y. M. C. A. men, Browning enthusiasts or Marxian socialists.

The Star Self

Naturally the expanding self will be discriminating and selective when it has many to choose from. The developed personality, however, ought to have a number of strong tastes and interests which bring it into sympathy with several veins of people. Hence the *star* self which radiates into various planes. The many-sided Roosevelt was linked up with Harvard men, boxers, big game hunters, bird observers, history writers, explorers, saga lovers, and civic reformers, in each case by one of his interests.

Which is Better for Society

There is room in society for all types of the expanded self, but certain types are more desirable from the standpoint of social good will and team work. On the one hand, the functional differentiation and complexity of modern society are favorable to the development of the *star* self. On the other hand, the great number of matters calling for team work by the organized local community put a premium on the citizen with a *spheric* self. The development or combination of these two holds the most promise for the future.

OBSTACLES TO SOCIALIZATION

Consciousness of Difference a Stumbling Block

The perception of difference in aspect, ways, beliefs and sentiments checks the outflow of sympathy. What will repel depends on one's place in the scale of development. With the rude, personal appearance and dietary habits count for much. One stigmatizes the objects of his antipathy as "niggers,"

"greasers," "round heads," "fuzzy-wuzzies," "red necks," "high brows," "red-haired foreign devils," "silk stockings," "hard collars," or taunts them as "rat-eaters," or "frog-eaters." Somewhat higher is the type who thinks of the alien as "mick," "parley-voo," "goddam," "wop," "sheeny," "heathen," "papist," "heretic," or "infidel." Higher yet is the man who is struck by cultural differences only and who recoils from those who are "savage," "barbarous," "benighted," or "depraved." The most alienating differences are those in diet, manners, and religious exercises. Socializers, therefore, by education, agitation, organization, change of customs, etc., strive to bring about a resemblance along these lines, or else to belittle unlikeness.

Arbitrary Discrimination Excites a Sense of Injustice and Begets Resentment

Arbitrary discrimination raises a barrier. Discrimination on some relevant basis excites little protest. No one objects that weaklings are not put on the football team, ignoramuses admitted to college, or bunglers allowed to practice medicine. But those are embittered who are shut out from merited good on account of color, race, origin, or religion. The detached immigrant into the United States is readily assimilated because America has drawn no line against the foreign-born. Any unreasonable discrimination against him, as, for example, restricting the proportion of foreign-born which may be employed on public work, would check the process. It would produce the state of things formerly seen in Eastern Europe, where the socialization of dissimilar population elements was at a standstill. Hence, restrictions on land ownership directed against resident aliens are bad. No one should be admitted to this country whom we are not willing to treat in time as "one of the family."

Of course, not all discriminations are written into law. If there is a tendency to elect to office or promote to the head of a bank, a business or an organization the inferior native-born just because he is of "good old American stock," the capable foreign-born and his friends will feel themselves to be, after all, "outsiders," and will be confirmed in their hyphenism.

A Disputed Assumption of Superiority Raises a Barrier

A resented imputation of inferiority is a stumbling block to socialization. A "chosen people" will not have many friends among other peoples. A Messianic hope isolates the nation that cherishes it. A race or class is not likely to share the *we*-feeling with another race or class which entertains no doubts as to its own superiority. If, however, the alleged lower race or class

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accepts the inferiority imputed to it and advances no pretensions to equality, the two may come into the relations of older and younger brothers in a family. Trust, on the one hand, compassion and a sense of responsibility on the other, may result in such reciprocal affection as sometimes appeared under feudalism, or between masters and slaves in our *ante-bellum* South.

Playing Together is an Admission of Social Equality

One reason why athletic games between white men and the races with which they come in contact so contribute to good feeling is that they imply equality. The governing race comes down from its "high horse" and takes its chance of being beaten in sport. The Malays of inner Borneo do not resent their being governed by the English, after these English have met them as equals on the football field. Once they have scored off the white men, they do not much mind conceding their superiority in the matter of government.

Tradition Carries the Past Over Into the Present

Finally, *traditionalism* hinders the socialization of diverse elements when otherwise conditions are favorable. It may be that Irish Catholics and Orangemen, Transcaucasian Armenians and Tartars, Lithuanian coal miners and Polish coal miners, are alike oppressed and ought to feel and act together; but if they are swayed by the past they will stay apart on account of prejudices, hatreds, and memories of ancient wrongs, coming down to them from their forefathers. On the other hand, of course, traditions of friendship and mutual aid may perpetuate good feeling when living currents of interest are bearing people in opposite directions.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ESTRANGEMENT

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There is No Fixed and Final Socialization

HOWEVER solidified the group may become, one can never be sure that the current of events will not carry it upon me rock which will split it. Families are rent by quarrels, ighborhoods by feuds, churches by controversies; while larger ions, lacking personal acquaintance, are yet more unstable.) it is necessary to take into account a process, quite the reverse socialization, which may be called *estrangement*. It is not at the ties knit up in the course of a common experience ravel it, as in the case of wanderers who in a far country gradually rget their fatherland. What happens is that these ties are rained or even snapped because a cross-current pulls one part the group away from the other. No doubt, if all change uld be arrested, the fellow-feeling among the members of a ciety would last and would descend to their children and chil-en's children; but change is inevitable, and, although some anges solidify, others tend to cleave the group. For all that tercourse, common experience and common reading matter ay be making a people into one big family, there is no assur-ce that a sharp turn in industrial development or a strange ctrine will not set them at loggerheads.

Elements in Society are Thrust Asunder by Incompatible Aims or Ideas

Sometimes the spirit of faction gains mysteriously the upper nd and society polarizes into opposing groups which may have more substantial basis than the parties of Greens and Blues ich sprang up from the colors of the jockeys in the chariot es of Rome and Byzantium and which endangered the state lf with their strife. Generally, however, it is antagonism economic interests or ideas which rives society in twain.

The growth of sectionalism during the half-century before the nerican Civil War illustrates how a new economic tendency y thrust people apart. After the invention of the cotton gin South more and more went over to cotton, a slave-made p, so that slavery became its corner-stone. In the North

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slave labor was less productive than free labor, so that slavery died out. Thus "King Cotton" laid the foundation for the strife between North and South.

Miners and Ranchers in California

The practice of extracting gold by washing down low-pay dirt with a jet of water under high pressure so clogged certain California river beds as to cause the rivers to overflow and smother rich bottom lands under a mantle of silt. The feeling between the ranchers of the valley and the miners of the foothills became very bitter before the legislature of the state put a curb on hydraulic mining.

Alienation Caused by the "Silver" Question

An acute fall in prices, beginning with the last quarter of the nineteenth century and exceeding the decline in cost of production, by increasing the burden of debts, brought on a political conflict in America between creditors and agricultural debtors which culminated in the heated presidential campaign of 1896. Soon afterward the great increase in gold production started prices on an upward movement which drew *that* thorn out of our flesh.

Penal Transportation in Australia

The early population of Australia, although homogeneous enough, was torn over the question of tolerating the continuance of the penal transportation of convicts from England. The large landowners favored a system which automatically provided them with cheap labor. The artisans and small farmers opposed this flood, both in their own interest and for the sake of the future of the colony. Another source of bad blood was the opposition between the sugar-planters of North Queensland, who manned their cane fields with kidnaped South Sea Islanders held virtually in a condition of slavery, and the people of South Queensland who, living outside the sugar belt, could foresee the evils which "blackbirding" would fasten upon the country.

"Blackbirding"

Even the gold discoveries brought riot and bloodshed to Australia. In order to prevent the ranches and towns from being stripped of labor, the property-owners prevailed upon the government to undertake to check the mad rush to the gold fields by requiring a state license to dig gold. The gold-diggers rioted, burned licenses publicly, fortified their camp, and ran up a flag bearing the words, "Republic of Victoria."

The Struggle Over Public Lands

Much of the early political history of certain Australian colonies is made up of the struggles between "squatters" and "selectors." The former had seized upon great tracts of public land and in-

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sisted upon using them for grazing while thousands of landless men were clamoring to be allowed to settle on this land and farm it.

Historical Cleavages

There is, indeed, no end of ways in which a new economic slant may breed strife. A pastoral people falls asunder because the men of the plain take to the plow and the men of the shore to shipbuilding and trade, while the hill folk continue to watch their flocks. In republican Rome slaves, the booty of foreign conquest, thrust a wedge between the large landowners and the small cultivators. The English Black Death of 1349 fired a train which is said to have led to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. The issuance of paper money, a natural makeshift in a young community, long vexed the peace of the American colonies. The Constitution laid the specter for three-quarters of a century only to see it reappear as the "greenback" question. The federal tax of 1791 on distilled spirits provoked a revolt among people west of the Alleghany Mountains, who had been accustomed to convert their corn into whiskey in order to carry it to a distant market. In the old seaboard South the farmers of the upland districts were opposed socially and politically to the planter aristocracy of the lowlands.

Quarrels Over the Policy of Government

The possibilities of trouble mock the foresight of statesmen. Government action to stamp out a popular vice may exasperate a district devoted to breeding race horses or to growing the vine or the poppy. A new industry or a chance to build up an export trade may make one region restive under a tax or a trade policy acceptable to all the rest. The people of our Atlantic Coast may resent the obstacles to trade with the Orient raised by an immigration policy demanded by the people of the Pacific Coast. In California, with the rise of fruit-growing, there broke out a great agitation by orchardists against the general property tax, under which they had to pay taxes on their fruit trees for some years before they came into bearing.

Discordant Types Develop

Then, too, quite aside from clash of economic interest, the soul-molds of a people may so change that the types they turn out chafe one another. Thus the commercial regions become critical and progressive, while the rural parts cherish old dynastic loyalties. The town artisans become free-thinking, but the peasants remain devout. As cities grow we see more of an urban type having little in common with the farming population. Mining

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the precious metals fosters a restless speculative spirit that goes ill with the home-loving conservative spirit bred by agriculture. Machine industry gathers myriads into its tentacular grasp and sets its stamp upon them. Mixing of bloods brings race war nearer by multiplying the number of aspiring mulattoes and near-whites to whom the "color line" is intolerable.

Culture Oppositions

Unequal appropriation of culture weakens fellow-feeling. Thanks to foreign influences, the residents of the littoral become cosmopolitan, while the people of the interior stick to the "good old ways" and resent what they deem the apostasy of the ports. From the Book of Maccabees one may divine what strifes were produced by the penetration of Hellenism into the peoples about the Eastern Mediterranean during the century after Alexander the Great. Since Peter the Great Russia has swung like a pendulum between the party standing for imitation of Europe and the party standing for Muscovite tradition. The Chinese in contact with foreigners want to introduce railroads, sanitation, and girls' schools, which the back country regards as impious. Stalled in an eighteenth-century stage of development, the isolated people of our Appalachians imagine our cities to be sinks of wickedness, while our cities look upon these old-fashioned mountain-dwellers as degenerates.

Religious Schisms

Like-mindedness is ruptured also by movements in the sphere of ideas. The ancient Jews were torn by the discord between Pharisees and Sadducees. After Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire schisms and heresies gave trouble. Africa was convulsed by the Donatist movement; Egypt was dissatisfied owing to Monophysitism and, no doubt, for this gave herself the more readily to the Arab conquerors. The persecuted Montanist sectaries of Phrygia revolted in the sixth century. The Mohammedans, too, split into Shiites and Sunnites, and only a little over a century ago they lost Arabia to the Puritanic sect of Wahabees.

"Wars of Religion"

In the eighth century the Christians of the East were rent by the quarrel over the use of images, and the migration of fifty thousand Greek image-worshipers to Southern Italy gave that region a Hellenic stamp which it has not yet lost. Later, Latin and Greek Christianity went asunder and entered upon divergent paths of development. The rise of Protestantism in the sixteenth century, coupled with the repressive policy of the Church,

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Clash of Dogma with Science

unged most European peoples into civil strife and gave birth to e bloody "wars of religion." Since Galileo the contradictions tween dogma and science have produced countless estrange- ents. Nor should one overlook the disturbances following the se of such sects as the Anabaptists, the Mormons, the Babists, e Taipings, the Boxers, the Mahdists, and the Senussites. Prob- ly nowhere has the social tissue been more often cleft by ec- ntric religious movements than in Russia and the United ates.

Controversy Over Modernism

In South America to-day we see bitter controversies engen- red by the introduction of ideas of religious liberty, separation church and state, lay education, civil marriage and divorce. lifetime ago the propagation of anti-slavery doctrines among aroused much hatred and hostility. From time to time we ve been rent by angry disputes over vaccination, woman's ghts, faith-healing, Darwinism, "higher" Biblical criticism, nd-value taxation, and liquor regulation. At present such doc- ines as the right of labor to the whole produce, workers' control er industry, class war, "direct action," the single standard of orals for both sexes, birth control, and the sterilization of the

New Ideas Lead to Dissension

nfit lead to sharp dissension and even to violence. In a genera- on these will, perhaps, have entered a milder phase, but mean- hile new questions will drift into the spotlight.

Estrangement Lessens Social Cohesion

The fermentation set up by the spread of new knowledge or of eas based thereon is inevitable if there is to be progress in lture. But how rarely we see a clean fight between truth and ror! How often conflict is between systems of ideas equally bitrary! Indeed, it is the clash of ideas farthest from a fact sis which rouses most animosity.[1] Now, when controversies ach the pitch of alienating fellow-countrymen, the consequences ay be serious. Migration, secession, or civil war is possible, d, in any case, there is less good will and willingness to work gether. National defense may be fatally weakened, govern- ent thwarted in carrying out essential policies, facility in civic d social cooperation lost. Friendly intercourse may become ss general, while clannishness and sectarianism grow until the ople are divided by internal frontiers which are no less real for ing invisible.

To preserve the social peace and to keep alive the *we*-feeling is

[1] See Ross, "Social Psychology," p. 313.

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Economic Oppositions Can be Overcome by Just and Firm Regulation

of such moment that the true statesman will bestir himself to counteract estranging tendencies whenever they appear. In general, since there is no trouble in locating the sore spot, the oppositions of interest created by economic development are the easier to deal with. Sometimes what is needed is to extend government authority into a neglected field. The deadly struggle in frontier society between "moderators" and "regulators," after the latter have become infested by rogues who take private vengeance under the guise of lynch law, ceases with the establishment of regular courts. If cowboys and shepherds of the Far West fight over the use of the natural pastures in the public domain, a leasing system is called for. The conflicts between cattlemen, who without warrant had fenced great tracts of government land, and settlers asserting their rights under the homestead law ended when President Roosevelt made the fences come down. Gun law among the salmon-canners on Alaskan rivers is ended by devising wise rules enforced by government agents on the spot. Hostilities between workingmen and mine guards ought to cease with the advent of a well-managed state police. Sniping between the oyster tongers of Chesapeake Bay calls for a system of leasing of bay bottom for oyster-growing. Bad blood between employers and wage-earners is a challenge to the lawmaker to remedy such glaring evils as the long work day, seven-day labor, preventable industrial accidents and diseases, underpayment, and unemployment.

Outcry or Rioting on the Part of Decent Folk is a Symptom of Maladjustment

A lasting sense of grievance in any worthy element respecting an established policy raises like a fester in the flesh the presumption that something is wrong. The useful classes do not riot over nothing; so relying upon bayonets to restore social peace is usually a confession of bankruptcy of statesmanship. This is not to say that every aggrieved interest can be given the particular redress it demands. It may ask for the wrong remedy, or it may have flung itself directly across the path of the advancing general interest. But ordinarily a persistent outcry is a symptom of maladjustment. Change has gone on unheeded until some law or institution has ceased to fit. Finer adjustment, greater elasticity, or special treatment is called for. The complaint of timber-owners that the annual taxation of their trees compels premature cutting points to a tax collected only when the timber is harvested. The manufacturers' cry for "free" raw materials in order to

Law and Policy Have to be Differentiated in Order to Accommodate Differentiated Interests

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build up a foreign trade suggests a revision of the tariff. Labor's protest against the importation of shiploads of aliens for strike-breaking purposes justifies the exclusion of alien contract laborers. Such legal distinctions as those between Quakers and others in respect to bearing arms and taking oaths, between tax-paying women and other women as regards the exercise of the franchise, between "labor" and "commodity," between ordinary businesses and those "affected with a public interest," and between "reasonable" and "unreasonable" restraint of trade illustrate how the law has been differentiated for the sake of social good feeling.

A Snugger Fit of Laws to the Needs of the People May be Brought About by the Granting of "Home Rule"

Whenever laws and policies do not admit of being made flexible enough to suit growing regional and local peculiarities, the time has come for a devolution of certain powers of government. The unitary state should become federal. Colonies and distinct geographic provinces should be conceded a sphere of "home rule," while local preferences respecting schools, poor-relief, taxing system, and liquor regulation may justify the grant of county option or local option. The centralized state, by affording a leverage for the *élite* and the expert, can do most to accelerate social advance; but for a motley people decentralized government is more conducive to the preservation of the social peace. Here is the solution for the poly-ethnic masses of Eastern Europe.

It is Vain to Protect Like-mindedness by Avoiding Foreign Intercourse, or Suppressing Free Inquiry, or Establishing a Certain Form of Religion

How society may avoid the animosities which opposition of beliefs or ideals engenders is a difficult question. Long ago statesmen came to value like-mindedness and sought to conserve it by certain policies which experience has shown to be futile or even pernicious. Withdrawal from foreign influence by excluding the alien, restraining travel abroad, and avoiding foreign intercourse succeeded for a time in ancient Sparta and in Japan, but much good was missed and, when the inevitable adjustment came, it was the more violent from having been delayed. The suppression of free inquiry protects religious unity only by chaining the mind and impeding intellectual progress. An established state religion, secure in its endowments, is likely to lose much of that appealing warmth and life which make it a social bond. The relentless persecution of heresy foments internal strife and weakens the race by extirpating the more daring and original minds.

It seems a paradox to urge total separation of church and state, religious liberty, and freedom of communication as preservative

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Why Religious Diversity Stirs up Less Ill-feeling than the Union of Church and State

of social good feeling. But, in truth, the variety of opinion which springs up under freedom begets a minimum of hostility. Disagreements irritate little so long as the bigot is not allowed to climb into the saddle. No privileged orthodox may glower upon another as a heretic. None is embittered by being discriminated against or persecuted. No one is galled by being forced to contribute to the propagation of a creed he does not believe. Contradictions are softened by a spirit of tolerance, so that, after all, mental heterogeneity proves to be a nettle that stings least the hand that grasps it brusquely.

The Multiplication of Religious Sects Produces Encysted Non-Cooperating Groups

But while diversity of opinion does not of necessity engender strife, it is likely to interfere with social team work. Sectaries are often clannish, slow to mingle socially with outsiders or to join with their neighbors in the furtherance of such common interests as public health, community development, education, or the advancement of secular knowledge. In the American population there have been thousands of local groups sewed up in separatist dogmas and dead to most of the feelings which thrill the rest of society. The spirit of cooperation has, no doubt, been weakened by the formation of numerous "peculiar" religious sects, each cut off from the general population by its fancied possession of a special prophet or revelation and its assurance of being the exclusive object of Divine favor.

The Diffusion of Secular Knowledge and the Training up of Leaders Are the Best Antidotes to Sect-forming

A self-conscious society will therefore endeavor to limit sect-forming by providing for the widest possible diffusion of secular knowledge. An unlettered and ignorant people, if it escapes the guidance of ancestral churches and trained ministers, is likely to be endlessly divided and redivided by futile variations of creed and worship. On the other hand, the general enlightenment resulting from a system of universal education narrows the power of the fanatic or the false prophet to gain a following. The public university, moreover, rears up a type of leader who will draw men together with unifying thoughts, instead of dividing them, as does the sect-founder, with his private imaginings and personal notions. The great contrast between the period before the Civil War and the period since in respect to sect-forming is, no doubt, owing chiefly to the lessening of superstitiousness and credulity among the American people through the influence of popular education and the leadership of educated men.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

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Not All Members of a Group Are Socialized

UNLESS he has arrived at moral conceptions of his own, the socialized member of a group willingly conforms his conduct to the ideas of individual rights and duties accepted by his fellow members, so that the maintenance of order presents no difficulties so far as he is concerned. Unfortunately society is by no means composed wholly of socialized persons. People may be neighbors or work-mates, or have interests in common, long before they are sufficiently socialized with reference to one another to live at peace or to act together for the protection of their common interests. Even if most of them have good will toward one another, there will be selfish or malicious individuals who will cause trouble if they are not in some way intimidated or influenced.

State and Religion May be Used for Control Even if They Were Not Devised for It

Although a rudimentary order may arise spontaneously, the far-sighted members of the community perceive that a better order and a smoother team work may be had if only certain troublesome varieties of conduct can be suppressed while other helpful varieties are called forth. Often the means for such suppression lie at hand in the shape of central organs which may have been created for the purpose of military cooperation, but which can be used for instituting a régime of law. Then, too, religious ideas may be present which lend themselves to the construction of a system of control sanctioned by supernatural rewards and punishments.

Thus, in one way or another, society develops an apparatus of control designed to repress undesired conduct and to encourage desired conduct. How far this apparatus shall be elaborated and how much collective will shall be put behind it depend on the felt need of controlling the behavior of the individual.

[1] Seeing that some years ago I made my bow to the public with a sizable book entitled "Social Control," I shall here do little more than bring out some fundamentals and certain new points.

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THE NEED OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Social Control is Called for by Complex Co-operation,

Cooperation in vital matters for the benefit of the group as a whole gives occasion for the exercise of social control. On the American frontier the earliest sign of it is community pressure to make shirkers do their part in curbing the Indians, fighting prairie fires or maintaining levees to protect the river bottoms. When cooperation is complex, even willing cooperators need an authority over them which will regulate the times, places, and amounts of their individual performances. This is why *warfare*, in which good team work may be a matter of life and death, is the mother of obedience. Even self-willed barbarians may be intelligent enough to submit themselves to iron discipline while on the war path.

by High Organization,

All *high organization* — military, governmental, industrial, commercial, educational — calls for a regulative system. In its absence the leakage and waste on the one hand, the friction from the checks and safeguards required to prevent such loss on the other hand, neutralize the advantages of high organization and make it unprofitable to set up any kind of complicated social machinery.

by Extreme Inequalities of Possession,

The institutions of *private property, contract* and *inheritance* consecrate inequalities of possession which affront the *we*-feeling, and which mere good will will not protect. Such contrasts can be upheld and perpetuated only in a more or less artificial social order. It is *property institutions* — or rather their more eccentric results — which call into being detailed codes of law, strong courts and an elaborate penal system.

by Residence in Cities,

City residence necessitates stricter social control. Many practices which are harmless in the country become intolerable in the city. In the disposal of his kitchen refuse, in the care of his sick, in the making of unnecessary noise, in the burning of soft coal, in the doing of work at home or in the keeping of domestic animals in his domicile, the city dweller is not free to anything like the extent one is in the country.

by the Accumulation of Capital

The accumulation of the means of production, i.e., *capital*, calls into being agencies strong enough to insure order and security. The historian Ferrero shows [2] that the imperial authority would

[2] *McClure's Magazine*, Vol. 33, p. 95.

hardly have evolved in Rome if Italy had not come to be covered with vineyards and olive orchards:

Why Spartacus Intimidated Italy More than Hannibal

"Toward the end of the third century B.C., Italy had, for about seventeen years, borne on its soil the presence of an army that went sacking and burning everywhere — the army of Hannibal — without losing composure, awaiting with patience the hour for the torment to cease. A century and a half later, a Thracian slave escaped from the chain-gang with some companions, overran the country — and Italy was frightened, implored help, stretched out its arms to Rome more despairingly than it had ever done in the years of Hannibal. What made Italy so fearful? Because in the time of Hannibal it chiefly cultivated cereals and pastured cattle, while in the time of Spartacus a considerable part of its fortune was invested in vineyards and olive groves. In pastoral and grain regions, the invasion of an army does relatively little damage, for the cattle can be driven in advance of the invader and, if grain fields are burned, the harvest of a year is lost but the capital is not destroyed. If an army cuts and burns olive orchards and vineyards, which are many years in growing, it destroys an immense accumulated capital . . . Whence the emperor became gradually a tutelary deity of the vine and the olive, the fortune of Italy. The landowners who held their vineyards and olive groves more at heart than they did the great republican traditions placed the image of the emperor among those of their Lares, and revered him as they had earlier revered the senate."

Why Popular Government Endures in the Temperate Climates, but Not in the Tropics

In the tropics the ease of rearing a habitation is such that the common people are in no great dread of civil strife. In a political contest they are by no means reluctant to take up arms. But the creation of costly forms of capital which can be destroyed in a few hours by bullet or axe or torch — herds of fine stock, canefields, sugar mills, orange groves, cacao orchards, rubber plantations — puts an immense financial interest against the time-honored practice of "fighting it out" and behind a government which appears strong enough to ensure order altho it may deprive the masses of their accustomed political rights. This is one reason why it is so hard in our time to maintain in the tropics genuine popular government.

In countries which have to reckon seriously with winter, the rural buildings are so substantial and costly that the tillers of the soil are at one with the large capitalists in desiring order at all hazards. In the temperate zone, therefore, the capitalists

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are not the foes of popular government as they are in the tropics.

Why Strong Control Develops in a Mining Region

In capitalistic mining the economic situation is not unlike that in large-scale tropical agriculture. Interruption of labor may cause irreparable damage from flooding of the mines, while a single lawless hour may sweep away costly surface properties. Hence, as in Colorado and Montana, the mine operators make common cause with the farmers in maintaining *strong* government, or by means of secret control of nominating machinery and elections make local self-government a mockery. To avoid shut-downs, high-handed methods are used with intruding labor agitators and organizers, while occupants of the company property, the mining "camp," are denied free speech, free press and free assemblage.

Private Capitalism Normally Develops a Strong State

In 1905 the mass of capital working with each employee engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements in the United States was eight times what it was in 1850. In all branches of industry the capital factor grew faster than the labor factor. As a result the capitalists have more at stake in an industrial dispute. The more they stand to lose by a strike, the more determined they are speedily to break that strike by tempting strike breakers with high pay, by hiring gunmen and creating conditions which draw into the situation sheriff's deputies, police or troops. The strikers on the other hand do their utmost to keep the plant from operating. Thus, more and more, industrial strife takes on a violent character, becomes private war. Hence, logically enough, an augmenting of the state's power to compel the parties to the strife to submit their dispute to outside authority.

Social Control is Constantly Extended,

Discoveries of the remoter reverberation of particular actions broaden continually the scope of social control. From the germ theory of disease spring requirements that we shall cover up a cough or sneeze, avoid expectoration, submit to quarantine and fumigation or send our contagious cases to the hospital. New light on heredity causes us to be condemned for having children if our stock is bad and for *not* having children if our stock is superior. Knowledge of the law of population gives birth to the feeling that the father of fifteen children ought to justify his conduct. The diffusion of economics leads to the prohibition of imposing on the consumer with dishonest drugs, advertising, or news, of buying the cheapest ware unless we know that it is not a

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veat-shop product, and of using one's property in anti-social ays. New views of natural resources condemn certain wasteful ethods of mining, lumbering and tillage, restrain us in the kill- ig of fish and game and oblige us to treat any forest tract we wn from the standpoint of social welfare.

but Class Controls Are Decaying

Do not conclude, however, that it is the fate of the individual o become involved in an ever-finer mesh of regulation. For our ime, at least, there is another side to the matter. Along with he latter-day extension of control has occurred in various parts of the world a relaxation of many traditional restraints which, ltho they pretend to safeguard social interests, were really im- posed in the interest of an individual or a class, or from sheer ove of dominating. Such were the old game laws, restrictions n working-class freedom of movement and of settlement, the ld, inhuman discipline of army and fleet, restraints on speech, eaching, the press, assemblage and organization. We know too nuch psychology to uphold the old harsh correctional system in ome and school and we know too much sociology to countenance he repressions by which a dominant social class protects its privi- eges against criticism. Hence binding and loosing are going on t the same time and it is not easy to strike a balance between hem.

THE MOTIVES BEHIND SOCIAL CONTROL

Society Interferes with the Individual Either as On-looker,

Organic sentiments make themselves felt in the social reaction o offenses against nature — such as incest, prostitution and abor- ion. The social frown is bent on senseless luxury and wilful vaste because they outrage the common man's instincts of econ- my and thrift. The sentiment of sympathy prompts to the pun- shment of cruelty to animals, the suppression of infanticide, and he protection of the dead from desecration. Sympathy with the ffronted divinity leads to social repression of profanity, blas- hemy and sacrilege. Sympathy with the feelings of the victim f wrong yields that "moral indignation" which impels the com- unity to interfere with aggressions which do not directly con- rn it. This is one cause of the gradual transformation of rongs or torts into crimes. Making due allowance for the ac- on of collective sentiment it remains true, however, that *self- terest* is the chief motive behind social control. Society frowns conduct which appears to hurt it; smiles on conduct which ap-

or as Victim

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pears to help it. Sometimes it is a disinterested bystander trying to prevent A wronging B; but generally it is an interested party striking at acts which it deems noxious to itself. This is why laws and social imperatives — instead of being universal and immutable as they would be if they reflected certain moral sentiments in human nature — are as various as the situations in which a group may find itself. This is why the deeper we go in the study of a legal code, the more it appears to be bound up with the needs of its society. Finally, this is why public morality is lower than private morality. Society expects its agent — diplomat, statesman, or warrior — to lie, steal or kill for it, yet condemns him if he does such things for himself. This proves that it controls its members, not so much in order to make righteousness prevail, as in order to safeguard what it believes to be its interests.

THE RADIANT POINTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Different Elements Take the Lead in Wielding Social Control

The power behind moral and legal codes may be virtually the whole power of society, and yet be directed by the element which, for the time being, enjoys general confidence. Whether social power will thus be wielded from a center or centers depends on whether or not men feel themselves dependent. In early society the seat of authority is the Elders. In a disorderly time when violence is loose, the hind creeps under the castle wall, the trembling burgher pours out his florins for protection and the Soldier strikes the dominant note. To the degree that men do not understand the play of natural forces, they connect their fate with the good will or the ill-will of unseen beings and they come to depend greatly on the class which claims to be able to influence these beings, i.e., the Priesthood.

Most men have depended economically upon those who bought their wares or their labor and hence the Wealthy, who "make trade" or employ labor, have always enjoyed great influence. When any class play the part of earthly Providence to the multitude, their views as to what ought to be commanded or forbidden cannot but leave a mark on social control. The State is supposed to be a *channel,* and not a *source,* of control; but the paternal state may render its citizens so many vital services that it gains glamour and becomes a center of social power.

Another radiant point in society is the Learned class, such as

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the *literati* of China, the pundits of India, the *Gelehrte* of Germany, the clergy of non-sacerdotal bodies, and the rabbis of the Jews. Finally, there is the Élite, who are the natural leaders of society, in virtue of their intellectual and moral superiority. The Greek philosophers, the Stoics, the Christian Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Humanists, the Pietists, the Liberals, are examples of a small active element able to leaven the whole lump.

The Ascendant Social Element Leaves Its Stamp on Social Control

The tenor of social control will reflect its source. When the Elders have the say, much will be made of filial obedience, while parricide will be punished with torture. The Priests color social codes with their own high estimate of celibacy, humility, devoutness and unquestioning belief. Soldier ascendancy shifts the accent to obedience, loyalty and pugnacity. When the moneyed man holds the baton, we hear much of such virtues as honesty, sobriety and thrift. The Élite aim to control men by ideals rather than by punishment and stand for reason rather than a slavish following of custom.

When social power is diffused, i.e., resides in those whose necks are galled by social requirement, this yoke will be made as light as possible. On the other hand, the more distinct those who apply pressure from those who must bear it, the greater will be the volume of social requirement.

THE INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The Instruments of Control Bear on Different Sides of the Soul

Some of the instruments society employs are directed upon the *will;* others are used to influence the *feelings;* while still others are addressed to the *judgment.* In the first group are *Social Suggestion, Custom* and *Education,* which use direct means to give the will a certain bent, and *Public Opinion, Law* and *Religious Belief,* which employ punishments and rewards. Among the instruments which appeal to the feelings are *Social Religion, Personal Ideals, Ceremony, Art* and *Personality. Enlightenment, Illusion* and *Social Valuation* are addressed to the judgment.

Public Opinion a Poor Protection to the Vital Interests of Society

Public Opinion is the primitive nucleus out of which the various agencies of social control have developed. Out of the mobbing, whipping and branding of the enraged public develop on the one side the measured and graduated physical penalties of *law and legal religion;* on the other, the delicate guidings of the individual by such refined means as *education, personal ideals,* and *social valuations.* All of these hit the mark better than public opinion,

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which reflects the stupidity and shortsightedness and impulsiveness of the mass. It strikes furiously at vivisection but is limp before bribery, adulteration and monopoly. Its intensest reaction is against that which shocks its instincts, incest, for example, or infanticide, but just for that reason these offences are the last to worry about. The thoughtful penalize peculation, ballot-frauds and the neglect of fires in forests while the foolish public is gnashing its teeth at vaccinators and body-snatchers. Unless it is directed by the wise or guided by accepted moral or legal principles, public opinion is a poor cuirass for protecting the vitals of society. Fortunately, law is a lamp to the public, teaching it to hate offenses like blackmail and intimidation of voters, which it does not resent from instinct.

Law Much More Rational than Public Opinion

The religious and legal codes are far more intelligent than public opinion. Religion mounts guard over the fundamentals which do not appeal immediately to the feelings of the public, such as chastity, marriage, filial obedience, and property. But, owing to the worshipper's indignation at any slight to his divinity, the religious code hits at many things which are not anti-social, e.g., swearing, Sabbath-breaking and impiety. The law is the least sentimental of controls because it is shaped by picked men, i.e., judges and lawmakers. It is so progressive that it strikes at conduct which is not yet condemned by the public. It makes using a bakery for sleeping purposes or soliciting divorce business by advertisement a crime before it has become either a wrong or a sin. On the other hand, more quickly than public opinion or religion, law can be twisted to suit the designs of the dominant social class.

ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY IN SOCIAL CONTROL

How to Get a Bargain in Control

In preserving social order society should aim at greatest result for least effort, just as it does in fighting fires or building roads. Now, always the means of restraint which first suggests itself is the infliction of pain, bodily or mental. Public opinion makes itself respected by derision and boycott, the law by cell and noose, religious prohibitions by hell-fire. But the rod is cruel to the offender and often distressing to the punisher. So sages have cast about for methods of control which painlessly mould the individual to social requirement. One of these is *education*. The parent or teacher teaches the young what conduct to admire and

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at to despise; or else builds into the plastic mind some moral rnerstone, for example, the fear of God, reverence for the law, spect for magistrates, belief in the coincidence of virtue and ppiness or in the harmony of private and public interests.

Genesis of the Ideal of "Gentleman"

Another refined means of harnessing the will is the *personal al.* We try to be like the type we admire, for otherwise we nnot respect ourselves. The wise take advantage of this by eing to it that the type we learn to admire shall be social. The st illustration is the transformation of the knightly ideal into "gentleman" ideal. In the tenth century the admired knight s an armed bull-necked ruffian on horseback who could over- ow all comers. Gradually the troubadours and women got se mounted fighters to incorporate into their ideal, courtesy, alty, self-control, consideration for the weak, and faith-keep- . Then this combination of qualities was separated, first from profession of arms, and then from hereditary leisure. The e was popularized by drama, poetry and novel until now the linary American will strike you if you tell him he is "no gen- nan." In the same way the "lady," who was once one of the men folk of the lord of the castle, has become the ideal of at st half the women in our society.

Steering Men by Means of Social Valuations

In the stage of diffused economic surplus society lessens the ter tension by endorsing and recommending *social valuations*, ., the rating of the objects of desire from the group point of w rather than the individual point of view. Courage, honesty d justice become "moral values" more precious than rubies. easures which are exclusive or collision-provoking, such as those the palate or of sex, are constantly depreciated. Then society ppreciates" the safe pleasures — those which, like compan- ship or sport, are *cooperative;* those, like the enjoyment nature, music or art, which are *inexclusive;* those, like health beauty or humor or knowledge, which can be *expanded with- t clash with others;* and those which, being *ideal*, do not waste- lly consume strength. The pursuit of such joys confirms and abilizes association and it is no wonder that by high appraisals ciety lures men in this direction.

IRON OR SILKEN SOCIAL CONTROL

At one time let us say one man out of two respects the rights others only from fear of punishment. Two centuries later,

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The Rôle of Coercion in Social Control Diminishes, but it Does Not Disappear

when literacy is universal and nearly all understand the wherefore of social requirements, perhaps only one out of five has his eye on the rod of justice. In a democratic society in which self-respect is general it may be that not more than one in ten covets unfair advantage. When all the youth of every generation shall have received a socialized education, we may find ourselves so far advanced that only the one in a hundred who is mentally defective will need to be restrained by fear of penalty.

It does not follow, however, that criminal law is destined to take an insignificant place among the supports of social order. If the one rascal among twenty men might aggress at will, the higher forms of control would break down, confidence in fair play would disappear and man after man would abandon the honest majority. The deadly contagion of lawlessness would spread with growing rapidity till social order lay in ruins. The law, therefore, is still the cornerstone of the edifice of order.

CHAPTER XXXV

SUPER-SOCIAL CONTROL

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In Germany the Social Mind Comes Under the Control of the State

HE higher means of social control ought to emanate from many minds of divers experiences and interests. They to be spontaneous products of a *consensus*. If, in fact, ıre foisted upon society by some scheming group, then so- much as it may control its individual members, is itself ılled. This we may call *super-social control*. There is no example of it than the deliberate moulding of German edu-, ideals and public opinion for thirty years before the World by an influential group headed by the Kaiser which had ıined to use the German people in a vast design of ag- ɔn and conquest.

Intimidation of the Press

press was muzzled by an immense number of suits for *ajesté*. From the accession of William II the attitude of ɔurts became more and more illiberal and systematically al to the press. Honest expression of opinion which ran :r to the Kaiser's ideas was persistently and severely pun-

There never was a régime in Germany, so far as the rec- o, during which convictions for *lèse majesté* and all sorts of offences were even approximately as numerous. The never pardoned a single one of these offenders against his ignity, nor even shortened his sentence.

Hounding of Social Democrats

one party which set its face like flint against German im- sm and militarism was that of the Social Democrats. Ac- gly, during the twelve years when the Exceptional Laws in force, their leaders were harried, plundered, hounded as criminals and prevented from speaking and writing. :aiser called the Social Democrats "a gang of fellows with- country" and held them up to scorn as a party which had ral or legal right to exist.

:dom of teaching being a proud tradition of German educa- ıe universities — all of them state universities — were con- not by the coarse method of restraining the utterances

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Filling the Strategic University Chairs with "Right" Men

professors, but by taking care that only "safe" men were promoted to professorships in the fields of history, economics, and political science. Dr. Althoff, who through his friendship with the Kaiser wielded a large influence in the appointment of professors, was rather proud of saying that he saw to it that the right men were chosen for these posts. If a *docent* showed himself critical of the fictions of racial superiority, of cultural superiority, of "encirclement by envious enemies," and of the necessity of a "preventive war" — which were the chief means of deluding the people — there was no academic career for him.

Prostitution of Scholarship to Statecraft

Gradually the chairs in certain subjects were filled by tame professors who taught what they were expected to teach and lost no opportunity to glorify the Prussian idea of the state and of war. History was distorted to establish the iniquity of Germany's rivals, anthropology to prove that the Germans are the one "noble" race, ethnology to show the "decadence" of the French and "unfitness for civilization" of the Slavs, political science to demonstrate that it is the interest of the state which gives an action the character of right or wrong. So there went out generation after generation of young men filled with lies, figments and sophistries invented in furtherance of the Design. The university had become "scarcely more than an institution for providing state officials of an orthodox turn of mind."

Twisting the Minds of the Young

The teaching in the lower schools was shaped to capture the souls of the young for militarism. The history learned was full of kings and generals, wars and battles. The fatherland was, of course, always in the holiest right and acted on a moral plane far above that of any other country. In the higher schools the study of history was used systematically to drill into the pupils definite political attitudes, e.g., hatred against England. In the study of German the pupils were required to write on patriotic themes and to employ certain phrases of war enthusiasm. No such concept as internationalism was permitted to develop in the German schoolboy's mind, while nationalism was hammered into him early and late. All governments save his own were depicted as degenerate, while democracy was identified with corruption and national impotency.

The power of suggestion was not overlooked. The streets, avenues and squares, baptized with names of princes, heroes, and victories, constantly called to mind the glory of the Empire.

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Saturating the Social Mind with Militarist Suggestion

ools and universities, academies and laboratories, hotels, lges, and public monuments borrowed their names from the rt and the military sphere.

he relation of the State to the Church was such that a clergy icated to spreading a religion of love and humility offered not slightest resistance to the revival of the spirit of the gods of itonic barbarism. The theological student who could not swal- the dose offered him missed preferment and vanished from scene.

Aspiration Directed by the Bestowal of Titles and Decorations

he Kaiser was the "fountain of honor" and the bestowal of s and decorations furnished him with a strong lever by which urn the people at will. Every year was celebrated at court *Ordensfest*, or fête of Decorations, when between five and it thousand newly decorated citizens, drawn from every walk ife, were presented to the Kaiser and his consort and after- d regaled in the most splendid apartments of the Palace. is an indelibly sweet and powerful impression was left on the ds of these people, for the most part unsophisticated and in- ely loyal denizens of rural districts or small towns. This the official organ of the Empire published a special edition taining, on a score of quarto pages, the full names and call- s of all these happy persons, together with a minute classi- tion of the decorations and medals awarded. To this list all newspapers in the Empire give much attention.

The Kaiser Gives the Trend to Public Thought

he personal influence of the Kaiser in giving the German mind desired set was very great. In innumerable addresses from throne and after-dinner speeches he gave public thought its

He had a talent for coining short, pithy, catchy sayings, as "our future lies on the sea," "a place in the sun," "the ed fist," "oceans unite; they do not sever." Furthermore, ersonal wishes were a patent factor in determining the trend terature and art. He gave vogue to Chauvinistic dramas, to ptures glorifying his ancestors, and to historical paintings full mbastic patriotism; while novels showing the darker side of man military life were censored and realistic portrayals of social conditions frowned on.

a view of the catastrophe which this perversion of the nat- judgment of an intelligent people brought upon the world we bound to consider how super-social control may best be rded against.

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SAFEGUARDS AGAINST SUPER-SOCIAL CONTROL

The Growing Mass of the State Adds to the Difficulty of Controlling It

Owing chiefly to the integration of society in consequence of the revolution in the means of communication, the State, charged with new functions, becomes continually more massive. It enrols more servants, claims more of our income and touches our lives at more points. As thus perforce it gains bulk and prestige, more than ever before it ought to be effectively controlled by the people; for, if this colossal machine does not respond to the will of the people, it will obey the will of a class, or will follow its own bent like a runaway train — which means that our erstwhile servants have become masters.

Government Must Abstain from Trying to Control Public Opinion

If government is not to control the people as the German Imperial Government did, but is to be controlled by them, it should have no hand in the processes whereby the people make up their minds about it. It should not manufacture sentiment for itself nor meddle with the incubation of public opinion. It should not warp young minds by a tendencious education, nor distort the judgment of its citizens by veiled propaganda, nor secretly manipulate the guides and oracles of public opinion, nor gag critics on the ground that criticism obstructs its operations. Documents circulated at public expense should be objective and impartial in tone, not attempting to justify official policies otherwise than by statements of fact. The cost of political controversy should be borne by private citizens and not by the public purse.

Many Independent Centers of Opinion Needed

The people will be managed without their knowing it unless there are numerous founts of authoritative opinion independent of one another and of any single powerful organization. Let there be many towers from which trusty watchmen may scan the horizon and cry to the people a warning which no official or mob may hush. Perhaps it is impossible to secure society against delusions as disastrous as the Children's Crusade, the witchcraft persecution, and the German megalomania of 1914; but our fairest hope lies in multiplying strongholds of free opinion.

Freedom of the Press

Altho its growing dependence upon the receipts from advertising is bringing the newspaper under the yoke of commercial interests, we can insist that at least it shall be no jumping jack of officials. The government should not maintain a "reptile press," such as Bismarck used, nor should it censor the newspapers save in war time, and then only by a board on which private

citizens preponderate. Public officials should give out impartially the news of their offices. Neither editors nor owners should be appointed to high posts in the public service lest newspapers fall into the habit of truckling to politicians. No periodical should be denied news service or forced off the news stands on account of its politics.

Let the School Become Independent of the State

The School, as mother or moulder of opinion, should be independent of government. By means of a non-partisan board the public schools as well as the state university should be kept out of politics. If appointed by Mayor or Governor, the members should enjoy security of tenure. But it is more logical that the board of education should be chosen at a separate election under a system of proportional representation. Instead of having to beg funds from a political body like the city council or the state legislature, it should be clothed with the power to levy a tax to support the schools. Some centralization is necessary in order to level up educational opportunities between localities, but local boards should be free to select text books and to hire and promote certificated teachers.

Just as in the later Roman Empire the Church served as a kind of counterpoise to the huge irresistible state machine; just as in the Middle Ages the spiritual power and the temporal power held each other in check, so that there was more freedom than either alone would have granted; so, now that the State is gathering mass and momentum, the School should stand wholly on its own bottom, lest the State tamper with the holy functions of enlightenment, character-moulding and opinion-forming.

The Independence of Foundations Should be Preserved

America is fortunate in that its commonwealth universities are balanced by renowned endowed universities altogether independent of the State. Provided that the scholar's freedom of utterance and of teaching be upheld, the dependence of these institutions upon the gifts of the wealthy need not seriously impair their usefulness. They, as well as all other non-profit-seeking trusts pursuing sanctioned objects, should enjoy immunity from official interference so long as they keep within the terms of their charter. The granting of subsidies of public money to private educational and charitable institutions is to be frowned on, because it enables unscrupulous politicians to padlock the lips of such institutions and their influential friends.

As we expand government in order to save ourselves from the

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Means of Preserving Freedom of Speech and of Assemblage

clutches of the greedy strong, freedom of speech and of assemblage should more than ever be jealously upheld. We should no more allow an organization to rent all the halls in town during a critical time in order to prevent public meetings than we would allow a spiteful man to keep a street car empty by paying fares for all the seats in it. Open-air places should be provided at public expense in all municipalities for free public discussion on condition only that speakers shall not utter obscenity, slanderously attack individuals, or incite to definite crimes. The evening use, under such reservations, of public school buildings by an open association of citizens of the school district should not be gainsaid. Perhaps the time will come when every community will have its social forum, available for any discussion for which a certain proportion of the citizens stand sponsor.

Recognition Should be Decentralized

Formal public recognition of exemplary service gives direction to individual ambition. Hence, if the state monopolizes the granting of honors, it will stimulate the development of the type of character and conduct which serves its interests. Recognition is, indeed, too great a moral power to be left to any single institution. The state's right to confer title, certificate, medal, decoration or honorary degree should therefore be shared with various responsible independent agencies, such as colleges, institutes, libraries, and societies. This affords guarantee that all the chief kinds of extraordinary social service will be noted and distinguished.

CHAPTER XXXVI

INDIVIDUATION

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ETIMES a people enjoying large individual freedom has n forced into compact groups by the conditions of living. lividual becomes solidary with some group — the family, dred, the village community, the guild, the church — so many matters he ceases to be a free moral agent. But if ditions of life take such a turn that the backing of his s no longer a vital matter to him the groups presently dis- nd the individual reappears. The processes which pul- ocial lumps and release the action of their members may ed *individuation*.

THE TEUTONIC KINDRED

Ancient Kindred

ı our Teutonic ancestors emerge into history something an a millennium and a half ago each man is the center of a group of kindred who act on his behalf partly because they s welfare at heart, but mainly because public opinion, the l their own views of life make them guilty with him if he s a wrong, and almost equally liable to penalty; or, if he throw upon the whole group the responsibility for venge- satisfaction. Every relative of a slayer up to his second cousins contributes according to his degree of kinship to *geld*, which alone can avert the blood feud. On the same e the *wergeld* received is apportioned among the kinsmen man slain. In case of pauperism the whole kindred is he degree of relationship determining the contribution of ısman. The kindred has the right formally to repudiate ıding member, while in some societies a man can solemnly ıe ties of kin by breaking his staff in a ceremonial act.

Solidarity

Vanishing of the Kin Group

in South Germany the last traces of such kindred soli- lisappear in the thirteenth century. Sweden gives evi- f it as late as the fourteenth century. In Holland and ı the kindreds remain active into the sixteenth century.

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In Denmark they give signs of life as late as the seventeenth century, while in Holstein and Schleswig certain of their functions continued to be exercised on into the nineteenth century. On the other hand, in Norway the disintegration of the kindred seems to have taken place between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Anglo-Saxon England shows little of such solidarity when it first comes in view in the seventh and eighth centuries, while in Iceland and Normandy there are no signs of it. It is believed that armed migration by sea was deadly to kin solidarity because those who wandered from Denmark and Southern Scandinavia to England, Norway, Iceland, Normandy, and Russia were not entire kindreds but the supernumerary heirs of different kindreds, who went on Viking raids to seek their fortune because there was no land for them in the home estate. Land migrations, on the other hand, involved whole kindreds, so that this grouping survived even the vast journeyings which carried the Visigoths into Spain.

Reappearance of the Kin Group in the American South

However, Christianity and Roman law, with their notions of the responsibility of the individual for his crime, worked adversely on the kindreds, while the executive power of the state looked upon them with a jealous eye and sought to break them up. It is curious, however, that in some parts of our South, particularly among the Appalachian mountaineers, the long-forgotten kindred grouping was revived. The lack of law and order in the mountains caused the kindreds to take it upon themselves to avenge the slain man, and burdened them with a heritage of feuds which ended only when the courts proved strong enough to execute justice. In other parts of the South the kindred constituted a mutual-aid association. Blood relatives, whether congenial or not, were cherished in the hope that if the breadwinner met with misfortune perhaps Cousin Jim and Uncle Ben and mother's folks would see that Molly and the babies did not come to want. So it was the custom to make much of the ties of blood, to exchange visits with kinsfolk, and to go out of one's way to favor one's kin in business and politics. It was a way of insuring one's family against the hazards of life. Northerners were astonished to see how, after the Civil War, very distant kinsmen came forward to assume the support of the widows and orphans of the Confederacy.

Now this mutual-aid association is being undermined partly by the development of charitable agencies, private and public, but

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Kinship Versus Friendship

chiefly by the extension of insurance, particularly life insurance. There is now scarcely an economic hazard to which a man or his family is exposed which may not be provided against. For an annual payment a company furnishes the protection for which one used to rely on one's kinsfolk. The result is that the claims of kindred are not so generally acknowledged. Why keep up intimacy with all the relatives when some of them are such dreadful bores? So friendship, or *preferential* association, gains on kinship, and the sphere of personal choice is enlarged.

THE CHINESE CLAN

Solidarity of the Chinese Rural Clan

Among the Chinese the agnatic rural clan has great vitality. Clan ties are so strong that if a poor man cannot feed all his children he can get fellow-clansmen to adopt some of them. If times are dull in the city, there is no visible accumulation of unemployed, because the superfluous laborers scatter to their ancestral villages, there to live and work till better times come. The city merchant registers his boys in the ancestral temple of his clan, contributes to its upkeep, attends the yearly clan festival, and lets his children be reared in the ancestral village in order that they may cherish the old tie to the soil. Thus, unless some calamity uproots the stock, the city family, even after the lapse of generations, retains a connection with the rural kindred.

Nepotism in China

Clan ties mean so much that there are few duties more sacred than that of helping your kinsmen, even at other people's expense. The official feels that it is *right* for him to provide berths for his relatives, whether or not they are competent. Hence a pestilent nepotism not only clogs the government departments with useless place-holders, but fills the offices of colleges, railways, and industrial plants with sinecurists.

Mass Action

Chinese students are formidable in mass action, such as strikes and walkouts, because their protest, however perverse, is always unanimous. The sensible lad may perceive how silly it is, but he never dreams of standing out against it because all his life he has been trained to *get in line*. And he has been trained to get in line by contact with a struggle for existence so severe that he realizes that his group — family, clan, or guild — is indispensable to him. It alone will throw him a life line if his foot slips and he falls into the whirlpool.

The Chinese would enjoy individual freedom and independ-

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ence as keenly as we do, but it is a luxury which they cannot yet afford. When in a century or so they have gained a much better economic position and are served by an honest and efficient government, the Chinese clan will disintegrate of itself because no longer needed as a mutual-defense or mutual-aid association.

THE FAMILY

No Scientific Basis for Patriarchal Authority

The process which has dissolved the Teutonic kindred into families has gone on to dissolve the family into individuals. The early Roman father exercised over his children the *patria potestas*. He could work them as he chose and neglect their education as he would. He had the power of life and death over them, and they had no property rights he was bound to respect. This patriarchal authority was based, not only on the religion of ancestor worship, but as well on a fanciful idea of physiological inheritance. It was long supposed that children inherited their qualities only from their father, the mother's body being but a seed plot which nourished the paternal germ. We now know that the mother's contribution is not less than the father's, and that the proverb "Like father, like son" errs in ignoring inheritance from the mother. Furthermore, the meeting in the child of two distinct lines of heredity makes it certain that he cannot be a replica of either parent. He has, indeed, much closer kinship with his full brother or sister than with his parent.

Uniqueness of the Individual

Science thus vindicates the uniqueness of the child and shows it to be absurd and unjust that the son should inherit the father's honor or infamy. Why should this being, so distinct, starve because his parents neglect him, slave because a drunken father would exploit him, famish for knowledge because his parents care nothing for it, be punished for his father's misdeeds or lie under a stigma because his father did not marry his mother? Wherefore should his father's calling, religion, allegiance, or citizenship descend automatically to him? This conception that children do not "belong to" their parents underlies the laws passed by most American states which make it a crime for the parent to desert, wilfully neglect, or contribute to the delinquency of, the child.

Parental Confiscation of the Child

In many societies mating has been taken out of the hands of the young people and arranged entirely by the parents. The Chinese, for example, have eliminated wooing, love-making, and romance from life. Not until the wedding does either of the

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roung people know the other's name or look upon the other's face. While those who have never dreamed of the sweet intoxication of romantic love will without protest let themselves be thus paired off, it is certain that under these circumstances conjugal adjustment entails a greater strain than with us. In China the self-sacrifice which preserves the harmony of the home is borne chiefly by the wife. And while suicides are three or four times as frequent among our men as among our women, in the only Chinese population for which we have statistics (Wei-hai-wei) the suicides are from five to ten times as numerous among females as among males. Mismating is not responsible for *all* this excess, but certainly for *some* of it.

The arranged marriage seems never to have gained a footing among the Celts and the Teutons, but under the name of *mariage de convenance* it played a great rôle in Latin Europe. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, it has nearly disappeared in favor of the marriage of inclination.

The State Suspicious of the Endowed Family

The individualistic movement of thought in the eighteenth century not only inspired ideas as to the rights of children and caused family discipline to be more gentle, but it also called in question the testamentary power of the head of the family. It prompted the state to limit a man's right to will his property away from his children or to leave it all to one child. The growing freedom in the use of the inheritance tax betrays a new attitude toward the family. The state deems it not good for young people to be endowed for life by way of inheritance and resorts to a progressive taxation which will end by obliging the children of the wealthy to take life standing up instead of lying down.

Industrialism Unfavorable to Family Solidarity

Industrialism is another force hostile to the unity of the family. On the farm the members of the family are busy with the same task, so that in some degree they are knit together by their work. The members of the typical city family, on the other hand, scatter after breakfast to their diverse "jobs." Father is an ironmolder, Jim drives a dray, Sarah teaches school, Jessie is cash girl in a department store, while Harry is office boy to a doctor. They are borne asunder by different tasks, interests, contacts, and circles of friends. So far as this family holds the loyalty of its members, it does so in spite of their diversity of work.

Just as the breakdown of the false theory of heredity sets the child free, so the discrediting of the false theory of male superi-

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Decay of Dogma of Male Superiority

ority releases the wife. In early Rome the wife was in her husband's hand *(manus)*. In the eye of the law she was not a "person" and could not control property. Her husband had the legal right to chastise her, to judge her if she were accused of a serious offense, and to kill her if guilty of adultery.

Even in the English colonies in America the married woman was controlled in both person and property by her husband. Her property — save that "settled" upon her — became his absolute property. Even her clothing and ornaments belonged to him and might be disposed of as he saw fit. The husband, too, was the sole guardian of their children, and he alone had the say as to their education, religious upbringing, choice of occupation, and marriage.

Equalization of Wife with Husband

The introduction of machinery, conferring a new earning-power upon women, a clearer view of the rôle of the female sex in the life of the race, and the illumination of the historical process by which male domination became established — all these have tended to equalize man and woman in the family. We see this in statutes giving the married woman control of her own property, granting alimony to divorced wives, and preserving very limited rights to husbands in their deceased wives' estates. We see it also in the insistence that in sex conduct the same moral standard shall apply to the one sex as to the other. How far we have come we can gauge when we note the customs of certain of our foreign-born. In some of the Slavic settlements wife-beating is so much a matter of course that the husband denounces this as "no free country" when fined for the offense. The wife is so abused sexually that the death of the typical woman occurs in trying to bring into the world her twelfth, fifteenth, or twentieth baby. The Italian woman instead of being a free moral agent is absolutely subject to the will of her nearest male relative.

The Individual Aspect of Adultery More Considered than the Family Aspect

Since the family name and the succession to property are not involved in the husband's adultery as they may be in the wife's adultery, they were formerly punished differently. But while from the family point of view they are of differing flagrancy, from the individual point of view they are equal offenses. The newer tendency to give the wronged wife divorce on the same terms as the wronged husband, and to extend to the wife who kills her husband *in flagrante delicto* the immunity which has always been enjoyed by the husband who kills his wife under

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circumstances, indicates that the *individual* aspect of adul- being considered, rather than the *family* aspect.

"Mothers' Pensions"

>thers' pensions" further individualize the married woman viding that a mother with young children shall not starve >arted from them because of the death or desertion of the

The demand for the state endowment of motherhood, of we hear more every year, testifies to the growth of the :ion that the fate of one adult individual ought not to be y dependent on the will of another.

The Family Is Being Relieved of Certain Functions

individuation of the members of the family has not come out of thirst for personal freedom, but partly owing to the :r of functions from the family to larger social groups. ing has been made compulsory and the school takes over ıatters as the medical inspection of the children, play lead- and vocational guidance. School and home are linked by ·teacher associations. The kindergarten reaches down to the cradle, and neighborhood nurseries are probably r off. Baby-feeding stations and classes and anti-child- aws insure that the children of the poor shall have their . The social center competes with the fireside for the leisure time. By requiring men intending marriage to to tests for venereal diseases society comes to the rescue ents solicitous to safeguard their daughters from union he infected. The court of domestic relations assumes ıns which in olden time fell to the council of the kin.

The Family Less an Institution and More a Group of Individuals

ecclesiastical doctrine that marriage, being a sacrament, is luble sacrifices the individual to the institution when the ds of the two conflict. The disposition of the modern ı grant divorce for grave cause shows that the happiness of lividual is deemed of importance. The passage of both ge and divorce from the custody of the Church to that of ıte causes them to be regarded no longer as mysteries or s, but as problems to be settled in the light of reason and :nce.

ı the remaining grip of the institution is called in question ıe. Shall a right to motherhood be acknowledged and e a right to limit child-bearing? Which is the supreme n of sex relations — a public ceremony or parenthood? Is gitimate child to bear "his birth's invidious bar," and must narried mother pay as now the entire penalty for the unau-

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thorized sex relation, allowing the equally guilty man to go free of responsibility?

INDIVIDUATING EFFECT OF THE MONEY ECONOMY

The Money Economy Makes for Limited Association

The money economy has greatly extended the range of personal choice. In the early Middle Ages the relation of the individual to the group was all or nothing. But to-day, thanks to the money economy, people are able to form unions for specific purposes into which they enter not with their entire personality but only with a limited contribution. Cooley puts this admirably when he says: "In primitive society membership is intimate and exclusive, the individual putting his whole personality into it. But as groups become numerous and complex there comes to be a kind of parcelling out of personal activities into somewhat impersonal functions, with special associates in each function. A person, while as much dependent as ever upon the group system as a whole, grows less and less identified with any one group. His relation becomes selective, each man working out for himself a system of life different from that of any other man, and not embraced in any one set of connections. Personality becomes more and more an organization by itself, distinct from that of any group, and forming itself by a special choice of influences.

"We are coming more and more to base our social order upon this selective association. In accordance with the ideal of equal opportunity, we try to facilitate special personal development in every possible way, holding that it not only does the most for the individual, but enables him to do the most for society. In this way modern society recognizes and fosters individuality as the earlier epochs never thought of doing."[1] Compare the impersonailty of the relations among fellow-stockholders in a modern joint-stock company with the personal nature of the bond among the cooperators of olden time. It was a great stride towards emancipation when the feudal villein commuted his obligation to work so many days a week on his lord's demesne, or to deliver to his lord such-and-such produce of his fields, into a fixed money payment which he might raise as he pleased. No longer was he tied down to a single occupation or to residence in his birthplace.

Among ourselves when the laborer takes part of his pay in

[1] "Social Process," pp. 249, 250.

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The Money Wage Enlarges the Worker's Freedom

i.e., in food and lodging, he is not so free as when he gets ıy all in money and lives where he will. The factory girl in cash is freer than the domestic who must take such food ɔdging as her mistress provides, and this is one reason why ʼorks for less. In England the shop assistants who "live e., are fed and lodged by their employers, are doubtless more ıtented than any mercantile help in the United States. With reason the worker is loath to take wages in anything but y. Where employers partly pay for service with board or s on company stores or accommodations in company houses, mployees are restless or else the class of laborers is low. ʌorst cases of chronic feud between labor and capital are l, not in industrial centers where the "cash nexus" is the onnection between the two, but in isolated places — the min- ımp, the lumber camp, the railroad camp — where labor has tion, but must spend its money with the company.

Exploitation Lurks in Wages in Kind

ʻoughout western South America the agricultural worker, ʻon, is paid very little cash. He receives but a few cents a or he takes most of his pay in the use of a plot of from two ɛ acres on which he rears his hut and grows his food. By ɔlurring the deal the master contrives to obtain an exorbitant for his plot as well as a double price for the goods his store es the peon. Cash wages would clarify the peon's thinking ıake him less exploitable.

the landlord-tenant relation the substitution of cash rental ntal in kind, e.g., a share of the crop, makes for the freedom h parties. Often the tenant "on shares" has to accept the ɔrd as a partner in his undertaking and is not at liberty to the land according to his own ideas.

INDIVIDUATING LANDHOLDING

Separate Property in Land Individuates

ɛ communal system of landholding, which once prevailed in ʻrn Europe and still dominates in Russia, so ties the peasant ıis fellows that he has little opportunity to use his individual ıent in agriculture. The type produced in Russia under the ɛ system is very susceptible to mob mind. He yields to fits ıotion and outbreaks of violence among his fellows which an who has been individualized by handling a farm is able ist. The peasant who "separates out" of the village com- y and lives on a place of his own makes improvements —

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and mistakes — which he was not free to make so long as his strips were intermixed with those of others in the wide common fields. With his new-born self-confidence and sense of responsibility he reaches a higher plane of individual development.

INDIVIDUATING RELIGION

Christianity Individuates

Ancestor-worship is group religion. One either is or is not a member of a family guarded by ancestral spirits. The religions of redemption, on the contrary, are individualistic. The early Christian was saved by personal assent to the faith, not by being the wife or the child of a saint. The old religion of the household disappeared. One of the pathetic things in the growth of Christianity was the great gulf fixed between husbands and wives by the conversion of the latter. Women were in a measure emancipated because their possession of immortal souls equalized them with the other sex.

In the Orient the individuating effect of Christianity is very plain. The worship of ancestors, the idea that by offerings, pilgrimages, or good works you can make yourself *safe*, is met by a religion which demands an individual belief or decision and a way of life. The Roman Catholic missionaries, however, who require of their followers only assent and obedience, produce slighter effects upon the personality of the convert than the Protestant missionaries who "put it up to" the individual to save his soul.

Protestant Individualism

In fact the Protestant theory of salvation is much more individualistic than the Catholic. The Catholic church is a huge ark. Once aboard you will surely get to heaven, provided you do not quit ship or get yourself put off for disobedience to the rules of the vessel. Protestant Christianity, on the other hand, gives you an individual canoe to paddle, and only by your own efforts will you ever gain salvation. A congregation is simply a fleet of these little canoes keeping together for mutual encouragement and led by a pilot who knows how to lay a course for heaven.

Religious Subjectivism Individuates

Among the Protestant denominations those which set least store by godly conduct, attendance on worship, and church support, and lay the most stress upon personal religious experience, are evidently the most individualistic. In the replacement of liturgy by sermon, of choir singing by congregational singing, and in the emphasis on the prayer meeting with its personal "testimony," religion becomes constantly more subjective.

HETEROGENEITY OF POPULATION

The Commingling of the Unlike Individuates

The vitally organized person frets at the narrow and rigid routine of social convention, whether enforced by law or by opinion. The more these routines multiply the less can vitally organized persons come into their own. Now the mingling of unlike population elements on a footing of equality has a shattering effect on such routines. In our cities with their heterogeneity Mrs. Grundy is less terrible than she is in the towns and neighborhoods, where every one knows every one else and the paucity of interest causes all to concern themselves with the doings of each. Certain immigrant groups, particularly the Germans with their freedom of social customs, Sunday observance, and religious thought, have distinctly enlarged the opportunity of the American to be himself.

DIVERSIFICATION OF CULTURE

The Interfusion of Cultures Gives More Scope for Individual Choice

The diversification which is going on in each culture in consequence of its penetration by elements from other cultures widens the range of individual choice. The Englishman may turn aside from the old ballads of his people when Czechish, Magyar, Slavonic, Little Russian, and Scandinavian folk-music becomes known to him. In the architecture of our cities one detects motifs gleaned all the way from Greek temple to Florentine *palazzo*, from Assyrian *ziggurat* to Hindu *pagoda*. In religion likewise the exotic will be admitted, for we cannot rear mission churches in Asia in the shadow of mosque and temple without allowing Mohammedan mosque and Buddhist temple to rise cheek by jowl with our Christian churches.

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LIBERATION

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UNDER certain favoring conditions the grip of social organizations upon their members relaxes and we witness a process which may be termed *liberation*. It may be observed in any type of organization — state, family, church, school or factory — and sometimes there is a movement of the social mind which causes it to occur in all of them at once.

THE LIBERAL STATE

Decline of Fighting Loosens the Grip of the State

Spencer proved that *the decline of militant activities* normally weakens the grasp of the state upon its members. That the individual exists not for himself and his "folks," but for the state, is so revolting to average human nature that it will be accepted only when national team work appears to be a matter of life or death. So long as the state is thought of as primarily for fighting, it is quite logical to put its claims paramount, and to regard the people as just a taxable and soldier-yielding mass. From ancient Sparta to modern Prussia the effect of making warfare the chief business of life is to depress personal dignity and liberty and to exalt obedience, loyalty and patriotism.

The State Exists for Individual Not the Individual for the State

On the other hand, with the decline of the predatory habit, the state is thought of as an agency for promoting the happiness of the people *in several*. Centralized coercive rule with consequent subordination of the individual is no longer accepted as necessary. The idea prevails that the citizen's individuality, instead of being sacrificed to government, is to be preserved and defended by it. Justice, i.e., the securing of each in his rights, becomes the touch-stone of good government, while the state multiplies means of hygiene, education and recreation which each may lay hold of or not, as he sees fit.

Gumplowicz and his school show that so long as the state is worked by a dominant race or class, as an engine of exploitation, it will not be sparing of coercion. Its yoke will not be made light while those who impose it and those who bear it are altogether different people. But, in the degree that the advance of

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The Popular State More Tender with the Individual than the Class State

popular sovereignty obliges the state to obey the will of the greater number of its subjects, it loses its ruthless and arbitrary spirit. While toward the members of the former ruling class it may show a sternness they have never known, in its dealings with the undistinguished many, it will evince an unwonted mildness. Compare the Swiss government with that of the Tsar in respect to tenderness for the interests of the common man.

Popular Government Prizes Freedom, but It Is Ready to Curtail Individual Liberty in Behalf of Social Welfare

Some publicists maintain that democracies are not really liberal in their tendencies and that they unhesitatingly sacrifice freedom for the sake of equality when the demands of the two conflict. But is this true? Granted that democracy imposes new restrictions upon the quondam ruling class, i.e., land-holding nobility or *bourgeoisie*, may not this be necessary in order to correct the results of class rule in the past? Popular governments no doubt resort freely to legislation; but perhaps this is because the great democratic advance has happened to be contemporary with movements for the protection of the public health, the regulation of industry and the eradication of wide-spread moral evils. These movements would have made themselves felt in any case, for they have bred as much legislation in autocratic states as in democratic states.

Nevertheless, *pride* is the distinguishing trait of a ruling class, and for this reason its members resent restrictive laws which workaday people may tolerate. This is why the democratic state may prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages, banish habit-forming drugs, safeguard marriage from venereal disease, and subject congenital defectives to custodial care or sterilize them by surgery — measures which the aristocratic state abhors.

LIBERAL RELIGION

Decay of Belief in Collective Responsibility for Theological Error

Liberating developments have occurred in religion as well as in government. Under ancient polytheism "the notion of there being any guilt in erroneous opinion was unknown." Christianity, however, like every other monotheism, regarded gods other than its own as "vanity" and their worship as an insult to the one "true" God. As soon as it had the strength it stamped out heathenism. As its doctrines crystallized, the fear of variation grew, for the popular idea was that heresy would bring down the wrath of God on all Christendom, on the entire nation, or, in any case, upon the whole of the community in which it

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occurred. Heresy, moreover, was interpreted very broadly. According to a decretal of 1184 the heretic was one who "in any way differed in mode of life from the faithful in general." It was heresy to be better than the crowd or worse. No more terrible straitjacket was ever put on. Says Sumner: "There could be no definition of a heretic but one who differed in life and conversation from the masses around him. This might mean strange language, dress, manners or greater restraint in conduct. Pallor of countenance was a mark of a heretic from the fourth century to the twelfth." [1]

Opens the Door to Liberty of Conscience

The hounding of heretics which terrorized thinking Europe from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth was abandoned owing chiefly to the decline of belief in collective responsibility for error. The maxim that the private conscience is God's affair and may not be forced by man has removed from the authority of government the whole domain of religious belief and practice. No doubt the spread of religious indifference has made *liberty of worship* less generally prized than once it was. On the other hand, however, the inviolability which gradually has come to attach to religious convictions is visibly extending to other departments of thought and feeling; for it would be strange, indeed, if fools were free to preach the near end of the world or the non-existence of disease while sages were not free to urge birth control or public ownership. So there appears to be developing an inviolable *freedom of opinion and communication,* which will, however, no more shield incitement to violence than "freedom of conscience" has shielded Mormon polygamy.

Decay of Belief in the Inheritance of Moral Guilt

Again, the grasp of the religious community on the individual relaxes when men cease to believe with the old Hebrews and the English Puritans that moral guilt is inheritable. If in sooth God is "a jealous God visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation," a man ought to be restrained from carelessly bringing down upon his descendants Divine displeasure. If the children's teeth will be set on edge because the fathers have eaten a sour grape, then sour grapes should be put out of reach. But Jeremiah declares, "Every man that eateth the sour grape, *his* teeth shall be set on edge"; while Ezekiel proclaims the new principle, "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father neither shall the father

[1] "Folkways," p. 243.

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bear the iniquity of the son." By making the devout willing to leave the offender to God this happy doctrine of individual responsibility has enlarged the sphere of personal freedom.

Puritanism Long a Damper on Innocent Enjoyment

Puritanism with its notion that natural enjoyment ruins one's chances of gaining Heaven long lay like a pall upon American life. In our early days art was condemned on the ground that beauty must be an ally of the devil. To the Quaker poet Whittier statues were but "graven images." No wonder the few sculptors America produced lived abroad if they could! Those who claimed special knowledge of the will of Heaven put a ban on harp and psaltery, and dancing before the Lord or elsewhere. Perhaps three-fourths of the American people disapproved of actors and acting. Shakespere was denounced as the "Devil's Bible." "A fatal theater fire in Richmond on the day after Christmas, 1811, in which seventy perished, was looked upon as a merited judgment. A church was built upon the spot, and for seven years no other playhouse was opened in the town. In Massachusetts theatrical performances were forbidden for many years and as late as 1830 play-houses were dark and deserted on Saturday nights. In New York, about 1815, a committee of 'substantial citizens' gathering money for the relief of the poor righteously refused a gift of a hundred dollars because it was offered them by the manager of a theater."

"The ascetic practice of taking care of one another's morals has gone to such length in Boston as to excite the frequent satire of some of its wisest citizens," wrote Miss Martineau. "When there was talk of attempting to set up Italian opera there, a gentleman observed that it would never do; people would be afraid of the name. 'Oh,' said another, 'call it lectures on music, with illustrations, and everybody will come.'" As a matter of fact, however, people so shied at the word *theater* that in the Middle West a generation ago the small town playhouse was generally known as "the opera house."

Camouflaging the Drama

"The instinctive craving for amusement without loss of prestige in this world or the next tempted the ingenious Yankee mind to amazing invention and subterfuge. The law against play-acting by professionals, which closed all the theaters of Connecticut just before the year 1800, was evaded by calling their performances 'moral lectures.' Similar efforts by amateurs and school-children were called 'exhibitions,' a name to which they

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were undoubtedly entitled. Circuses were anathema, but menageries, being educational, were approved by the authorities."

Revolt Against the Puritan Sabbath

Another yoke being thrown aside is a Sabbath-keeping unknown to the Christian world outside Great Britain and the United States. Thousands of Americans who have experienced a London Sunday with nothing open but the churches and the saloons do not shudder at the thought of a "Continental Sunday." Moreover, we sour on conventional things when we have opportunity to do interesting, unconventional things. Motoring, golf, baseball and the Sunday newspaper array against Sabbatarianism millions who without them might have gone on "keeping Sunday" just as their fathers did. Had these allurements beset their fathers, the revolt against the Puritan Sunday might have occurred a generation earlier.

HERO WORSHIP

The Heroic Age

The liberal movement owes much to a golden vein of imaginative literature which runs back to early saga and epic. In Homeric times, for example, Hellenic adventurers came upon Aegean lands rich in spoils, where a chieftain might sack a city and dower himself and his followers with sudden wealth. Settled splendor beset by unbridled adventure went to the making of a heroic age, with its strong lights and shadows, its seen beauty and its hidden ugliness. Under stable conditions, no doubt, most of these heroes would have ended on the gallows.

Epic and Saga Glorify the Individual Hero, Seeing in the Mass but a Background for His Figure

Now, early balladry and ritual dance reflected primitive tribal life in which the individual was nothing, the choral band everything. In the saga, however, the hero is everything while the mass is but a shadowy background for his brilliant clear-cut personality. "The epic poet," says Miss Jane Harrison, "is all taken up with what he called *klea andron,* 'glorious deeds of men,' of individual heroes; and what these heroes themselves ardently long and pray for is just this glory, this personal distinction, this deathless fame for their great deeds. When the armies meet it is the leaders who fight in single combat. These glorious heroes are for the most part kings, but not kings in the old sense, not hereditary kings bound to the soil and responsible for its fertility. Rather they are leaders in war and adventure; the homage paid them is a personal devotion for personal character; the leader must win his followers by bravery,

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ust keep them by personal generosity. Moreover, heroic are oftenest not tribal feuds consequent on tribal raids; often they arise from personal grievances, personal jeal-s; the siege of Troy is undertaken not because the Trojans raided the cattle of the Achaeans, but because a single ın, Paris, has carried off Helen, a single Achaean's wife." [3]

Celebrants of the Individual and the Preciousness of Self-determination

ned by like currents of poetry from the heroic age of Celts Norsemen and from Christian chivalry this Greek vein in-l in modern times a glamorous stream of thought and litera-glorifying the individual and celebrating the preciousness f-determination. Taking the nineteenth century alone, con-what Goethe, Shelley, Carlyle, Emerson, Thoreau, Whit-Mazzini, Victor Hugo, William Morris, Ibsen and Tolstoi make their millions of readers yearn to be free of needless nels and to develop an accented individuality. Nor may verlook the line of thought which emphasizes the worth, ery field of collective endeavor, of the initiative of the ex-nal man, and vindicates his right to be different from other e and to have a pioneer's scope. It needed then only the offered by Lester F. Ward that transcendent persons occur

Appreciation of the Social Value of the Exceptional Man

ry social level but can develop only under favorable condi-to make out a clear case for accelerating social progress tending freedom and opportunity to all elements in society.

CRITICAL THOUGHT

Critical Thought Has Set Men Free by Bringing to Task Every Species of Authority

other emancipative influence has been *critical thought* which, ning in France about the middle of the eighteenth century, mined ecclesiasticism and absolutism within a generation, in the course of the nineteenth century, summoned every ıtion and authority to justify itself. The whole social life Middle Ages was based on the principle of subordination. a century and a half ago Rousseau set at the front of his *l Contract*, "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in s." In religion, morals, philosophy, science, education, nment and economic life "authority" was writ large. For reat mass obedience was the law of life — obedience to the h, the ruler, the lord, the guild, the head of the family. ıese claims rested directly or indirectly on religion. God's ras back of them. It was nothing else than the free action

[3] ıncient Art and Ritual," p. 159.

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Restraint Required to Justify Itself

of the critical intellect which ripped up this strait-jacket. Once reason was accepted as arbiter instead of tradition, or faith, or pope, every kind of authority was called upon to exhibit its credentials. Every restraint of man upon man was required to show itself to be for the good of the restrained person or of the community. Chief among the critics of authority have been Voltaire, Reimarus, Paine, Jefferson, Strauss, Robert Owen, Spencer and Tolstoi. Among the great arraigners of institutions stand Rousseau, Godwin, Bentham, Proudhon, Marx, Henry George, Kropotkin and Nietzsche.

New Sociological Basis of Authority

Under the fire of criticism some old restraints have broken down; others have been softened or confined to a narrower field. Still others have been vindicated. Even at the bar of reason is justified the authority of the parent, the teacher, the military officer, the official acting within his powers. But what a clearance there has been, since the fall of the Bastille, of restraint for its own sake, or to give some one the pleasure of mastership, or to enable one human being to use anther!

The Critical Spirit Has yet Much to Do

Nor is criticism a spent force. It is hardly twenty years since the state of our jails and almshouses began to receive critical attention, while it is only within the last decade that we are asking ourselves what life in the steel cage is doing to the inmates of our prison cells. Only lately has the justice of persecuting and ostracizing the prostitute become an open question. Long ago Shakespere observed the urchin "creeping like a snail to school," but it has been only about thirty-five years since a few educators of imagination began to wonder whether children have to be *forced* to study. From this has grown a movement to make school work attractive to children, culminating in the "play school" from which the urchin "creeps like a snail" to his home!

Fear-Inspired Obedience Yields to the Obedience Which Springs from Common Understanding

The growth of likemindedness is unfavorable to the coercive type of social organization. Giddings has shown that in a heterogeneous community the nucleus of organization is always personal leadership, either that which grows out of fear or that which grows out of fascination. The reason is that men who do not understand each other, who therefore cannot arrive at intellectual agreement, cannot cooperate of their own free initiative but must await a leader who can organize them. The more heterogeneous they are the more certainly will their obedience

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pring from fear, i.e., the leader's rule will be coercive. But s likemindedness grows among them they obey from common nderstanding and sympathy and the old fear-inspiring discipline s felt to be out of date.

There Is Ever a Greater Jury to Appeal to

The *diffusion of the art of reading* has liberated. Two cenuries ago, when few but the privileged could read, what hearng would there have been for Tourgenieff's "Memoirs of a sportsman," Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Dickens' "Oliver wist," Hugo's "Les Miserables," Tolstoi's "Resurrection," or Hauptmann's "The Weavers"? Now, thanks to the immensity f the hearkening public, honest newspapers and humanitarian rtists have made the world a vast whispering gallery for the roans of the oppressed and the abused. The dim toiling masses whose lot was hardly more regarded than that of the beasts of he field have found tongues of outcry and protest. All the lark corners of society are swept by shafts of light; and as the nlooking multitude grows, less and less dare statesmen, courts, olice, prison officials, military officers, educational authorities or aptains of industry indulge in tyrannical actions.

The Humanitarian Note in Art and Literature

This is why Sumner, commenting on the fact that in Wickliffe's ime the Bishop of Winchester obtained a handsome rent from he stews of Southwark, can say with truth: "Probably he and is contemporaries thought no harm. Never until the nineteenth entury was it in the mores of any society to feel that the sacrice of one human being to the happiness of another was a thing which civil institutions could not tolerate. It could not enter into he minds of men of the fifteenth century that harlots, serfs and ther miserable classes had personal rights which were outraged y the customs and institutions of the time." [8]

Intelligence Makes for Self-adjustment

With greater popular intelligence willing and cheerful adjustent of self to one's fellows and to the good of the whole, largely akes the place of external regulation. When people understand hat discipline is a price we pay for the blessings we owe to oranization, many of them yield with a right good will an obedince which otherwise would have to be exacted.

Stringency of Communal Constraint in Old Japan

For an object lesson in liberation we have but to look at conemporary Japan. The old social order of Japan regulated the letails of life with a minuteness unmatched in the modern world. To find its like, we should have to go back to the times before

[8] "Folkways," p. 531.

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Homer. "Every detail of the peasant's existence was prescribed for by law — from the size, form and cost of his dwelling, down even to such trifling matters as the number and quality of dishes to be served him at meal times." Laws "regulated not only the size of one's dwelling, and the cost of its furniture, but even the substance and character of clothing — not only the expense of a wedding outfit, but the quality of the marriage feast and the quality of the vessels in which the food was to be served — not only the kind of ornaments to be worn in a woman's hair, but the material of the thongs of her sandals — not only the price of presents to be made to friends, but the character and the cost of the cheapest toy to be given a child!"[4] "The hierarchial organization of society was faithfully reflected in the conventional organization of language — in the ordination of pronouns, nouns and verbs — in the grades conferred upon adjectives by prefixes and suffixes." "Rules innumerable decided exactly what should be said — the word to be chosen, the phrase to be used." "Everybody had to learn that only certain verbs and nouns and pronouns were lawful when addressing superiors, and other words were permissible only when speaking to equals or inferiors." "Demeanor was most elaborately and mercilessly regulated, not merely as to obeisances, of which there were countless grades, varying according to sex as well as class — but even in regard to facial expression, the manner of smiling, the conduct of the breath, the way of sitting, standing, walking, rising. Every baby was trained from infancy in this etiquette of expression and deportment." It was a mortal offense "so to smile in addressing a superior that the back teeth could be seen." Iyèyasu authorized a Samurai to kill any person of the three inferior classes guilty of rudeness; and rudeness was defined as 'other-than-expected.'"[5] "The regimentation of society resembled that of all antique civilizations of the militant type — all action being both positively and negatively regulated. The household ruled the person; the five-family group, the household; the community, the group; the lord of the soil, the community; the Shogun, the lord." "Personality is wholly suppressed by coercion; and coercion is chiefly from within, not from without — the life of every individual being so ordered by the will of the rest as to

The Life of the Individual Regulated in Minute Details

[4] Hearn, "Japan," p. 186.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 188–193 *passim*.

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tender free action, free speaking, or free thinking out of the question." [6]

New Forces of Liberation

From this old matrix individuals are being released by various new forces. The pressure of feudal laws was removed half a century ago, leaving custom as chief agent of restraint. In the agricultural districts the yoke of local custom is heavy; but those who remove to the growing cities, who emigrate, or who wander about from province to province enjoy greater freedom of action. The economic self-sufficiency of the locality or district has disappeared. Custom no longer governs price. The extending competition of man with man, of place with place, of Japanese with foreigners, causes hampering restrictions to go by the board. As never before men are thrown on their own choices. With participation in government the Japanese are learning gradually to group themselves according to *political opinions* rather than by *clans*.

Economic Competition

Political Participation

Christianity

Christianity detaches its converts from the group matrix, teaching that one saves his soul, not by sharing in the ancestral or communal cult, but by an individual experience (conversion) or act (confession of faith). Says Gulick:

> "There is a marked increase in vivacity in those Japanese who become Christians. The repressive social restraints of the old social order are somewhat removed. A freedom is allowed to individuals of the Christian community, in social life, in conversation between men and women, in the holding of public opinions, which the non-Christian order of society did not present. Sociability between the sexes was not allowed. The new freedom naturally results in greater vivacity and a far freer play of facial expression than the older order could produce." [7]

Western Thought

Western thought also encourages the Japanese to restrain less and to trust more to the free development of the individual. From observing us they learn that freedom does not inevitably breed confusion, that a disciplined conscience may hold the individual in his proper orbit after custom has ceased to bind him. In the dramas and novels of the West they are thrilled by sublime portrayals of the human soul — its temptations, struggles, renunciations and victories — which are strange to a literature arising under a communal social order. The enthusiasm with which

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 277.
[7] "Social Evolution of the Japanese," p. 168.

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young Japanese greet the message of Carlyle, Emerson, Thoreau and Nietzsche, testifies that the idealizing of individual self-determination and initiative is balm to their souls.

Is Socialism Indifferent to Individual Freedom?

The antithesis *socialism — individualism* leads many to imagine that socialists propose to reverse the beneficent process of liberation and bring in state ownership of the individual. The earlier pictures of the "coming" collectivist state certainly gave ground for such suspicion. Of late, however, it has become plain that the real issue is, *Private* capitalism or *public* capitalism? No doubt, socialists would take away much of the initiative and decision now enjoyed by the captain of industry. They are foes of *commercial* individualism. But they confidently expect that under *public* capitalism the hand workers will have more freedom than they are allowed under the existing régime. Whether or not their anticipations are justified, the constant shadowing of the collectivist movement by a current of anarchism, the trend away from state socialism toward guild socialism, and the self-assertive temper of every aroused working class forbids us to believe that the proletariat will ever consent to barter their hard won freedom for ease and plenty. If private capitalism is to be abandoned for public capitalism, it will be because the masses expect at least as much liberty as they now have and much more opportunity.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

COMMERCIALIZATION

Rôle of the Profits Motive

MMERCIALIZATION is *the increasing subjection of any :alling or function to the profits motive.* Normally this : has a large and legitimate part to play in society. To it peal in order to call into being the myriad forms of indus- ıd commerce necessary to provide for the wants of the . Even here, however, it may govern only in a general way. :h particular transaction it should find counterpoise in the to keep faith with the patron by supplying only honest and loyal services. In a bearer of responsibility, however, as clergyman, teacher, judge, official, artist or journalist, expected that lust of gain will be quite subordinated to)ligation to render a vital service or discharge an essential on.

) the production of a good or a service may enter various :s which hold the profits motive in check, viz.,

Pleasure in creative activity.

Pride in the perfection of one's product.

Accepted standards of technical excellence which forbid utting forth of a ware or a service which falls below a ı degree of merit.

Motives of Economic Activity

Abhorrence of sham or humbug in one's work. Desire to r loyal service, to market genuine goods.

Solicitude for the welfare of the customer or patron, prompt- ıe to refuse to supply him with that which will disappoint, ıd, or harm him.

Doing one's work as a service to society.[1]

:re is commercialization when the profits motive gains the

, acting on the principle of Comte: "Every person who lives by eful work should be habituated to regard himself not as an indi- working for his own private benefit, but as a public functionary ıg for the benefit of society; and to regard his wages of whatever s the provision made by society to enable him to carry on his

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upper hand of these nobler motives. In case the relations between producer and consumer, or between server and served, continue in the same intimacy, the profits motive will not play a greater rôle unless the motives which limit it are weakened. In such a case commercialization would be the result and proof of moral decay.

We Are Not Morally Decadent

Now, in contemporary society there is no general moral decay. Using the ancient test relations as a dial face, the onward movement in humanity, sympathy and charity is most cheering. In the treatment of children, of women, of the aged, of dependents, of convicts, of aliens, of underlings, of the weaker race or class by the stronger race or class, the improvement in our times is beyond all question. Nor are we in doubt as to the causes of this rapid humanization. With the vanishing of personal encounter, the passing of judicial torture, branding, stocks, pillory, whipping post and cart's tail, the renouncing of flogging and keelhauling in the navy, the vanishing of public executions, the abandonment of cock-fighting and bear-baiting, the outlawry of prize fighting, the restraining of brutal teamsters, the substitution of electricity for the horse, the removal of the diseased, maimed and misshapen from the streets to public institutions, the feelings are no longer calloused as of yore, and human good will is able to assert itself with its original native force.

The encroachment of the profits motive in our time is, therefore, not chargeable to moral decay. It is a consequence of certain transformations which have occurred in our economic relations.

Relations Between Producer and Consumer Less Direct

The greater social distance between producer and consumer. Less and less often nowadays is the user of one's ware a concrete known person to whom one feels a sense of responsibility. One's product passes out into that vague mass, the "public," and there is lost to view. Hence, the baker who kneads "chalk and alum and plaster" into his loaf may be no miscreant, after all, for he cannot know just who will eat that loaf or what gripe it will give him. Only a villain would fit out an unsuspecting customer with a life preserver filled with sawdust instead of cork; but the manufacturers who a few years ago were found to be equipping excursion steamers with these spurious "life preservers" may have been far from moral monsters. They were

upplying their treacherous wares not to men and women, but o "the market."

The corporate form of business organization thrusts apart producers and consumers. The stockholders on whose behalf inquity is done do not consciously will it. It is not their wish hat children should be worn out for them, or workmen maimed a avoidable industrial accidents, or consumers defrauded, or he public taste corrupted. They instigate such wickedness only ecause they know not what they do when they clamor for ividends. Their avarice is reflected in the conduct of the busiess, but not their good will.

The Corporation De-personalizes Business Relations,

Not only does incorporation take personal responsibility out f business relations, but every year sees more savings banks, rust companies and insurance companies come between industrial concerns and those who provide the money. This makes t still more difficult for the conscience of the latter to influence he management.

Nevertheless, when a corporation becomes so large that it fills . place in the public eye, it develops a sense of responsibility f its own. Its volume of output is so great that its products nust be well spoken of everywhere. Hence, it strives for exellence and sincerity in its goods and acts on the maxim, "the atisfied customer is the best advertisement." Owing to its conpicuousness it is sensitive to public opinion. It feels obliged to naintain a reputation so good that it can draw into its service nen of the highest character. Its treatment of labor is so wellnown among workingmen that, if it acquires a bad name, it will e unable to attract labor of the best quality. Therefore, the reat corporations take the lead not only in square-dealing with he customer, but in looking after the safety, health, and welare of their employees.

But the Great Corporation Behaves Like a Person

The growing differentiation between principals and subor-linates. In large concerns the men at the top may adopt with mpunity greedy policies which they well know cannot be carried out without deceit or corruption. They would not do such lirty work themselves, but they require others to do it. Upon heir subordinates they impose the obligation to get "results," but re very careful not to learn of the crooked means by which alone he "results" they insist on may be obtained. The veins of busiess like the veins of the body have valves, their purposes be-

Custom-made Crime

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ing to check the return flow to the principals of knowledge of the odious practices and the blistering tirades to which the policies they insist on give rise. Safe behind their cordon of underlings they instigate crimes which they lack the nerve to commit in the open.

Commercialization of the Stage

The increasing prominence of capital in the practice of an art or profession tends to subordinate artistic or professional conscience to profit. This is illustrated in the commercialization of the stage. As the theater-going public becomes accustomed to more sumptuous and costly stage effects, the actor-manager gives way to the capitalist-manager. The actor-manager is dominated by the idea of "elevating the stage," of making the drama a great and uplifting social force. His master-dream is to present Shakespere, and "Shakespere spells ruin." Great actors like Booth and Irving pass their lives either as "stars" accumulating a fortune, or as managers squandering it in giving the public drama finer than it is willing to pay for. But, with the greater costliness of theatrical production, the capitalist-manager comes to the fore, while the successful actor, even the greatest, remains throughtout his career an employee. Generally this type of producer tries to see not how high one dare go, but how low one dare go. Ideals and social aims are contemptuously kicked out of the theatrical business. The only queston is, "What will the Public like?" and this is answered frequently by a vulgar avaricious man who has no comprehension of what the public will like *in the long run* and no idea that the taste of the public admits of being educated upward as well as downward.

THE PROFITS MOTIVE AND THE NEWSPAPERS

Commercialization of the Newspaper

In newspaper publishing the capital factor gains constantly on the service factor, with the result that less and less is the editor-owner able to hire the capital he needs, while more and more the owner is a capitalist who hires the editors he needs. The capitalist-owner is likely to run the newspaper as a pure "business proposition," i.e., as he would run a theater or hotel, and less often than the editor-owner does he see it as a great social instrumentality. Furthermore, the newspaper is a peculiar undertaking in that it unites two services altogether different — the purveyance of news and opinions and the sale of publicity in the form of advertising. The former is a responsible public service,

the latter the marketing of a ware. Now, constantly the share of the newspaper's receipts from advertising grows, while the receipts from readers and subscribers dwindle. Speaking broadly, their advertisers yield the newspapers three times as much financial support as their readers. There are numerous indications that the advertisers are waking up to the fact that they hold the whip hand and are exercising an increasing censorship over the newspapers — a censorship which is secret, of course, for a journal known to be controlled loses its readers and therewith its value to the advertiser. Most significant is the way in which, during the war, the newspapers, in order to please their advertisers, preached "Business as usual," when, for the sake of the Liberty loans, they should have preached "Nothing as usual."

Thus it happens that, although the social mission of the newspaper was never so widely recognized as now, although nearly forty schools and courses for journalism have been established within fifteen years, the clandestine prostitution of the newspaper to the business interests has never been so general. With the proportion of receipts from advertising creeping up each year, the newspaper is coming to be an advertising circular carrying reading matter, rather than a news medium carrying advertising. The situation will get worse until society treats the newspaper as a public utility in need of regulation and restricts its rôle as seller of publicity. If newspapers were not allowed to derive more than a modest proportion of their total income from advertising, they would cost us more but they would tell more truth.

THE "CORPORATION COLLAR"

Selling Legal Services Wholesale

When a lawyer sits in his office and causes are brought to him, he can choose which to undertake. But a large business finds itself in need of a continuous supply of legal services and therefore retains a lawyer to look after its interests in all cases which may involve it. Such a relation saps his moral independence, for, even if his client's cause is unjust, he is obliged to stand for it under penalty of losing his employment. Against his conscience he may be required to defend all suits brought by injured workmen or for violation of the child-labor laws, and to prosecute malicious eviction suits against striking tenants

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of company houses. Thus the practice of law becomes a mere tool of business and the lawyer's work is cut out for him by the business man. As the proportion of lawyers who accept corporation service grows, the chances are poorer for the independent attorneys who take only the cases they believe in.

THE PROFITS MOTIVE IN ART

Statuary Factories

It is said that half or more of the statuary made in the United States is not carved by the man who signs it. Sculptors of reputation sign the product of young unknown men, reaping for themselves the proceeds and the honor. "Monument associations" interpose themselves between sculptor and public. They have agents in the field soliciting contributions for the erection of a statue for some famous man or event. An open competition will be announced, with a prize for the best model submitted, but the association sees to it that the prize goes to the model submitted by some young sculptor in its employ.

THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF AMUSEMENT AND RECREATION

Decline of Homely Amusements

Formerly young folks' fun was not catered, but was self-made, home-made, church-made, or school-made. In the home there was the inevitable chaperonage of the old folks amiably looking on. Entertainments held in the school house ordinarily were supervised by the teacher and, in any case, the school trustees were in the background as board of censors. Other social gatherings were sponsored by the church, or by some daughter organization. Now, the habit of contenting one's self with amateur amusement is dying out. Thanks to good roads and automobiles, the country young people are turning from their home-bred fun to the professional amusement-makers to be enjoyed in the town. Since the art of entertainment has become specialized, the church no longer exercises in matters of recreation the initiative and supervision she once had. Less and less is she able to compete with the regular places of amusement, while her ban on dancing and theater-going has become a dead-letter.

Catered Fun Tends Downward

In a word, as never before, recreation is being supplied for money. The danger of this is that commercial recreation tends to become a means for the economic and moral exploitation of the young. It is in the nature of play and amusement to tend upward or tend downward. In case they are catered and with-

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ut regulation, they tend downward, because more money can e extracted from young people by offering them the high-lavored, the *risqué*, the sensational, than by offering them the ure and elevating. The conscience of the individual amuse-nent-caterer is well-nigh a negligible factor, for if he is re-trained by scruples he will be forced out of business by a less crupulous rival. In this field the man without conscience is ' fittest."

Communal Means of Recreation

Some benefit, no doubt, is to be had from the *regulation* of com-nercial amusements, e.g., the censoring of shows and motion ilms and the supervision of public dance halls. The only policy, owever, which holds much promise is *the communal provision of recreation*. This is why, in the last twenty years, there has een a wonderful expansion of the facilities provided by in-stitutional churches, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the social settlements, the ocial centers, the recreation centers, the public playgrounds and he public libraries. Society has resolved not to abandon this ield to Mammon.

Other Encroachments of Mammon

Were there space one might go on to show the commercializa-ion of the saloon (which was the real cause of the adoption of ational prohibition); of prostitution; of sport and inter-col-egiate athletics (save where a strong barrier has been raised); of immigration from Europe by the transport companies; and of war scares and military preparedness by the munition-nakers. While, however, the profits motive has made these ncroachments in our time, let no one suppose that this motive has always had a career of triumphant aggression. The fact is, he path of man's advance is strewn with discarded com-nercialisms. One might almost sum up the moral side of ocial progress as the expulsion of the profits motive from hose parts of the social order in which it has no business o be.

DE-COMMERCIALIZED MATING

Take the family. There was a time when the father, with-out consulting his daughter, disposed of her hand to the highest idder. Sometimes, as among the Tekke Turcomans to-day, when the daughter's services are very remunerative to the father he names a bride-price so high that she goes through life with-

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out a mate.[2] A century ago in Servia, what with purchase price and presents to members of the bride's family, a wife became so dear that "many a poor fellow was unable to marry at all." Finally a price-fixing law was passed restricting payment for a bride to one ducat. A common result of wife purchase has been that the rich old men monopolize youth and beauty, while the younger and poorer men have only hags. On the other hand, in some societies a "marriage portion" has been expected with the bride, so that the portionless girls go husbandless. In olden times an approved philanthropy was to provide poor girls with marriage portions. In the folk tales the crowning proof of romantic love was the lover's willingness to take his sweetheart without a portion. It is but a quarter of a century since Westermarck wrote, "In our days a woman without a marriage portion, unless she has some great natural attraction, runs the risk of being a spinster forever." How remote all such huckstering seems! Probably at no stage of civilization has mating been so free from the taint of avarice as in America to-day.

Love Purged of Avarice

DE-COMMERCIALIZED RELIGION

Religions of Sacrifice Handicap the Poor

When the religion of sacrifice prevailed a man won divine favor in proportion to his contributions to the god. The petitioner who offered the richer sacrifice believed that the god would surely be on his side. The unseen powers were supposed to bestir themselves more for the rich man who could offer a hecatomb than for the poor wight who could offer only a dove. This type of religion, however, was displaced by faiths like those of Jesus and Mahomet, which make God's favor depend on the *heart* of the worshipper rather than on his *sacrifice*. Jesus's parable of the widow's mite is a landmark in the humanizing of religion.

The Priest as Attorney

With the contention that the petitioner does well to have his sacrifice and request offered by an expert, a wide door was opened to making money out of religion. Originally the priest was a pray-er. He knew just what formulas, postures, and gestures to use under the given conditions. By such means he could *compel* the god to do his will. Naturally he would not ex-

[2] For the effect of the great demand for "Bokhara" rugs in handicapping Turcoman maids in the matrimonial market see Ross, "Russia in Upheaval," end of chapter V, "The Rug Market at Merv."

ercise this mystic power on behalf of the worshipper without pay, any more than an attorney will plead his client's cause without fee. So the priest charged a stiff price for his services and grew wealthy. In Homer's time the priest drank the finest dark wine of which he knew. It is a far cry from this to the Christian priest exercising his functions under responsibility and bound to serve the poor without fee — farther yet to the Protestant and Mohammedan conception of a clergy who are pastors and edifiers, but not intermediaries between the soul and God. About the close of the second century Tertullian declared that in heathenism the very gods are for sale, that no one is admitted free of charge to the knowledge of the gods. A fee is exacted for room in the temple, for even admittance thereto. Among Christians on the contrary, "no market value is set on anything in our religion. We have indeed boxes for offerings . . . contributions, however, are not compulsory, but spontaneous."

DE-COMMERCIALIZED GOVERNMENT

Roman Publicans

It was customary for the Roman state to farm out its taxes rather than collect them by the hand of its own servants. Syndicates bid against one another for the right to collect a particular tax in a certain province for a term of years. The contract with the censor fixed the rate at which the publican or tax gatherer could collect, but there was little to restrain the practice of extortion. Only the powerful could profit by the subject's right to appeal to the governor. "Wherever the tax gatherers penetrate," says Livy, "there is no justice or liberty for anyone." "Imagine," writes Cicero, "what is the fate of our allies in the remoter provinces when even in Italy I hear the complaints of Roman citizens." Among the Jews the publicans could not enter a court of law to give testimony, nor fill offices of judicature, nor engage in public prayers. No money was to be changed at their treasury, their contributions to charity were not accepted, and they were ranked with thieves and murderers.

French Farmers-General

About the close of the seventeenth century the French Crown began to sell to sixty "farmers-general" the right to collect the indirect taxes. Adam Smith describes their profits as "exorbitant" and the collection as "wasteful and expensive." Commenting on the fact that their cruel methods often led to bloody

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conflicts, he remarks, "Those who consider the blood of the people as nothing, in comparison with the revenues of princes, may, perhaps, approve of this method of levying taxes." When the Convention met it prosecuted the farmers-general as enemies of the people and guillotined thirty-five of them. Amidst general execration, the system fell after an existence of nearly a century.

Farming Out the Poor

Farming out the poor is another instance of handling public responsibility as a business transaction. A hundred years ago a report on the care of the poor in Massachusetts observes that where there is no almshouse the poor are "disposed of by the overseers in severals ways.

1. The overseers farm them out at stipulated prices to contractors who are willing to receive them and keep them on condition of getting what labor they can out of the paupers.

2. Relief is afforded to the poor at their own habitations.

3. The poor are sold at auction — the meaning of which is that he who will support them for the lowest price becomes their keeper; and it often happens, of course, that the keeper is himself almost a pauper before he purchases, and adopts this mode in order not to fall a burden upon the town. Thus he and another miserable human being barely subsist upon what would hardly comfortably maintain himself alone — a species of economy much boasted of by some of the town officers and purchasers of paupers."

This report concludes:

1. That the poor when farmed out or sold were frequently treated with barbarity and neglect.

2. That the education and morals of the children of paupers — except in almshouses — were almost wholly neglected. They grew up in filth, idleness, ignorance and disease, and many became early candidates for the prison or the grave.

Sale of Army Commissions

Until half a century ago commissions in the British army were private property. The officer bought his commission and, when he was done with it, he sold it for the highest price he could obtain. The capable experienced officer could be jumped over in promotion by a mere youth. The high cost of a commission excluded members of the lower and middle classes from desirable places in the army and made the command of His Majesty's troops a prerogative of the aristocracy. This class

privilege was extinguished by paying the owners of commissions $35,000,000 in compensation.

The aggressions of the profits motive to-day are, then, but an eddy in a great current which has borne us farther and farther from the practice of purchase. That in modern society love, salvation, clerical ministrations, protection, justice, education, access to the professions, access to the public service, promotion, and recognition, are generally to be had on a basis of need or desert, instead of price, is owing to numerous triumphs over commercialism by the spirit of good will, justice and democracy.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PROFESSIONALIZATION

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THE patron of the artisan or tradesman is presumed to be competent to look out for his interests. For him *caveat emptor* has been the rule. Bad wares he can reject and poor service he can refuse to pay for. Since the one party is in no need of special protection, the other party has not been subjected to any special restraints.

Necessity of Raising the Plane of Certain Callings

But the patron of a calling which involves the use of highly technical knowledge, since he is not qualified to judge the worth of the service he receives, is in a position of extreme dependence. The patient cannot pronounce upon his doctor's treatment. The client cannot test the value of the advice his counsel gives or know whether his cause is properly presented. The student cannot plumb his teacher's learning, the reader gauge the editor's disinterestedness, nor the creditor verify the audit of the public accountant. One will hesitate to commit one's dearest interests to such men unless one has ground for believing them to be worthy of trust. There is need, therefore, that callings of this confidential character be restricted to men of honor acting with reference to a high standard. The means of bringing this to pass is to elevate the calling into a profession.

Excluding the Unfit

The expert cannot raise the tone of his calling unless he is shielded from the withering competition of bunglers, quacks and charlatans. So the first step toward creating a profession is the exclusion of the unfit. This is sought by forbidding the practice of the profession to all save those who have been licensed by some board, institution or organization authorized to examine and pass upon the proficiency and character of applicants. Along with this goes often the power to expel from the profession the practitioner whose conduct is such as to bring it into disrepute.

Attracting the Superior

It is not enough to bar out unworthy persons. It is necessary that the calling attain a standing and dignity which will attract to it men of good breeding and high spirit, for it is such

men who will contribute most to set and fix an exacting standard of professional conduct. To this end the law generally accords the calling some official recognition.

RECOGNITION OF THE PROFESSIONS

Formal Recognition of a Calling

Army and navy officers not only hold their commissions from the head of the state, but under militarist governments they are authorized to cut down pitilessly any civilian "insulting the uniform." The clergy once enjoyed exemption from the jurisdiction of secular tribunals, i.e., "benefit of clergy," and even now the courts respect "the seal of the confessional." Ordinarily the physician is not required to divulge on the witness stand the secrets of his patients and in a great variety of juridical questons the law insists upon the testimony of medical men. A constitutional "liberty of the press" guarantees a footing for the journalist. Lawyers have been drawn into the judicial system until in the eye of the law the bar has rights and functions wellnigh as important as those of the bench. The more exacting legal requirements as to the audit of companies amount to a recognition of the profession of public accountant, while the statutes establishing administrative boards occasionally recognize the existence of such persons as architects, engineers, psychologists, economists and sociologists.

Social Recognition of a Calling

Of even greater benefit to the tone of a calling is a social status high enough to protect the dignity and self-respect of the practitioner. The lawyer makes clear to his client that he is a counsellor, not a servant. The physician feels at liberty to remonstrate with the patient suffering under the consequences of his evil conduct. The indispensableness of the clergyman in such crises as christening, marriage and death, together with the custom of prayer at public functions, gives him a place of much prominence. The scholar shares in the prestige that has accrued to science, although his will not be a position of real dignity until "academic freedom" is firmly established. The military enjoy a social status inherited from feudalism, when holders of command were also territorial magnates. Gradually the professions have risen in public esteem until they are no longer overshadowed by the hereditary ruling or fighting castes. To use the old French terms, the "men of the robe" have come quite abreast of the "men of the sword." In modern society

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successful professional men mingle on a footing of equality with wealthy bankers and capitalists, although their position in relation to the hereditarily rich — the leisure class — is not yet certain.

THE PROFESSIONAL SPIRIT

Service Not Gain the Ruling Motive

The natural effect of fencing the field and attracting into it superior men is the growth of *the professional spirit*, which is the very antithesis of the commercial spirit. In a true profession the pursuit of gain is subordinated to the aim of service. This implies for one thing that the practitioner will have but one grade of work, namely, his best. Cobbler or smith may patch according to the pay, but no physician will be respected who from carelessness botches a charity case. Again, the practitioner will be loyal to the interests of his patron even to the extent of opposing the patron's wishes. He will quit a case rather than render what he knows to be a disservice rather than a service.

Loyalty to the Interest of the Patron

As counsellor in the intimate matters of life, the professional man must command the implicit confidence of his patron. Hence, he not only keeps locked within his breast the secrets entrusted to him, but he forbears to use to the disadvantage of his patron anything he has learned in a confidential relation. The architect will not accept a commission from a contractor and, if he has a financial interest in any building material or device, he will not specify or use it without the knowledge and approval of his client. The consulting engineer is expected to inform his client of any business connections which might be presumed to influence his judgment and to receive no royalty or commission on any patented article or process used in his client's work without written authorization from his client.

The Service Is Not Sold

In the early history of some of the professions the practitioner was so loath to seem to sell his advice or skill that he named no fee but left his compensation to his patron's sense of honor, as does now the clergyman who officiates in a marriage or a funeral. Even to-day professional men are reluctant to collect a just fee by resort to a law suit. The exaction of payment in advance is generally frowned on save in dealing with notorious bilks. In countries like Prussia and Japan, where the service of the state is highly honorable, the salary of the civil

servant is regarded as the means of maintaining him at the customary standard of living of his grade rather than as a payment for his services. His compensation is in honor.

The Relation Must Be Personal

To keep the huckstering outsider from coming between patron and practitioner it is held unprofessional for the latter to deal through a middleman or to conceal his personality under a corporate name. The services of the salaried doctor of a ship, a college or a company ought to be gratuitous to the patient. The public accountant ought not to take service with an audit company nor the lawyer allow a collection agency to charge his patrons for his services. The practitioner ought not to pay commissions to laymen for securing business, divide his fees with persons outside the profession nor allow anyone to guarantee his honesty and efficiency. Since in any case he is presumed to do his best, working for a contingent fee is, save in certain cases, regarded as beneath the dignity of the profession.

Free Work

The putting of service above gain-getting implies a willingness to serve under certain circumstances without fee. The good physician stands ready to treat indigent sufferers, the good lawyer to take up the cause of the penniless victim of injustice. Architect, engineer and journalist are not called upon to serve the distressed individual but they may properly be called upon to contribute their professional services to a movement for public betterment. Every successful member of an honorable profession ought to be willing to do some free work.

Regard for the Interests of Society

In consideration of the protection, recognition and rights enjoyed by the members of the professions, they generally acknowledge their obligation to practice with due regard to the interests of society. The scholar recognizes his obligation to proclaim truth at whatever cost to himself, the journalist his duty to publish the news fairly and without bias, the clergyman his call to apply Christian principles no matter who may be wroth, the physician his duty to stay out a pestilence even at the risk of his life. The architect should not, under his client's instructions, look for a way to evade the building code, nor should the engineer show how to dodge the sanitary regulations. The lawyer's first obligation is not to win his case, but to see that justice is done. To stoop to fraud or chicane on behalf of his client or to find him a crooked path around the statute is to violate the bar's implied contract with society.

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The Doctors Oppose Secret or Patented Medicines

While engineers and architects are at liberty to patent their inventions, the medical profession has always set its face against secret remedies and the patenting of a means of relieving human suffering, insisting that it is a part of the physician's honor not to restrict the use of a medicine for the purpose of private gain, but to give it freely to the world. The doctors' fight with the makers of proprietary medicines is a war to the knife between the professional spirit and the commercial spirit. There can be no doubt as to which is the true friend of the social welfare.

Abhorrence of Solicitation and Advertising

Soliciting employment, advertising, seeking publicity, underbidding, attempts to supplant or to injure maliciously the reputation or prospects of a colleague are frowned upon as tending to lower the profession to the level of a trade. Lawyers ban advertising as tending to stir up litigation. There is, furthermore, the consideration that competitive advertising would greatly augment the expenses of professional men without making them in any way more useful to the public. The psychology, however, underlying the strong aversion to advertising in all the professions is, doubtless, the fear lest competition degenerate into an undignified scramble for business by all manner of self-laudation, falsehood and depreciation of rivals. In a profession pride is too strong to stomach the situation which would result if the members flung themselves upon a chance for employment with the abandon of newsboys or street-porters seeking patronage. In barring out any other means of commending oneself to possible patrons than worthy service, paid or unpaid, private or public, professional men are protecting not only their own interest, but that of society as well.

CLIENT VS. SOCIETY

In Some Cases the Reticence of Physicians Is Anti-Social

As the older professions grew up at a time when the general or social interest was less clearly perceived than now, they show a tendency to put loyalty to the patron above duty to society. For example, the leaders of the medical profession formerly insisted that the physician has no right to speak of any ailment or defect he may learn of in his practice.

In view of what we know about the communicability of diseases, is such secrecy ethical? If a health officer may nail a sign of warning on a house with a case of smallpox or scarlet fever, surely the physician is not bound to withhold all warn-

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Take the situation in Brieux's play, "Damaged Goods." oung man not yet fully cured of a "social" disease plans to ry an innocent young woman. Is it right for his doctor to d his tongue when her life and the sanity of her children are stake? The new medical code sidesteps the problem by bid- g the physician confronted by this type of case "act as he uld desire another to act toward one of his own family under circumstances." The truth needs to be hammered home that e exist certain racial and social interests which the doctor may er subordinate to his patient's desire for privacy.

The Legal Profession Is but Slightly Socialized

he office of attorney was created some six centuries ago to eve the individual litigant of going personally from a distant t of the kingdom to attend the King's Court. At the outset attorney seems to have been merely an agent standing in e of a principal. Although the profession has been slightly ialized by the requirement that the lawyer be of good moral racter and learned in the law and by the theory that he is an er of the court, the current conception of the lawyer's duty till far too individualistic to justify the prominence given to yers in our judicial system or the maintenance of law schools he public expense.

Immorality of the Maxim That an Honest Lawyer May Defend Anybody

What, for example, is more at odds with common sense than ustify the advocate who defends an accused person whom he ws, or has good reason to believe, to be guilty? The ex- es offered for aiding the culprit against society are mere histries, spun to gloss over the irresponsible practice of law. argument that the lawyer who treats the accused as a inal is presumptuously putting himself in place of the judge quirk that any bright schoolboy ought to see through. No bt the guilty man should have the benefit of those forms of cedure which have been worked out as safeguards for the in- ent. But such defense, if offered by an advocate appointed the court, whose prestige is therefore not at stake, will not beyond the proper minimum. On the other hand, the attor- who voluntarily takes such a case has a strong interest in get- his client off. Acquittal will enhance his professional repu- on. So he does his best to thwart the prosecution and fre- ntly succeeds in turning loose on society an unpunished crimi-

Yet the public is bidden not to despise this mercenary who deliberately thrust a spoke amidst the wheels of justice!

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A society always hard put to it to keep down crime should never cease to resent and denounce the profoundly immoral maxim that a lawyer unbidden can without dishonor undertake any defense.

GUILD SELFISHNESS

In the codes of the professions it is possible to detect traces of a selfish guild spirit. In the ancient Greek oath, the Asklepiad or hereditary physician swears "to reckon him who taught me this art equally dear to me as my parents, to share my substance with him and relieve his necessities if required; to look upon his offspring on the same footing as my own brothers, and to teach them this art, if they shall wish to learn it, without fee or stipulation, and that by precept, lecture and every other mode of instruction, I will impart a knowledge of the art to my own sons and those of my teachers and to disciples bound by a stipulation and oath according to the law of medicine, but to none other." Here one sees the endeavor to shroud in mystery the art of healing and to restrict the number of apprentices to the profession.

Professional Etiquette May Amount to a Conspiracy against the Public

In the etiquette governing the relations among men of the same profession, there are things which savor of a conspiracy against the public. The old code for physicians forbade the consulting physician to give his opinion to the patient or his friends or any one but the attending physician. "Neither by words nor manner should any of the parties to a consultation assert or insinuate that any part of the treatment pursued did not receive his assent." "No hint or insinuation should be thrown out which could impair the confidence reposed in him (the attending physician) or affect his reputation."

This rule is at once a betrayal of the truth, of the sick man who pays for the consultation, and of the public who have a right to know if the attending physician has bungled the case. Hence the later code says that "the benefit to be derived by the patient is of first importance" and declares that the consultant should be permitted to state to the patient or his friends the result of his study of the case in the presence of the physician in charge.

Even when the codes are flawless, the guild spirit is at work prompting members of the same profession to hang together

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Professional Men Unrighteously Stand by One Another

at the expense of the laity. We see this in the difficulty of extracting an adverse opinion from medical witnesses in a suit for malpractice. Far more flagrant is the tolerance by judges of the outrageous fees charged by attorneys appointed to administer the estates of bankrupts and decedents and as receivers of corporations in difficulties. The way judges will allow property to be devoured by the rolling up of big fees for imaginary or superfluous legal services by their brothers of the bar is nothing less than scandalous.

THE PURIFICATION OF PROFESSIONS

A Profession Will Grade Down if the Unworthy Are Not Excluded

The promulgation of rules which formulate the common understanding of reputable practitioners is, no doubt, a great aid to well-intentioned but inexperienced members of the profession. But an altogether more vigorous policy is needed if the ideals of professions exposed to the full strain of modern commercialism are not to become a mockery and a jest. The mandarins of China are a standing illustration of how far performance may fall below high-sounding professions. Honorable practitioners ought to be relieved of the competition of unscrupulous men who have wormed their way into the calling for the sole purpose of gain. Otherwise, men of high standing will starve and the profession will be given over to men of low standards or of no standards at all.

Ethical Rules Should Be Not Only Formulated but Enforced As Well

It is, therefore, not enough to set forth a code of ethics as a lamp to straying feet. It is necessary to make it worth while for wobbly practitioners to live up to the code. In army and navy misbehaving officers are tried by court martial and dismissed, not for having broken any law but for having fallen below the standard of "an officer and a gentleman." Lawyers are regularly disbarred for flagrant practices and in some states physicians and public accountants may for unprofessional conduct lose their license. Proposals have been made that, after the society of a profession has made known its code of ethics, it shall create a standing committee on ethics which shall investigate all complaints submitted to it bearing upon the professional conduct of a member and after hearing the member involved shall report its findings to the council of the society. Publicity, reprimand, ejection from the society, dismissal from the profession constitute a gamut of penalties which might strike terror

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into the hearts of the shysters, ambulance chasers and jury-fixers who hang on the skirts of the law, or of the charlatans and blackguards who slip into medicine.

The Good Men Must Either Force Out the Bad Men or Be Themselves Forced Out by Competition

In fact, mere moral suasion no more suffices to keep the professions straight than public opinion suffices to keep the peace. In either case, tribunals and punishment are necessary. The good in each of the professions ought to be organized in order to pursue and harry the bad. Resistance to such organization comes not only from those who want a free hand in earning fees but as well from the individualistic tradition that nobody is concerned but practitioner and patron. And, in sooth, while the doctor gets his living from his patients, the lawyer from his clients and the editor from his advertisers, it is asking a good deal to insist that he shall behave as if he were a salaried civil servant. Nothing but strong discipline can induce such professions to become virtually branches of social service.

The opening up of non-private employment — such as that of government, of the philanthropies, and of the universities — removes a deflecting pressure from the consciences of many professional men and promotes the growth of the spirit of service. Army and navy officers are proverbial for *espirit de corps* and devotion to their ideal of duty. The sale of instruction for profit is so nearly extinct that teachers as a body have developed a strong sense of the social aspect of their work. Earnest doctors feel that the salvation of their profession lies in its being absorbed out of the private illness service into the public health service, while thoughtful journalists see no hope save the advent of the endowed or public newspaper.

THE TEACHING OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Instruction in Legal Ethics

Because of the rising tide of criticism of the professions and perhaps also owing to a growing fear of taint from commercialism, professional schools are making more effort to acquaint their students with the temptations and the standards of their future calling. This tendency has developed along with the movement to codify professional ethics and may be due to the same cause. About three quarters of the seniors in American law schools are receiving instruction in legal ethics averaging eight hours in amount. Of the twenty-eight law schools reporting the number of years they have maintained such instruction

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eighteen have established their courses within the last eight years, i.e., since the code movement gained prominence in the American Bar Association. One law school has just put in a fifteen-hour course on legal ethics while another contemplates a course of thirty hours.

In Medical Ethics

In American medical schools, ethics has received little attention. Generally two lectures on the moral problems of medical practice suffice. Yet the newness of the courses shows that the subject is thrusting itself upon the attention of the schools. Out of twenty schools stating the length of time they have been giving specific lectures on medical ethics, sixteen began the work within the last six years and ten within the last three years.

About three fourths of the deans think such instruction is of high value, while the rest have little use for it. Most of the objection springs from the notion that "honesty and integrity," "the Golden Rule," or "being a gentleman" fully equip a young man to solve all the ethical problems he will meet in his practice. For these no special instruction is required, or in any case the professional school is far too late a place to begin.

The Classification of the Ethical Problems a Profession Presents Helps to Raise Its Tone

The best refutation of this notion is the statement of the chairman of the Committee on Professional Ethics of the New York County Lawyers' Association as to the character of those availing themselves of this famous "legal clinic." "They have included established practitioners of high ethical standards who were seriously perplexed by their own problems and desired independent and unbiassed counsel; laymen who wished to regulate their own conduct toward the profession by the advice given; young men recently admitted who were uncertain of what is esteemed the proper course; law students who have sought advice respecting their conduct during their student period, and men who would probably be considered by the thoughtless to be wholly outside of and indifferent to ethical influences."

Elsewhere Mr. Boston uses the following words: "In the hands of the wily the law can too often be misapplied to accomplish unjust results; it behooves the profession, as well as the people, to prevent so far as possible guile among its practitioners. Many men without the honorable traditions of the Bar before their mind's eye, are too apt to pursue merely the subterfuges which the law suggests. An early training in the best traditions of the profession will not only discourage such tendencies

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in the individual, but will tend also to create a general professional atmosphere in which it will be too uncomfortable for the guileful to live."

LIMITS TO THE EXTENSION OF THE PROFESSIONAL SPIRIT

Private Employees Cannot Be Fully Professionalized

Now that the social welfare has come to be considered as well as the claims of the individual, there is a marked tendency to expect too much from the diffusion of the professional spirit. Seeing that this spirit affords a means of mitigating and refining the workings of private interest without resort to the more or less uncertain and risky method of regulation by law or administrative board, some want to foster the professional spirit in occupations in which it is quite incapable of producing the hoped-for benefits. It is too much to expect one to put quality of service above gain when one is the employee of a man who prefers gain to service. Generally the servant will be obligated to do his work according to the ideas of his employer. When, therefore, in the production of any service, capital comes to be a factor so prominent that the capitalist hires labor instead of the laborer hiring capital, we shall have a business rather than a profession. All the more will this be true, when, as in the case of the newspaper, the rendering of a public service is inextricably bound up with the sale of a profitable commercial product like advertising.

Futility of Trying to Arrest the Decay of the Newspaper by Professionalized Newspaper Men

Hence the hopelessness of trying to redeem the newspaper by fortifying with the professional spirit young men preparing for journalism whose probable lot will be to be the salaried employees of newspaper owners actuated by the commercial spirit. Good, indeed, will come of it, so far as newspaper men with ideals make themselves indispensable to their employers or get newspapers of their own. Walk-out or boycott would, no doubt, bring to terms the newspaper proprietor who construes the acceptance of his pay as the sale of a soul, but it seems idle to expect newspaper men ever to develop such a professional solidarity as to present an unbroken front to the exactions of their masters. If the commercial newspaper rises to the high function committed to it in modern society, the cause will not be so much the substitution of high ideals for low ideals in the minds of newspaper makers and publishers as the ability of the reading public to discriminate sharply between the bad newspaper and

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good newspaper and their willingness to give the latter the port it deserves.

The Stage Cannot Be Elevated by Professionalizing Players

'he stage is in much the same state as the newspaper. Act- may be a profession, but the production of plays is a busi- s. Little is accomplished toward making the stage the great al institution it is capable of being by creating among play- ghts and players a sense of responsibility for what they do, long as what they shall present and how is determined for n by theater managers, most of whom are dominated by greed shamed. If the despotism of commercialism over the theater roken, it will be by the rebellion of theatergoers rather than he revolt of stage folk.

In Trade the Unethical Man Has a Peculiar Advantage

t is easier to keep frauds and sharpers out of a learned pro- sion than out of trade. In the absence of any means of clear- out the crooks, it is vain to hope to purify the morals of le by fostering in the business man a professional pride. In making and vending of goods the competition of the crooked n with the honest man is much more deadly than is the com- tion of the tricky lawyer or doctor with honorable lawyers doctors. The latter may in some degree brand the trickster refusing to be associated with him in a case. Moreover, in rofession the bad man can capture from the good man no re practice than one man can attend to, while in manufac- or commerce the man quite unembarrassed by moral dards may expand his business until he has stolen most of customers of his conscientious rivals and forced them quite of the trade.

By Education, Regulation, and Organization Much May Be Done to Raise the Plane of Commercial Practice

Nevertheless, even if the branches of business are not to be le into so many professions, it does not follow that the good business men may not be better organized to fight the bad. preparation of young men for business life in schools of merce in which moral problems are considered in advance emptation and high standards of conduct are held up is likely have a good effect. Until commercial practices are studied n disinterested way honest men in the same branch of busi- s will not have thought through their special ethical prob- s and will therefore disagree as to where they ought to draw line. But after such problems have been clarified by dis- sion in special associations, journals and schools, and young n enter business with clear-cut and uniform distinctions be-

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tween right and wrong in trade practice, it is possible for them by joint action to expose or punish the dishonest competitor until he is no longer a menace to them. In so fluid a medium as business, indeed, war to the knife is the only honorable reply men can make to the silent sapping and supplanting to which they are subjected by unscrupulous rivals. The crooks are not in the least obliged to fight the honorable men in order to eliminate them from the business; but the honorable men must openly and relentlessly fight the crooks if they are to escape ruin. In this struggle the public has so keen an interest that it should endeavor in every way — by laws, by rulings of trade and commerce commissions and by boycott — to help the champions of good practices to gain the victory.

The Company Is Not Amenable to the Professional Spirit

When it comes to making the large commercial corporation a tractable social servant, the difficulty of control from within becomes insuperable. The ultimate authority is, of course, the will of the stockholders, but in most cases the stockholders are too numerous, remote and scattered, too ignorant of the business and too little acquainted with one another to have any definite opinion as to the right and wrong of the practices of their corporation or to make such opinion effective if they had it. However excellent their character, their virtues do not extend to and purify their corporation. However richly developed their personality, about the only part of them influential in the management of their corporation is their quite natural and innocent hankering for dividends.

It Should Be Regulated

Because in the end this incessant hankering triumphs over every other force within the enterprise, little is to be done by attempting to foster the professional spirit in the officers and managers of business corporations. It may just as well be recognized first as last that the structure of such entities furnishes a poor soil for disinterested motives, just as alkali furnishes a poor soil for orange trees. Regularly the corporation will follow the line of what appears to be maximum profits for the long run unless it is constrained by an outside force. While in the true profession the practitioner is made into a faithful servant of society by control from within, the business corporation requires control from without by means of law, railroad commission, public utilities commission, labor organization, shippers' association or other outside agency.

CHAPTER XL

INSTITUTIONALIZATION

N its broadest sense a social institution is, to use the words of Cooley,[1] "a definite and established phase of the public id, not different in its ultimate nature from public opinion, ugh often seeming, on account of its permanence and the ible customs and symbols in which it is clothed, to have a newhat distinct and independent existence."

Two Types of Institution

t is well to discriminate between the *regulative* institution and *operative* institution. The former is a *mould* to which the ations, attitudes or behavior of individuals are required to form; or, if you like, a *channel* in which activity must flow. us the intimate relations of a man and a woman are canalized *marriage*, which is fixed and sanctioned in law and in public nion. So the relations between parents and children are ulded to a standard by the institution of the *family*. *Prop*y and *contract* are regulative institutions which normalize relations and conduct of individuals in respect to objects of nership.

n this sense *ancestor-worship* is a social institution in the Far st; *caste* in India; *blood vengeance* in Arabia; *duelling* in the ny circles of old Germany; *fagging* in the "public schools" Britain; *treating* in the convivial circles of America.

A Social Custom Is Not an Institution

When a relation or activity is characteristic of a certain soty but not obligatory — as the *bull-fight* in Spain, *foot-bind*in old China, *hari-kiri* in old Japan, *widow-burning* in old lia, the *chivarari*, *drinking healths* and *betting on horse races* old America — it is known as *social custom* rather than *titution*.

THE OPERATIVE INSTITUTION

Institutionalization

When society is intent on obtaining a service rather than canalng individual conduct, it resorts to the *operative* institution,

[1] "Social Organization," p. 313.

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i.e., a special organized personnel working under an authority, charter or constitution and provided with continuous support. Whether this support comes from taxes, gifts or fees makes no great difference. The essential thing is that the institution is bound to render what is believed to be a service of public importance.

The Theater Might Well Become a Social Institution

In the ordinary American city the social settlement, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, although they are independent of government, are valued and supported by the public and controlled by public judgment. The theater, on the other hand, may be quite as potent in the community as these others, but it has not been recognized as a social institution. It is as yet little more than a shop for selling a certain kind of sweet, a sweet, moreover, which, like other candies, is often adulterated and unwholesome. Those who see the tremendous possibilities of the stage in refining and uplifting a people wish the theater to be something else than a pure "commercial proposition." If it could obtain a guaranteed support from the public, it could be taken away from the sordid and brutal type of profiteers so frequent now in the theatrical business and conducted by men on a level, in respect to intellect and morals, with our city superintendents of schools.

The conversion of businesses into "public utilities" subject to legal regulation in respect to accommodation, charges, obligation to render continuous service, and to serve all without discrimination, is a kind of institutionalization.

Institutionalizing of Forest-Guarding

It is easy enough to see why a spontaneous social service is handed over to a permanent operative institution. Occasional fires in public forests may be taken in hand by the voluntary activity of settlers. When, however, the stretches of public forest are extensive, the value at stake is great, and settlers are few and scattered, it is found better to establish a fire patrol by men who are forest rangers and nothing else. Thus forest guarding is institutionalized.

Food Inspection,

Social workers, women's clubs and newspaper reporters may, from time to time, inspect in an off-hand, desultory fashion the food offered for sale to see whether it is clean and wholesome. As soon, however, as it is apparent that ordinary commercial motives are bound to unload upon the public a great deal of bad food, it becomes the part of wisdom to institutionalize inspection

by creating a pure-food commission clothed with certain legal powers and provided with funds for maintaining a staff of paid inspectors. This permits the aroused public to transfer its attention to other matters, leaving physicians, district nurses, social workers and dieticians to stand guard over the official inspection service and prod it in case it fails to do its duty.

Vocational Guidance.

Young people selecting among divergent lines of training in school or leaving school to go to work, have been swayed in their choice of occupations by chance, casual impressions, or the haphazard and often conflicting advice of their parents and friends. Of late, however, the momentous service of vocational guidance has been institutionalized by providing in the school system a department where the requirements, rewards and comparative opportunities of the different callings are known and where the youth's qualifications may be canvassed. The counsel he receives from the expert supplements rather than obscures such light as he may obtain from parents and friends on his problem of choosing a vocation. No doubt this new service will spread rapidly among our city school systems.

Provision for Recreation

Until recently the play of children was in no wise a community concern, but a private or domestic concern. Now, however, the provision for play has been institutionalized by the establishment of the public supervised playground, equipped with all needful apparatus, where children frolic under the expert direction of trained adult play leaders.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE OPERATIVE INSTITUTION

Saving Public Attention

1. *The institution economizes the attention of the public.* The formation of a charity organization society with office, secretary and friendly visitors releases the charitably disposed from solicitude as to the care of the destitute. Once the budget is covered and the society at work, they are free to turn their minds to other things. A "clean-up" week may be a cheap way of caring for the streets, but it requires far more attention from the citizens than a street-cleaning department. As a means of apprehending malefactors the "hue and cry" is a far greater drain upon the time of a populous community than a police force.

2. *The institution is planful and systematic.* When young people are trained for their future professions in law schools, medical schools, courses in commerce, schools of journalism, and

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The Institution Is Intelligently Fitted to Its Work

teachers' colleges, professional education may be said to be institutionalized. Now, in comparing education in these schools with "picking up" one's profession in an office, it is plain that the latter is, generally speaking, planless, casual, and desultory. The work is not laid out to reach a given end in a definite time and, if it were, there is no one responsible for seeing that the work is actually done. Apprenticeship suffers from the same faults, altho in less degree. To judge from the drift of the last two generations, the time will come when the preparation for every serious calling will be institutionalized.

3. *The institution ensures steady and continuous service.* Formerly in American cities volunteers enrolled in "hose" companies and "hook and ladder" companies and drilled themselves in order to develop speed and skill in putting out fires. However, of necessity such service is fitful and uncertain, so that nearly everywhere has been substituted for such companies a municipal fire department under a chief who enlists and organizes a force of professional fire-fighters.

The Service of the Institution Is Not Casual or Spasmodic

The juvenile court with its staff of paid probation officers is another example of the merits of the institution. Formerly incorrigible youngsters received some helpful attention from school teachers, clergymen, religious workers and kindly neighbors. But, since there was no assignment of cases and no fixation of responsibility, there was no certainty that a bad boy would be regularly looked after. The setting up of a well-staffed juvenile court gives the public reasonable assurance that the youthful delinquent will receive intelligent supervision so long as he needs it. The "boy-scouts" and "camp-fire-girls" organizations, as well as the "big brother" movement, illustrate the turning away from spontaneous and casual service.

THE DISADVANTAGES OF THE OPERATIVE INSTITUTION

The Institution Lacks Flexibility

1. Seeing that it exists to serve the public and often is supported by the public the operative institution cannot be allowed to run loose. It is obliged to follow the groove cut for it, i.e., to work under a law, charter, constitution or tradition which gives security against its being perverted or confiscated by those who for the time being happen to be in charge of it. But, just for this reason, it is *not quickly adaptable to a changed posture of affairs.* Before it can "branch out," or adopt a better method

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)ing its work, it may have to obtain the consent of superiors
ı amendment to its fundamental law.

The Institution Often Becomes Mechanical

The specialized personnel of the institution is *liable to drift a perfunctory and mechanical way of doing its work.* It is ıre fighters or coast guards who are subject to this, but those deal continually with immature or dependent human beings. not only business corporations that "have no souls"; the :t is likely to show itself in any definite social structure. It s as if professionals, who give all their time to a personal ;try, are sooner drained of their spontaneous interest and tion than volunteers, who give only their spare time to the . The orphanage loses touch with child life, so that it is d far better to "place out" dependent children in indi- ıl homes. Teachers become routinary and lose their power spire. A clergy becomes more intent on ritual, orthodoxy)bservance than on kindling religious fervor. Professional ty workers develop a cold matter-of-fact manner which and repels the poor. Of course all government depart- s and bureaus are operative institutions and elsewhere I described the formalism and red tape to which they are ct.

THE REMEDY FOR INSTITUTIONALISM

The Medicine for "Institutionalism" Is Personality

e medicine for all these maladies is *personality.* Continu- losing with personality dissolves the lime about the joints stitutions and makes them again supple and active. When hurch has become ecclesiastical or creedal, make bishops out ; real saints and then stand aside. When the charity has be- mechanical and forbidding, put at its head some Great- like Vincent de Paul or John Howard and give him scope n schools have become lifeless, commit them to a Pestalozzi Montessori. The gifted in each field of service never allow anism to come between them and their ministry, but usually know how to use mechanism for their purposes. In their s the structure becomes again human and plastic. It may be, nerson says, that "an institution is the lengthened shadow of nan," but it need not be always the shadow of the *same* man. :r the stimulus of vital personalities an ossified or decadent ution may be, as it were, reborn, and start on a fresh career.

REGRESS AND PROGRESS

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EXPANSION

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Self-Interest Prompts Every Social Structure to Expand as Far as It Can

THROUGHOUT the social organization of an enterprizing people there is a marked tendency to expansion. Officials ;s for more authority. Administrative departments are eager ındertake new services. Courts gather to themselves juris- ion. Each profession tries to enlarge its sphere of compe- y. Every college dreams of teaching more things to more lents. Every association strives ceaselessly to broaden its ıbership and support. The political party never disbands n the old issues are settled, but takes up new ones.

he explanation of this tendency is simple enough. Certain viduals come to be identified with a bit of the social struc- and their prospect of a gain in income, power, prestige, or ıence is bound up with the growth of its resources and scope operation. Behind such expansion therefore is much the e motive of self-aggrandizement which prompts the mer- ıt to push for more business and the editor for more readers.

Another Expansive Force Is the Proselyting Spirit

ut there is another force for expansion which may be called *proselyting spirit*. When this spirit is strong each culture ıent reaches out to win more people; when it dies each remains :ent with its following. This willingness to take trouble to ad one's convictions and ideals, or to support those who do it one, is praiseworthy because it is disinterested. Moreover, n it is untainted by fanaticism and intolerance, it may be a sing to society. For the propagative impulse extends the ıes of agreement which bind individual minds into a social d. Furthermore, it helps the valuable new thing to displace sooner that which is antiquated and effete. The eagerness of man with a new ideal to evangelize his neighbors speeds up al transformation, so that a century's changes may be run ı in the course of a decade. There are drawbacks, to be sure. ı cannot foster this proselyting spirit without being pestered :ranks and dreamers, who waste your time with their chim-

It Accelerates the Pace of Social Progress

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Despite Certain Grave Inconveniences

eras. Just as you cannot have freedom of speech without opening the gates to much nonsense, so you cannot encourage the propagative impulse without letting loose fatuous propagandas. Still, there are worse things than enthusiasm and the visionary at least deserves respect for his disinterested zeal. Even if his judgment be poor, he is worthier of respect than the hard-head, whose ideas are sound but who is too selfish to take the trouble to set right his fellow men.

RELIGION

The Earlier Religions Generated No Missionary Impulse

Local, tribal and ethnic religions have no inherent expansive tendency. Each people looks upon the god it worships as its own god but not the god of other peoples. Not until the conception of a national god yields to that of a universal god is there any point in carrying religion abroad. But even monotheism does not inspire a fervent missionary spirit unless there is a belief in the tragedy of earthly life and a vision of redemption. The religion of Israel did not gain expansive force as soon as the prophets preached one true God. It was the prediction of a coming Messiah who should enlighten and heal all the peoples which inspired that religion to embark on a proselyting career which ceased only when, centuries later, an omnipotent Christian Church obliged the Jews to keep their faith to themselves.

The Missionary Religions Have a Vision of Redemption to Communicate

In the lives of the founders of the great missionary religions there is always the story of the call, the sudden conversion, the deep sense of the tragedy of human existence and the discovery of a way of redemption. Gautama under the lotus tree, Jesus in the wilderness and Mahomet in the cave feel themselves summoned to show mankind the path of deliverance. In them and their more earnest followers, this conviction of a glad tidings to be communicated becomes as a flame leaping out to kindle the souls of others.

Christian Missions a World-Historic Force

Missionary enterprise is a cultural force of the first magnitude. Leaving aside the enormous changes in society brought about by the propagation of Buddhism in Thibet and Mongolia, of Christianity among the North European barbarians and of Islam in Africa, consider the world-historic significance of Christian missions to-day. Nothing is falser than the assumption by their critics that each of the backward peoples has a religion suited to it and with which it is happier than it would be with any other.

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One might as well argue that human sacrifice and widow-burning are not painful to their victims provided they are long-established customs. The fact is, the value difference between religions is enormous. Some religions chime with man's deepest needs, while others flout them. Some embody man's highest aspirations, while others embody his animal impulses. Some draw people upward, while others hold them back. The speedy substitution of the higher forms of religion for the lower forms is therefore essential to the progress of humanity as a whole. Without it certain races will so outstrip others that the latter will infallibly fall under the dominion of the former and a needless imperialism will vex the future of mankind. Whether or not their theology possesses objective truth, the twenty thousand educated Christian missionaries sent out from Europe and the United States are accomplishing a social work of vast importance. Generally along with their religious doctrines they propagate the best industrial, moral, and political ideas of their time, to say nothing of its philosophical and scientific conceptions. Thus, incidentally, their labors tend to level up the civilization of the belated peoples to that of the advanced peoples, so that the progress of the human race is more symmetrical than otherwise it would be.

The Religious Levelling Up of Mankind May Avert a Prolonged Domination of the Backward Peoples by the Advanced Peoples

REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

The ideas of 1789, of 1848, of 1917 have made history because of the zeal with which they have been propagated outside the country in which they were born. This propaganda abroad of French and Russian radical ideas was in part a counter-attack upon the governments which had resolved at all hazards to crush Jacobinism and Bolshevism. But the chief force behind their expansion was enthusiasm for ideas which promised to overthrow tyrannies and raise the oppressed. In self-devotion and in readiness to risk everything for their cause, the apostles of revolutionary ideas are not behind the apostles of religion. Both are inspired by the conviction that they bear a gospel which will redeem and raise those who accept it. They are worlds apart, however, in emotional attitude and in the means they employ in order to gain their ends.

Revolutionary Propagandists Believe They Have a Gospel to Preach

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SCIENCE

The True Scientist Devotes Himself to Discovering Truth as the Missionary Devotes Himself to Propagating Religion

Within its limited field science is a power not unworthy to be compared with religion. In not a few of its devotees it inspires that fervor of self-sacrifice which is supposed to be the very acme of religious feeling. There are two reasons, however, why this passion expresses itself differently in the two spheres. The ruling aspiration of the followers of science is to advance the frontiers of knowledge, whereas the followers of religion, convinced that already they are in possession of absolute and final truth, give themselves up to disseminating it. The idea of a revelation of religious truth excludes the idea of search for religious truth. Their great concern, therefore, is to carry the "glad tidings" to those ignorant of it. The religious zealot pushes out the frontiers of his faith, evangelizing even the wildest tribes and translating the Scriptures into the strangest tongues. The scientific zealot, on the other hand, goes whithersoever his quest of natural truth may lead him — to the laboratory or the tropical jungle, into a diving bell on the sea bottom, or to an observatory on the lip of a seething volcano.

Science Is for Mankind While Religion Is First of All for the Individual

In general the scientist leaves it to the educator to disseminate his findings beyond the circle of investigators. When, however, new truth demands immediate and widespread application, as for example the discovery of a remedy for disease, he interests himself in its speedy propagation. Even here, however, his glad tidings is not to laymen but to those who can understand and utilize it — physicians, hospitals and public authorities. In the case of discoveries in the field of forest pathology, industrial chemistry and the like, the number of persons to whom they need to be communicated in order that humanity may get the full benefit of their application will be small indeed. To the laymen even the language in which they are described is unintelligible. The missionary, on the other hand, addresses not the specialist but men everywhere. It is his conviction that no one can find salvation thru another or get religion by proxy. One gains it only by a personal decision. Hence, while the scientist may lead the life of a recluse, the missionary bears abroad what he deems a vital personal message, for the sake of which he is willing to be all things to all men.

In the missionary, no doubt, love of one's fellows may be adul-

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terated by the hope of pleasing God by spreading His name and enlarging His circle of worshippers. In the scientist, no doubt it may be adulterated by thirst for fame and hope of recognition. Nevertheless, the heroes and inspirers in both fields are, in good sooth, lovers of their kind and, had circumstances changed their rôles, each might have throbbed with the other's passion. With the same vision the missionary would lead the austere and single-minded life of the investigator, while with the same faith the investigator would not shrink from going among cannibals.

ART

The Creative Artist Has an Irresistible Impulse to Communicate His Vision

There is no creative artist who does not yearn to communicate his vision to as many persons as possible. He may pretend to address only the elect, but this air of exclusiveness is sheer affectation. The writer who has passed his youth in a garret living on a crust feels it is all made up to him if in the end the public is moved by his work. Artistic and poetic genius is an extraordinarily intense form of sympathy, which can satisfy itself only by creating a new world of living beings. "It is the power to love, and like all true love its energy is toward fecundity and the creation of life." The great artist is the evoker of life under all its forms; he has, as it were, "an inner vision of the possible forms of life." In the words of Guyau:[1]

"One often says colloquially: — put yourself in my place, put yourself in his place,— and in effect, everyone. without too much effort, can transport himself into the external conditions of another. But the character of poetic and artistic genius consists in the power of stripping away not only the exterior circumstances that surround us, but also the interior circumstances of education, chances of birth or moral upbringing, of sex, of acquired qualities or defects; it consists in depersonalizing oneself, in divining in one's self underneath all the lesser phenomena, the primitive spark of life and will. After having thus simplified one's self, the life that is felt in one's self is transplanted not only into the frame in which another moves, not only into the members of another, but, so to speak, into the heart of another. Hence, the well-known precept that the artist, the poet, the novelist must *live* his character, and live not superficially, but just as profoundly as if, in truth, he had entered into him."

[1] "L'Art au point de vue Sociologique," p. 28.

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The Higher Artists Think of Their Work as Redemptive

Plato compared the influence of the inspired poet on those who admire him and partake of his inspiration to the magnet which, magnetizing ring after ring, forms a whole chain uplifted by the same influence. In Shelley's view the last and highest object of poetry must be the salvation of mankind. Schiller felt profoundly the social mission of his art. Goethe conceived of poetry as a gospel to all the world and in Faust, his greatest work, he sets as his problem the freedom and salvation of man. Among the English artists quite conscious of an evangel of beauty to be communicated to the world are Keats, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Ruskin, Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites.

The Social Impulse in Modern Art

In the last half century what a rôle art has played in the struggle to hurl off the black tyrannies crushing the soul of man! The writings of Tolstoi, Gorky, Hugo, Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Hauptmann, the sculptures of Meunier and Rodin, the paintings of Millet, Uhde, Israels and Verestchagin, the music of Grieg and Tchaikowski, are inspired by a humanitarian impulse and betray an intense seriousness of purpose. In their sense of a mission to the suffering the great social artists resemble the founders of the redemptive religions.

The Consumer of Art Is No Such Missionary as the Producer of Art

The lovers of art do not feel the same irresistible impulse to impart as the creative artist, but even they band themselves together to make his work known. The disinterested propagation of art by its appreciators is by no means a negligible thing. To be sure, the art-lover feels no such proselyting ardor as the saint. But, in sooth, the latter ought to be likened rather to the creative artist himself than to the amateur. He is impelled by a personal religious experience not unlike the inspiration which carries the artist out of himself. The artist feels his mission fulfilled when he has given fitting form to his inspiration so that any one may see it or read it or hear it. The saint, since he cannot give his experience an artistic form which will perpetuate it, goes out to influence men directly.

CULTURE

What of the impulse to communicate culture? Matthew Arnold[2] after dwelling on the "passion for doing good," i.e., religion, shows wherein culture differs as a gospel.

[2] "Culture and Anarchy."

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What Culture Is

"What distinguishes culture is, that it is possessed by the scientific passion as well as by the passion of doing good; that it demands worthy notions of reason and the will of God; and does not readily suffer its own crude conceptions to substitute themselves for them. And knowing that no action or institution can be salutary and stable which is not based on reason and the will of God, it is not so bent on acting and instituting, even with the great aim of diminishing human error and misery ever before its thoughts, but that it can remember that acting and instituting are of little use, unless we know how and what we ought to act and institute. . . ."

Nor is culture without its missionary impulse.

It Is Pregnant with the Missionary Impulse

"Culture has one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light. It has one even yet greater: — the passion for making them prevail. . . . Only it must be *real* thought and *real* beauty, *real* sweetness and *real* light. . . . Plenty of people will try to indoctrinate the masses with the set of ideas and judgments constituting the creed of their own profession or party. Our religious and political organizations give an example of working this way on the masses. I condemn neither way, but culture works differently. It does not try to teach down to the level of inferior classes, it does not try to win them for this or that sect of its own, with ready made judgments and watch-words. It seeks to do away with classes, to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere, to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light . . . .

". . . This is the *social idea;* and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality. The great men of culture are those who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time, who have labored to divest knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive, to humanize it, to make it efficient outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remaining the *best* knowledge and thought of the time, and a true source, therefore, of sweetness and light. Such a man was Abelard in the Middle Ages, in spite of all his imperfections, and thence the boundless emotion and enthusiasm which Abelard excited. Such were Lessing and Herder in Germany, at the end of the last century, and their services to Germany were in this way inestimably precious. Generations will pass and literary monuments will accumulate, and works far more perfect than the works of Lessing and Herder, and yet the names of these two men will fill a German with a reverence and enthusiasm such as the names

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of the most gifted masters will hardly awaken. And *why?* Because they *humanized* knowledge; because they broadened the basis of life and intelligence; because they worked powerfully to diffuse sweetness and light, to make reason and the will of God prevail."

Nevertheless, Men of Culture Have Shown Little Zeal in Propagation

Arnold holds that the man of culture will labor to impart his culture because we are all members of one great whole and the sympathy in human nature will not allow one member to be indifferent to the rest or to have a perfect welfare independent of the rest. The individual is obliged, under pain of being stunted and enfeebled in his own development if he disobeys, to carry others along with him in his march toward perfection. Arnold's expectations, however, have not been fulfilled. Culture has shown no fervent proselyting spirit.

Because They Have a Consciousness of Superiority

Because of the knowledge it presupposes, the number of people fit to receive culture is infinitely smaller than the number fit to receive religion. It is no reflection on culture that its missionaries are not found among remote and untutored peoples. But why is it that its followers do not cultivate even the home field with that devout energy so often found in the followers of religion? The reason seems to be that the man of culture is rarely without a feeling of superiority. He is apt to treat uncultivated people as Philistines, as a lower order of humanity. The religious man, on the contrary, does not regard his ineffable religious experience as a personal merit, but as a "grace." He burns to impart the secret of it to others, for they are quite as capable of having it as he himself.

They Are Wanting in Sympathy with Popular Movements of Amelioration

The man of culture sees no need for hurry, does not feel that "*Now* is the appointed time!" Not only is he loth to risk being eaten by cannibals in order to spread his light, but he does not even run to greet joyously the popular movements of his time. When a social reform is under way the man of culture watches the building, sees the scaffolding going up, but does not lay hand to the work. Like as not he will drop dispiriting remarks about the plan and the unlikelihood of its ever being completed. When the building is completed, however, he may graciously come in, admit its practical usefulness, even appropriate the best and airiest room for himself.

Prone to criticize rather than to act, the man of culture is uncomfortably eager to excuse his own evident incapacity for ac-

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They Love to Criticise More Than to Serve

tion. He is always hinting at a more convenient season, but the season rarely arrives. He suggests how a decisive blow might be given, but is not willing to strike that blow himself lest he derange his dignified pose. The expansive force of culture is, therefore, weak because too many of its votaries are self-conscious and superior. If religion and art and science did not make for self-forgetfulness, they would have no greater diffusive energy than culture has.

NATIONALITY

Nationalism Has Been a Force of Resistance Rather Than a Force of Expansion

Since the uprising of the subjugated peoples against Napoleon, statesmen have had to take account of a new force, that of *nationalism*. The greatest strength of this force has been shown in resistance rather than expansion. It has inspired supreme sacrifices when the historic character of a subject people as embodied in its language and literature, its customs, institutions and religion, appeared to be threatened with extinction by the aggressive policy of the dominant people. Hence it is the Poles, the Czechs, the Serbs, the Finns, the Georgians, the Jews, the Gaelic Irish, and other victims of empire, that have given the signal manifestations of the might of nationalism.

Still, There Is in It Something of the Disinterested Proselyting Spirit

The motives which have prompted the efforts to undermine and efface the national culture of the subject people have been obvious. Generally "assimilation" is pushed by government or by small groups among the dominant people. They wish to Russify or Prussify or Magyarize or Anglicize the subject people in order to lessen their resistance to alien domination or to an alien exploiting class, to pacify them and make them patriotic, to weaken their industries, or to make them better consumers of the goods produced by the dominant people. Nevertheless, the proselyting motive is not altogether absent. The more educated and self-conscious element of a modern people is gratified to see the national language, literature and institutions gain ground in the world and is willing to contribute to the support of schools, institutions and other agencies of dissemination. Before the World War the efforts of German societies to preserve and extend *Deutschtum* among those of German blood in various parts of the world seemed to exemplify this spirit, but we now see that they had a sinister motive. Perhaps the exertions of the French to

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diffuse their language and culture afford the best illustration of the disinterested propagation of nationality.

GOVERNMENT

Imperialism Has Posed as Disinterested

The extension of the authority of the advanced peoples over savages, barbarians and stationary races claims to be inspired by motives scarcely less disinterested than those which maintain religious missions. Imperialism, which has dominated the European great powers for forty years and which precipitated the greatest catastrophe that has befallen mankind, posed as a disinterested movement to carry order and civilization to the troubled places of the earth. The tutelage and uplifting of the benighted peoples was presented as a moral obligation, "the white man's burden."

But in Fact There Has Been Very Little of the Missionary Spirit in It

It is certainly true that modern empire has not enslaved and exploited such peoples as ancient empire did. An age of power-driven machinery has little inducement to pursue the ancient ruthless policy. Nevertheless, we know too much of the groups and interests which have furtively instigated imperialistic policies to look upon their humanitarian front as much else than camouflage to dupe the masses who share the risks but none of the profits of imperialism. The driving forces behind the advancement of empire have been the craving to seize rich natural resources, the eagerness for exclusive markets, the quest of opportunities for the profitable investment of superfluous capital and the itch of dynasties and ruling classes for the exercise of dominion. Without capitalistic and aristocratic pressure governments would never have embarked on a course so costly and perilous and the people would never have been taught to feel pleasurable emotion in seeing the national flag unfurled in strange places. For the most part, then, the extension of government has been inspired by more practical motives than the social aim of carrying the blessings of order and civilization to the backward peoples.

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OSSIFICATION

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The Power of Social Habit Exemplified

IN hilly New England the settlers discovered that the best way to build a barn is to set the foundation in a hillside, keep the animals in the basement, and drive the hay wagons from the uphill side into the second floor on a level. When their descendants migrated to the flat prairies of Illinois, they continued to build barns in the only way they knew. Having no hillsides, they built the barn first, built a plank hillside running up into the barn, and then got stalled trying to haul loads of hay up this superfluous hill!

Barn-building

The School Vacation

In olden days the American common schools remained closed during the growing season in order that the farmers might have the help of their children. Thus originated the long summer vacation, and as the cities established their school systems they adopted it without question. There are many ways in which school buildings and grounds may be used during the summer to keep children happy and usefully occupied. But no. Altho half of us are urban, every June we close the schools of our cities and turn millions of children into the street — to hoe corn and "bug" potatoes!

Stupid Adherence to the Gridiron Plan in Laying Out Roads

In an early day in the level West the practice struck root of laying out roads on the section lines. Later the gridiron plan was adhered to even in rough country where it would be more economical to lay out the roads according to the contour, so that they would follow the water courses or the water partings. To-day millions of loads are needlessly hauled over hill after hill on their way to market and thousands of hillside roads are washed away every season because men blindly follow precedent.

OSSIFICATION

In general, after a social practice or institution has existed for a generation or two, it is off its original basis of sound reason and will be retained even in a situation so changed that it has no jus-

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Speedy Loss of Adaptability

tification whatever. The first users scanning with a cold and critical eye will modify or abandon it if it does not suit their purpose. But after it has been taken over and worked by a later generation which has feelings about it, it loses its plasticity, turns to bone, as it were. The process, then, by which social institutions and arrangements lose adaptability and harden into rigid forms may be called *ossification.*

CAUSES OF OSSIFICATION

We Are Too Lazy to Re-think Our Task

Most of us are mentally lazy. We are loath to put our minds to a stretch, to concentrate our powers upon an intricate matter. Little problems involving only a few factors may challenge and stimulate us like the situations in a game of chess, but we shun complex problems which call for sustained thinking. Hence, we shrink from recognizing a changed situation, from re-thinking our task. Indolently we roll along in the rut of habit and precedent until a stone in the rut or an obstacle in the road twists us out of it. Absorbed in their daily round, few pause to ask themselves: "Is this thing of any use?" "Am I doing any real good?" The ability to see one's activity in a true perspective is a rare gift.

Very Few Are Willing to Put Themselves to Inconvenience for the Sake of Social Progress

There has been for a generation such a furore about social progress that one might suppose it to be an object of universal thought and desire. In truth very few care enough for social progress to embrace it in their plans or to make sacrifices for it. They are glad to have it, if they can have it at somebody else's expense. The true attitude of these shouters for progress is revealed when one proposes a concrete change affecting their religion, politics or customs. From their shocked resistance one will perceive that all the time they have been conservatives without realizing it.

Control in the Hands of the Old Delays Adaptation

Even the strong minds, the highly educated men, tend to abide in their earlier judgments and to retain the emotional attitudes of their youth. If, then, the control of affairs is in the hands of the old, the effete thing will longer escape notice and be longer tolerated than if young men are at the helm. If education falls out of step with life, if knowledge grows beyond the creeds, if laws fail to keep up with the development of social relations, the unprejudiced young will realize it first and will demand changes which the old see no reason for.

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Only Young Men Make Revolutions

At my suggestion Dr. E. B. Gowin now professor in New York University reviewed modern history in order to compare epochs of reform and epochs of quiet with respect to the age of their leaders. He found that in ten historical periods of reform or revolution the average age of the dozen leading men in each varied from 32 to 46 years. On the other hand, the average age of their chief opponents or of the leaders in quiet periods varied from 54 to 66 years. In general, the champions of change have been from 15 to 20 years younger than the champions of opposition to change.[1]

Because We Venerate the Long-Established We Cannot Regard It with a Critical Eye

The long-established becomes an Ark of the Covenant which we fear to lay hand on lest we meet the fate of Uzzah. Perhaps our forefathers fought and bled for it. It has inspired heroic deeds, noble poetry and eloquence. We cannot imagine that a thing so cherished has become a stumbling-block or a nuisance. In the face of the imperative need of church union the faithful cling to their denominational peculiarities because of the sacrifices these doctrines once cost. The monastic ideal, the Monroe Doctrine, the policy of avoiding "entangling alliances," the uniformity of taxation, the "open door," *laissez-faire,* inspire passionate devotion long after their value has become doubtful. The American Constitution has gathered such prestige that scholars who demonstrate the part selfish interests took in its shaping are vilified. Owing to the bloody struggles which have raged about it the Bible has come to be for many a kind of fetich. Its texts are relied on to resolve every doubt life presents and the "higher critics" who call in question the traditional date, authorship or meaning of the Scriptures bring a tempest upon their heads.

Prevalence of Static Assumptions about Society

The assumption that what once worked well will continue to work well implies a static notion of society. People generally imagine that society keeps to its track until some large sensible force — a war, a revolution, a law, a religious movement or a great invention — gives it a new direction. The fact is society can never be stable while its base shifts and its base may be shifted by the cumulative effect of numerous small imperceptible changes — new methods of tillage, a gain of manufacturing on agriculture, cheaper carriage, the opening of new channels of trade, immigration, population increase, the unequal growth of sections and classes, the disappearance of the frontier, the rush to

[1] "The Executive and His Control of Men," pp. 264–270.

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the cities, the access of women to industry, etc. Silently these lowly unnoticed processes make society into something else than we imagine it to be, so that some of the wisdom of the past turns to folly and perhaps some of its folly becomes wisdom. Hence, each generation ought to review all the institutions they inherit and consider of each whether it is still at its peak of fitness. But they will never do this until they recognize the dynamic character of society.

Worthy Private Interests become Involved with an Institution and Resist All Proposals to Change It

Private interests become dependent on an institution and therefore resist proposals to abandon or alter it. The teachers of Latin and Greek protest against reforming in a modern spirit the traditional courses of study for youth. For thirty years religious leaders have urged that economics and sociology be a part of the training for the Christian ministry. With rare exceptions, however, the theological seminaries have done nothing owing to the vested interest of the professors of the traditional subjects. As a result the clergy are steadily losing influence because of their ignorance of the burning moral issues of the time.

Guild self-interest is, then, an obstacle to adaptive change. Certain persons have specialized in good faith and lo, they are in danger of losing their occupation. It is indeed hard. One cannot well expect them to capitulate to anything less than a mathematical demonstration of their superfluousness, and this is impossible outside the field of material production. They are like players who protest against the nature of the game being changed to their detriment while they are playing it.

The Following of Precedent Is a Snare

In the field of law ossification is an outcome of the Common Law doctrine that precedents are binding. This maxim of *stare in decisis* in turn reflects the popular demand that the law be clear and certain. How can we know what is lawful and what is unlawful for us to do unless we are sure that the judge who reviews our conduct will follow past decisions? Who wants to play a risky game unless the rules appear to be settled? The logic is so irresistible that even equity, "the judicial modification or supplementing of existing rules of law by reference to current morality," accepted the doctrine that precedents bind. As a result it presently lost its discretionary character and became merely a competing system of law. Says Dean Pound, "Well might Falstaff say to an Elizabethan audience, 'there's no equity stirring' when precedents were beginning to be cited in the Court of

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Chancery." Thus, in meeting the demand that the law be certain, justice has ceased to be either flexible or progressive.

The Dominant Social Class May Be Interested in Retaining the Effete

The dominant social class may preserve the outworn because it is to its interest to do so. In America the commercial class has long played upon a popular suspicion and jealousy of government inherited from the eighteenth century when government was an alien arbitrary agency over which the commonalty had no effective control. Now that government has been made responsive to the popular will such distrust is unwarranted. Yet the business interests which fear state interference or regulation fan continually these dying embers.

The "Long Ballot"

As departments of government multiply to keep pace with the complexity of modern life, the practice of electing all public officials becomes pernicious. The "long ballot" betrays democracy by giving the real selection of such officials into the hands of party "machines" and "bosses." It would have disappeared long ago but for the fight put up on its behalf by the politicians.

The "Fellow Servant" Defence

The long retention of the "fellow servant" defence in suits for indemnity brought by injured employees exemplifies the power of the employing class over courts and legislatures. Its injustice had been conceded by all a generation before it was discarded.

County Government in the South

The persistence of the county form of local government in the South after the victory of democratic principles there can be accounted for only by the self-interest of a dominant class. A century ago Thomas Jefferson recognized in the New England township system of government the very foundation stone of democracy. In 1816, he wrote, "The article nearest my heart is the subdivision of the counties into wards (townships)." He realized that if the county was to be the smallest unit of government a few aristocrats or a few bosses would control. It was, indeed, the wealthy class which brought his efforts to nought and prevented the establishment of the township system in the South.

But Sometimes the Dominant Class Rushes Change

While the dominant class thus causes society to appear at times more stupid than it actually is, there are matters in which it lends society a deceptive air of ready adaptiveness. When this class puts its weight behind a logical change, reform may be effected with startling suddenness. Good roads, the gold standard, banking reform, the acquisition of dependencies, could never have crashed so irresistibly through the dense underbrush of American prejudices but for the driving power of the business interests.

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How the Chief Social Elements Compare in Their Attitude toward Change

Of the chief elements in society the intellectuals have the least horror of change and the keenest appreciation of the need of it. The commercial class comprises many limber-minded adaptable men who, altho they may not see deeply into society, are clear-sighted within their range of vision. These are hospitable enough to needed changes which do not appear contrary to their interests. On account of their lack of education the wage-earning class are often slaves to tradition. Their material interests, however, are not bound up with the inherited order and, once their minds are set free, they stand for radicalism, i.e., the rational and thorough-going adaptation of institutions to the needs of society. Owing to their dealing with *nature* rather than *man*, the tillers of the soil are limited in their mental contacts. They respond to the influence of their forefathers rather than of their contemporaries, and stand for the inherited order save when the need of reform is sharply brought home to them by their own painful experiences. Here is one reason why farmers and working men, altho they constitute the two wings of the great producing class and have common interests respecting the class which lives from the ownership of property, do not cooperate for long politically.

Instinctive Conservatism of the Propertied

Of all the economic classes the propertied is least sympathetic with the rational transformation of time-hallowed institutions. Its entire economic position rests upon inheritance and vested rights. Since it shares in current production in virtue not of present exertion but of title from the past, it cannot afford to allow the past to be discredited. Its attitude toward effete institutions is expressed in the maxim, "Let sleeping dogs lie." Since most reforms are detrimental to property in one form or another, the propertied become excessively timorous and develop an instinctive horror of all radical ideas. They grant you there are rotten spots in the buildings reared by our ancestors, but, they insist, once you begin to tamper and alter, you release new strains and some day you will bring the whole structure tumbling upon your head. The domination of the farmers or the propertied therefore makes society like a stiff-jointed rheumatic, while the shifting of power from these classes in the direction of the intellectuals, the business men, or the proletariat, is apt to make society more supple and adaptable.

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PREVENTIVES OF OSSIFICATION

What can be done to save society from a burdensome accumulation of effete customs and institutions?

Shift Control from the Aged to the Middle-Aged and Young

For one thing retire the old earlier and commit the helm to younger men. How foolish it is to suppose that only the graybeards can preserve society whereas the young would run it on to the rocks! A group of 55 persons averaging less than thirty years of age abolished the shogunate in Japan in 1867 and turned the face of Nippon toward the rising sun. We should be better off, no doubt, were the majority of those in society's key positions below the age of fifty rather than above it.

Get the Talented into High Places

Men persist in futility and cling to forms void of meaning because they lack imagination and the power of constructive thought. To take things as he finds them and to do things as they always have been done is the recourse of the numbskull in office. Mediocrity loves to follow the groove. Therefore see to it that all important posts in society are manned by the talented. Perhaps the perfecting of mental measurements will enable us to penetrate the camouflage by which the dunderheads conceal their stupidity and creep into high places. The hardening of the social arteries will be arrested when a high rating in ability tests becomes requisite to success in any line — even in politics.

Leave the Individual a Free Hand

Preserve to the individual the *freedom of initiative*. In a custom-bound time a single daring innovator may start something which will hearten others to break their bondage to the past. One weakness of communal landholding as we see it in Russia is that farming becomes traditional, because the clever peasant is not free to till his strips according to his own ideas. Communal customs and ethics therefore hold men back, while the adoption of the principle that the individual can do what he likes with his own, can make mistakes *ad libitum* provided that he does not infringe the rights of others or hurt the community, encourages initiative and makes for social progress.

Let Religion Govern Individuals but Not Institutions

Keep social institutions out of the grasp of religion. As revealing the will of a perfect and therefore changeless Being religion is the most conservative of influences. Only in that rare manifestation known as *prophetism* does it renounce its past. The more that institutions are delivered to the rigid clasp of religion the harder it is to adapt them to changing conditions.

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One cause of the immobility that has fallen upon the Mohammedan world is that its law is derived from the Koran. Judaism, too, owing to the sacred character of the Mosaic law, allows no free development of rules to govern human relationships. Fortunately there has never been a "Christian" law. Only small communities have ever relied exclusively on Biblical principles. Hence, the Christan peoples have had the advantage of two great plastc secular systems of jurisprudence — Roman Law and the Common Law.

Religious Dogma Obstructs the Adaptive Process

Basing right and wrong on human nature and the nature of society keeps moral ideas plastic. Instead of being fixed for all time by the texts of an ancient book, ethical discriminations develop with changing conditions of social life and keep step with the progress of psychology and sociology. Rigid ecclesiastical dogmas as to interest, alms-giving, marriage and propagation simply cannot survive the light of social science. Again, the dissociation of the state from religion gives it a freedom of development unknown to the theocratic state. The latter has certain merits, but adaptability is not one of them.

Not that religion should not give a rule of life to the individual and should not affect society by influencing its members. But its authority should end with the individual conscience. It should not preside over nor determine laws and institutions.

Let There Be a Balance between Groups of Intellectuals

Keep a balance between clergy and lawyers and between these and students of ethics and sociology so that religion may not become formal and dry. The Moslem world is held back by fanatical Mollahs because there is no other group with which they are forced to compete for leadership. If lawyers, scholars and journalists encroached upon the clergy of Islam as they have encroached upon the clergy of Christendom, the Mollahs would be obliged to raise their standards of education.

Cherish the Scientific Interest

Apply critical scholarship to the history of institutions. This discloses whether or not a particular institution was founded on error and whether the circumstances under which it arose or the situation to which it was adapted have changed. What the utter lack of scientific interest implies may be gathered from the following extract from a letter from an Oriental official to a Western inquirer printed by Sir Austin Henry Layard in his "Fresh Discoveries at Nineveh and Researches at Babylon":

[y illustrious Friend and Joy of my Liver: CHAP. XLII
The thing which you ask of me is both difficult and useless. Al-
ugh I have passed all my days in this place I have neither counted
houses nor inquired into the number of inhabitants; and as to
at one person loads on his mules and another stores away in the
tom of his ship, that is no business of mine. But above all, as
the previous history of this city, God only knows the amount of
t and confusion that the infidels may have eaten before the com-
of the sword of Islam. It were unprofitable for us to inquire
o it. . . . Listen, O my son! There is no wisdom equal to the
ief in God! He created the world and shall we liken ourselves
him in seeking to penetrate into the mysteries of his creation?
all we say, Behold this star spinneth round that star, and this
er star with a tail goeth and cometh in so many years? Let it
! He from whose hand it came will guide and direct it. . . .
ou art learned in the things I care not for, and as for that which
u hast seen, I spit upon it. Will much knowledge create thee
louble belly, or wilt thou seek paradise with thine eyes . . .?

"Thy meek in spirit,

"IMAUM ALI ZADI."

The restless intellect is the natural enemy of the effete as sun- **Preserve Freedom of Inquiry**
ht is the natural enemy of certain fungi. Therefore preserve
iolate the right of free inquiry. No institution may rightfully
im immunity from scrutiny and test. Nothing should be held
"sacred" that it may not be criticized by a competent person
the proper time and in a seemly manner. The right of state
icials to probe and criticize endowed agencies for religion,
arity, education, or research should not, however, carry with
the right to control. This would lessen in such agencies their
utary power of initiative and ability to stand for unpopular
ith. Let the search light play freely over them and the public
ll see that their faults are corrected.

Altho many keen minds enter the professions we do not find the **Let the Learner Study Life As Well As Books**
ler professions imbued with the progressive spirit. It is not
wyers who call attention to the dead wood that cumbers the law
t outsiders. The protests against the traditionalism of creeds
d church methods come not so much from clergymen as from
elligent laymen. The trouble lies with the training which stu-
nts of law and theology undergo. They study books instead
life. Against the dictum of an eminent teacher of law, "The

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law library is the student's laboratory," it should be asserted that his laboratory is the world of human relations. Professional education would foster the liberal spirit if more of it were field work and less of it bookish.

Apply to Society the Methods of Exact Measurement

Just as cost accounting brings to light the weak spots in a business, the exact measurement of results may bring to light the weak spots in social organization. Alternative methods of probation, of reformation of juvenile delinquents, of apprenticeship, of instruction, of sanitation, of poor relief, of social insurance, of industral training, of factory discipline, may be compared by testing their results. The "social survey" is only ten years old, yet constantly its technique is perfected and it is introduced into new fields. Atho the method of measurements needs to be applied with caution, for it is liable to overlook or misread certain of the finer values, there should be incessant endeavor to substitute exact comparison for guessing and impression in conflicts between old and new.

CHAPTER XLIII

DECADENCE

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What Decadence Is

)CIAL decadence carries the idea of the raveling of a web, the crumbling of a wall that once was strong, the falling to pieces ı structure that has rotted at the joints. The decadent so- will be one that sinks below a former level of unity, vigor, efficiency. Perhaps loyalty shifts from society to its subor- te groups, so that the spirit of caste or sect or faction or clan rides feeling for the whole. Perhaps the sub-groups them- :s are weakened by the spread of the spirit of each-for-him-

Egoism may go so far that the only social unit able to ve is the *band* — i.e., the group formed about a strong man promising immediate material advantages. Society decays n the laws, customs, and beliefs tending to keep within bounds selfishness of individuals are not respected as of yore. The itual web which enmeshes men gives way. There are more radictions among them than formerly and fewer agreements, e discords and fewer harmonies, more clashings and fewer erations. Not only has the *I*-feeling gained on the *we*-feel- but the bonds uniting successive generations may fail, so there is less veneration for forefathers and less concern for erity.

Adverse Climatic Change

here are a number of external causes which may contribute he decay of a society. One of these is *a change of climate the worse*. In Central America, Chinese Turkestan, Mesopo- a, Cambodia, and Rhodesia are found imposing ruins which fy to the handiwork of peoples far above the present inhab- ts in culture and organization. In Bolivia, a few miles south ake Titicaca, have been brought to light the remains of a otten city which could hardly have counted fewer than a ion inhabitants. The impossibility of such multitudes growing r food on a bleak plateau at an elevation of 12,500 feet above level has led to the startling hypothesis that this civilization rished at a time so remote that the Andean upland had not

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yet risen more than eight or nine thousand feet above the ocean! In Central Asia the discovery of cities long buried under desert sand affords the principal ground for the pulsatory theory of climatic changes formulated by Dr. Ellsworth Huntington. If the alleged changes are substantiated, we have the key to a downfall which heretofore has been attributed to some mysterious internal cause.

EXHAUSTION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Soil Exhaustion in the Classic World

Society rests on *land* and *people,* so that, if either deteriorates, society sags, twists, or falls, like a house when its foundation is breaking down. We know now that, quite in its day's work, a people can so dissipate or use up its natural resources as to leave the land scarcely habitable. Behind some of the great tragedies of history we are just beginning to glimpse soil exhaustion. In the early Roman Republic, as in China and Japan today, a four-acre plot was deemed enough to support a family. But the allotments of the Gracchi were twenty acres in extent, those of the triumvirs, thirty acres, those of Caesar, forty acres. Before the imperial period the scantness of the grain crops stood in such harsh contrast to the tales of older fertility that agricultural writers generally held the theory that mother-earth was approaching old age; that, like a woman, she had reached that point in her life when one ceases to bring forth. Columella recommends the vine, because in the greater part of Italy no one can recall when grain produced fourfold — i.e., four to six bushels to the acre! It was in just the longest-tilled parts that the soil had become leanest. In old Latium, Varro cites Pupinia "where the foliage is meager, the vines look starved, where the scant straw never stools, nor the fig tree blooms, and trees and parched meadows are largely covered with moss." Two centuries later Columella refers to entire Latium as a country where only imported food kept the people alive.

Social Results of Soil Exhaustion

Soil exhaustion doubtless brought on such profound social changes as the turning of tilled land into pasture, the indebtedness and ruin of the Latin yeomen, the growth of great estates (*latifundia*), the formation of the urban populace, the exaction of a grain tribute from the provinces, the deliberate conquest of grain-producing countries, and the development of Rome into a huge parasite, living, as Seneca puts it, "on the spoils of all

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nations." But since Rome sucked food from the provinces, the shadow of soil exhaustion presently fell upon them also. Sicily, Sardinia, North Africa, Spain, went the way of Italy, which in Sophocles' time had geen a granary for Greece. Only Egypt, annually refertilized by the Nile slime, escaped exhaustion.[1]

It is only within a generation that we have perceived how a people prepares its ruin by a reckless destruction of the natural forest. In China deeply gullied plateaus, guttered hillsides, choked watercourses, silted-up bridges, sterilized bottom lands, bankless wandering rivers, dyked torrents that have built up their beds till they meander at the level of the tree tops, and mountain brooks as thick as pea soup testify to the changes wrought once the reckless ax has let loose the force of running water to resculpture the landscape. What I observed in Shansi along the Fên River is typical:

Disastrous Effects of Deforestation in China

Once the tree cover is removed, the rains wash the soil from the hillsides and with it fill the watercourses and choke the valleys. Wherever a brook or creek debouches into the valley of the Fên, it has built with this wash a great alluvial cone, curving down-river, and along the crest of this cone runs the shallow gravelly bed of the stream that once loitered under high banks three or four fathoms beneath its present level. This cone has covered under silt and sand and gravel from a few score acres to several miles of the former rich bottom lands and they can never be recovered.

Buildings are imbedded to the waist in the débris. Gateways that once one could ride a camel through, one can now only creep through on hands and knees. Twice we came upon majestic stone bridges which once spanned broad affluents of the Fên, but which now, their noble arches half silted up, stand unused amid fields of beans and rape, sad monuments of a bygone prosperity. Since the bridge was built, twenty feet of wash from deforested hills has been dropped in that watercourse and the stream, no longer fed from spongy wooded slopes, is a trickle or an underground moisture in summer and a raging flood in the rainy season.[2]

From the once-wooded hills opposite Hong Kong the soil has been washed away till the country is nothing but granite boulders. North of the Gulf of Tonkin, it is said, not a tree is to be seen and the surviving balks between the fields show that areas once

[1] See Simkhovitch, "Rome's Fall Reconsidered," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI.

[2] Ross, "The Changing Chinese," p. 271.

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cultivated have become waste. Erosion stripped the earth down to the clay and the land had to be abandoned. One hears of districts, once populous, in which the mountains are dry, gray skeletons, the rich bottom lands lie smothered under silt, and there is now one family to four square miles.

Says Marsh in his "Man and Nature":

> There are parts of Asia Minor, of Northern Africa, of Greece, and even of Alpine Europe, where the operation of causes set in action by man has *brought the face of earth to a desolation almost as complete as that of the moon;* and though, within that brief space of time men call the "historical period," they are known to have been covered with luxuriant woods, verdant pastures, and fertile meadows, they are now too far deteriorated to be reclaimable by man; nor can they become again fitted for human use except through great geological changes, or other mysterious influences or agencies of which we have no present knowledge or over which we have no prospective control.
>
> The destructive changes occasioned by the agency of man upon the flanks of the Alps, the Apennines, the Pyrenees, and other mountain ranges in Central and Southern Europe, and the progress of physical deterioration have become so rapid that, in some localities, a single generation has witnessed the beginning and the end of the melancholy revolution.

In Ancient Greece

At her zenith Greece was a fertile, well-wooded, healthful, and very populous country with, perhaps, as many people as Belgium or Pennsylvania. Two centuries later, at the time of the Roman conquest, the country was poor and but sparsely populated. All Hellas, according to Plutarch, could put in the field not more than three thousand fully armed troops. Strabo noticed that in his time nearly all the mountains seen from the coast were denuded, while the valleys and plains were ravaged by malaria. What had happened was that the rush to the cities left the countryside short of laborers, so that pastures replaced tilled fields. Every summer, when the plain was parched, the herds were driven into the mountains where they browsed or trampled down the seedlings, the result being that in time the forest perished. Then the soil, no longer bound in place by living roots, began to wash down the slopes until the mountains died. Swamps formed and whole districts had to be abandoned on account of malaria. In Spain the extension of cultivation to the

heights resulted in deforestation and ruined the soil, but on the plateau of Castile the climate was adverse to *anopheles;* malaria took possession only of certain low and humid districts of Andalusia.

In countries like California and Turkestan artificial irrigation in unskilled hands may in time make arable land unfit for cultivation. Where there is insufficient incline or where the sinking away of an excess of water is prevented by an impervious "hard-pan," the water dissolves the salts in the subsoil and, by capillary action, carries them in solution to the surface, where evaporation forms a layer of dense salt. Near Tashkent there is an area of 400 square miles of fertile land which has become swamp in consequence of the ignorant use of irrigation water. In all irrigated districts of Turkestan may be seen wide areas converted into swamps and breeding places of fever, or covered with salt and made infertile.

SUBJUGATION

Subjugation

Subjugation is another cause of the breaking up of society. Conquest usually shatters or destroys the social organization of the conquered; frequently it subjects them to conditions which warp or corrupt their character and in the end make them incompetent to maintain a normal group life. Note the pliant and slippery character of the peoples that have long lain under the blight of the Turk. The Mongol yoke left upon the soul of the Russian people deep scars, which even now after four centuries have not been effaced. The Irish are very different from what they would be had they been as much left to themselves as the Scotch. Or let one compare the social consciousness of the Japanese with that of the East Indians, and he will perceive how, in the latter, subjugation and mixture have contributed to produce a narrow and selective grouping along the lines of blood relationship, occupation, and religion, instead of the broad and comprehensive grouping of a free people.

Corrupts Character

WASTAGE OF NATURAL ABILITY

The Cities Have Been Sinks of Gifted Stocks

If from any cause a people becomes sappy and brittle, there will be a slump in the quality of its group life. Now, there are various things which may change for the worse the hereditary fiber of a people. One is the cityward flow. The glittering cities

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lure the brightest youth from the fields and tempt them to strain for the prizes of success. But in the city they marry later, die sooner, and leave fewer children than the dull cousins that stayed on the farm. Invariably, until about a century ago, cities were consumers of men, their deaths always exceeding their births, so that nothing kept them up but the endless inflow from the country. The fact that the urban population can reproduce itself to-day should not lead us to forget how for centuries cities were blast furnaces where the talented rose and became incandescent, to be sure, but were, nevertheless, incinerated without having duly reproduced themselves.

Social achievement seems to use up the original eugenic capital. As a society mounts to greatness, a growing civil, military and ecclesiastical organization draws together talent and creates brilliant centers of energy which attract the capable as lighthouses fatally attract birds. In camps, courts, cloisters, universities and capitals the *élite* feed the flame of civilization. The flower of the race is wasted in war, or trampled under in civil strife or drawn to centers where, a prey to wants and ambitions which interfere with breeding, it becomes glorious but sterile, fecund in deeds, ideas and graces, but not in children. Thus the very processes which make a people great may bring on race decadence.

Emigration May Carry Away Superior Elements

A strong and long-continued emigration, when it takes away the more hardy and enterprising, is likely to lower the quality of a people. The great outflow of Greeks, particularly after Alexander's conquests had opened all Western Asia to them, may have had something to do with the flatness of the Silver Age. The conquest and peopling of the Americas and the Philippines drained Spain of numbers she could ill spare. An outflow caused by persecution for ideas takes away cream, as we plainly see from the record of the fugitive Huguenots and the hounded sectaries that founded certain American colonies. On the other hand, an emigration in quest of wages in well-policed new countries probably carries away elements which, on the whole, are below rather than above the average of their people. In general the deeper, straighter, and smoother the channels of migration, the lower the stratum they can tap.

Seeck, Darwinian and historian of the later Roman Empire, undertakes to account for the world-historic decline of ancient

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Elimination of the Better in Greece and Rome

society by social misselection. The decay of ancient Greece, marked by a lamentable lowering of the standard in every department of culture, he charges to the ferocious party struggles between aristocrats and democrats. In these struggles, at each turn of fortune's wheel, all persons of distinction belonging to the defeated party were banished or slaughtered. Thus we read of seven hundred families being exiled at one time from Athens, one thousand leading citizens executed at Mitylene, four thousand at Gela. In the course of generations of such savage work the contending factions drained Greece of her best blood, and left to her surviving insignificant and mediocre families an inglorious and decadent future.

In like manner Seeck connects the decline of ability among the Romans, especially the notable decline in their courage and force of character, with the wholesale massacres of the Social Wars. Marius and Cinna murdered the aristocrats and their personal enemies by thousands, Sulla extirpated the democrats with equal ferocity, and the remaining noble blood was spilled under the proscriptions of the Triumvirs. All the bold were slain; only cowards remained alive, and from their progeny issued the timid, characterless generations of the Lower Empire.

The Trend of Racial Evolution Difficult to Estimate

Be warned, however, that nothing is more hazardous than such inferences as to past epochs. Unlike soil impoverishment and deforestation, remote changes in the stream of heredity cannot be measured. Even now it is impossible to make sure whether or not our own people are degenerating, let alone bygone peoples. We have not yet made out the drift of insanity among us, or whether the feeble-minded are gaining on other stocks. It is hardly a decade since the invention of tests of mental ability has made the classification of certain persons as "subnormal" something else than a mere matter of opinion. Until we have gauged the selections going on among ourselves, it is vain to speculate as to the net effect of the changes that went on in the proportions of stocks in any ancient people.

NATURAL LEADERS DWARFED OR INTIMIDATED

Besides these causes of decadence lying *outside* of society or *under* it, there may develop *within* society toxins which poison it. One such toxin is *an overgrowth of institutions*, so great as to kill liberty, weaken character, and intimidate the originative

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minds which might lead the movements that adapt society to changed conditions.

In Spain Overgrown Institutions Dwarfed the Individual

Take, for example, the case of Spain. In the course of eight centuries of wars at once national and religious, loyalty and religious fervor grew to be dominant passions. Poverty and ignorance, the inevitable result of incessant warfare, were favorable to the development of that unquestioning obedience to king and priest which became characteristic of the Spanish people. So the time arrived when state and church were able to rule at will. The former, with long, exhausting, foreign wars on behalf of religion; the latter, with the expulsion of the Moors, the forced emigration of the Jews, and the extermination of most original variant minds by means of the Inquisition, so wasted the strength of the people that by the end of the seventeenth century retrogression was visible in all departments of national life. Population had shrunk, Madrid having lost half her numbers within a century. Much soil had gone out of cultivation. Seville had lost all but three hundred of her sixteen thousand looms; Toledo, all but thirteen of her fifty woolen manufactories. The fisheries had so fallen away that they could not furnish sailors for a few royal ships. Charts had been lost and Spanish pilots had become ignorant of their own waters. It was impossible to pay the army or to man the fleet. The upper classes knew nothing of science or literature and were unacquainted with the most momentous events outside their own country. All books, save books of devotion, were despised; no one collected them or consulted them. The French ambassador at Madrid summed up the state of education by saying: "In Spain science is a crime and ignorance a virtue."

Although in the eighteenth century certain strong sovereigns, using able foreigners as their instruments of reform, produced an artificial progress, the people were still obsessed, and it needed but a single reactionary king to bring down the new structure. The power of the clergy was restored and darkness again fell. Even yet, after agonizing struggles to share in the general movement of humanity toward freedom and light, the Spanish mind bears deep traces of the long and emasculating servitude to which it was subjected by its blind and bigoted loyalty to throne and altar.

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THE CRITICAL SPIRIT DISSOLVES SOCIETY INTO EGOS

Excess of the Critical Spirit Dissolves the Cement Which Binds Society

Athens exhibits a social decadence originating in the sphere of ntellect. It seems as if in a nation's life-history *organic* epochs lternate with *critical* epochs. In the former, society is built p on the basis of ideas and ideals springing out of common xperiences. Among a people like the Athenians, who had to truggle against difficult external conditions and who could not ave survived without cooperation, the *we*-feeling is strong and eneral. In this period great artists, like Aeschylus and Sopholes, feel themselves one with their people and exalt the broad, imple, general, human qualities. They glorify the heroic and he universal.

The next generation, secure and prosperous, has no such ressing need of team work. The great achievements of the ast are piled before their eyes. The national art has reached ublime heights. The less original spirits are tempted to batten n the products of their illustrious predecessors, so that a host f parasites and imitators spring into existence. As for the tronger spirits, they find themselves at odds with national tradiions. Perceiving that the heroes and gods of the old dramatists re mythical, they reject the naïve religious and patriotic ideas of he folk. Euripides takes this analytic critical attitude. In the *Frogs* Aristophanes sets him and Aeschylus against each other s representatives of great opposed tendencies. The critical pirit of Euripides, his sarcasm, his ridicule, his faultfinding, all elp to dissolve the beliefs that hold people together. Out f touch with simple people, he stresses the qualities which listinguish him and other intellectuals from the mass, not the road traits they have in common with them. Thus in Euripides' ragedies we discover that striving after effect and novelty, that lesire to show one's ingenuity, which are sure symptoms of ndividualistc art.

Disintegration of the Nation into Egos

In the following period the effect of the disintegrative critical pirit working upon a thwarted and war-worn people becomes nanifest. Faith in one's fellows, in the high destiny of one's eople, is gone. The accepted aim is to get the most out of life or one's self. Teachers make private life rather than public ife the subject of inquiry and precept. The sentiment of patriotism is so weak that mercenaries make up the army. The

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ardor for liberty has died down. "How much better is it," exclaims Menander, "to be under a good master than to live in poverty and be free!" He also coins the maxim: "He who fights and runs away may live to fight another day." Politics are abandoned by the best classes, and the gifted retire to schools of philosophy. The lower natures become dissolute, the higher become aloof and self-centered. One of the intellectuals, Callimachus, voices the sentiment: "I hate the cyclic poem, nor do I delight in a road that carries many hither and thither; I detest, too, a gadabout charmer, and I drink not from the fountain; I loathe everything popular."

The Decadent Spirit

Having lost its folk root the Greek religion of this period is full of strange ceremonies and foreign gods. In literature the endeavor to startle is now carried so far that in one long poem there is a riddle in every line. Similes are heaped up for their own sake rather than to make the point clear. Temples are no longer built; it is house architecture which now develops. In a word, ancestors, posterity, the group, no longer give life its meaning. The aim is to get the most out of it for me and mine.

France Checks the Progress of Decay

Late in the last century the French passed through such a critical epoch, during which great writers and artists relentlessly dissected, not only all elements of religious faith, but, as well, all moral, social, and civic ideals. The result was a movement toward unbridled individualism culminating in a widespread moral disorganization, the symptoms of which were so plain at the beginning of the closing decade that the French got the repute of being a "decadent" and negligible people. Hereupon the group instinct of self-preservation took alarm, many intellectuals realized that negativism had gone too far, and there was a reaction toward building up sound ideals in the rising generation. Educaton was redirected, social aims came up in politics, and a fine idealism reappeared in literature. The France reborn out of such influences won in the World War the world's admiration by her superb exhibition of character and solidarity.

PERNICIOUS INFLUENCES SET INSTINCTS ABOVE REASON

The predominance of city life, by changing the mode of organization of the social mind, may open the door to decay. The countryman, steadied by tradition and by his first-hand experience of the concrete, is not easily swayed. But the townsman,

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The Demagogue Seduces People into Yielding to Their Lower Selves

mobile, skeptical, eager for sensation, prompt in response, is an ideal pipe for the demagogue to play on. Of Cleon, the idol of the Athenian assembly and the law courts, who led Athens into a disastrous militancy and imperialism, Aristotle says: "It is he, who seems to have done most to corrupt the people by means of their own instincts." Thucydides calls attention to the fact that Pericles really led the people, instead of allowing himself to be led by them. "On the contrary," he adds, "as those who came after him had no marked superiority to distinguish them, and yet were anxious to surpass one another, they forced themselves to please the masses and allowed them to manage public affairs."

Instinct Thrusts Reason Aside

Here, then, is a situation pregnant with evil — an omnipotent urban democracy meeting regularly in a single large assembly and managing a government which makes little call for technical knowledge. Under these circumstances it would be a miracle if the people let themselves be guided by their élite. As they gather self-confidence, the blunt statesman, who frequently brings them up with a turn and exposes the folly of their impulses and first thoughts, will stand no chance against the flattering orator. One who addresses their reason will have no such influence over them as one who appeals to their instincts and feelings. In a clever, leisured, city-people, organized in this fashion, the demagogue finds a tuned instrument on which to play.

The Newspaper Manufactures the Impressions Which Breed Opinion

A like tendency to set the lower parts of human nature above the higher lurks in the leadership of the modern newspaper. The newspaper has a great and growing power over the public mind because it fixes the perspective in which current events are seen by the reader. By controlling the distribution of emphasis in the telling of facts, by stressing day by day one sort of facts and keeping the opposite sort in the background, by giving the news which he wants noticed the front page and bold type, while giving the news he wants overlooked an inside page and nonpareil, the newspaper-owner manufactures the impressions that breed opinion. If he controls a chain of important newspapers, he may virtually make public opinion without the public being aware of it!

Now what he will make it depends upon the conditions of competition in newspaper publishing. Consulting his own interest, the newspaper proprietor is tempted to curry favor with the

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He Prospers by Appealing to Passion and Prejudice Rather Than to Reason

public by appealing to its foolish prejudices rather than to affront such prejudices and patiently build up in his readers a rational opinion. If he chooses the latter course, his trade rivals will quickly seize their opportunity to lure away his readers by taking the former line; so that, long before he will have educated the public to follow his lead, his rivals will have the circulation and advertising, leaving him with a small but select body of readers plus an approving conscience. In short, there operates in the newspaper field a kind of Gresham's law. Says Mr. Norman Angell:

> Just as in commerce debased coin, if there be enough of it, must drive out the sterling, so in the contest of motives, actions which respond to the more primitive feelings and impulses, first thoughts, established prejudice, can be stimulated by the modern newspaper far more easily than action which is prompted by rationalized second thought. Any newspaper appealing to the former group of motives must "get away with it" long before that which appeals to the second can establish its case.

Agencies Which Counterpoise the Newspaper

The remedy for this sinister tendency is not the curbing of newspapers — which should be left free to render such essential services as they *do* render — but the strengthenng of corrective influences. The pulpit addresses itself to the deeper parts of human nature rather than to the more easily awakened instincts. The teacher relies on organized information rather than on organized emotion to bring about the reforms he desires. The writer of a book more often addresses the reader's intelligence than the newspaper writer, so that the use of public libraries has a steadying effect. Adult education through university extension makes for calm judgment on public affairs. The amazing growth of high schools promises to contribute greatly to the number of steady-minded people. The spread of community centers, where questions of public interest are discussed in a rational and responsible way, is another offset to the newspaper. Thanks to these institutions, Americans, for all their reading of newspapers, do not generally show the political psychology which seems to be produced wherever, as in England, the influence of newspapers is not balanced by influences of a more sober tendency.

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THE SUCCESSFUL MAKE THEMSELVES A PRIVILEGED CASTE SO THAT SOCIETY CEASES TO BE A FAIR FIELD OF STRUGGLE

Deterioration of National Character

Decay sets in after the *we*-feeling has died out of the hearts of many members of a group. This will happen if the social system comes to embody plain injustice. The poor generally do not resent great inequalities in lot, provided society still is fluid and competitive. They comfort themselves with the hope, "If I can't get up, some child of mine will." But the pushful capables who have won their way to power or wealth do their best to throw down the ladders they climbed by, so as to make their sons and grandsons safe from other capables. Perish society, if only we may save our family line! So the successful wall themselves off into a hereditary caste and a sense of injustice spreads among the masses.

Hereditary Privilege Makes Society an Organization of Injustice

Significance of a Strong Middle Class

We see now why a large and flourishing middle class is a guaranty of social health. It means plenty of stepping-stones leading up from bottom to top of society. It means a circulation of individuals between classes, which keeps alive hope in the ambitious youth of the lower orders. Moreover, such a middle class mediates between the extreme classes, trims the boat, so it shall not capsize. It allows neither aristocrats nor populace to have its way with the other. It prevents the state from becoming a class-state, and social institutions from becoming mere props of injustice.

Its Disappearance Leads to the Death of Society

The dwindling or disappearance of the middle class, leaving the people in two camps, poor and rich, is, therefore, an ill omen. On the one hand is a nobility of wealth that, having rid itself of every useful service to society, has given itself up to luxurious enjoyment; on the other, a rough, uncouth, unbridled, and irresponsible peasantry or populace — and no broad bridges leading from the one to the other. Neither camp feels that the other is a part of "us." Each feels that its interests will be sacrificed if the other gets the upper hand, and will therefore go to any length to gain and to keep power. In a word, the national society is dead, and in its place are, to quote Plato, "two states, the one of poor, the other of rich men; and they are living on the same spot and always conspiring against one another." [1]

Again, society may decay because of a deterioration in the

[1] The Republic, Book VIII.

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Deterioration of National Character

character of the people. Once a social standpipe has been erected, a people's character is formed, not only by its daily experiences, but also by the models set before it by social superiors. If these should become luxury-loving and soft, their traits might gradually sap the manhood of the people. In Sparta, on the other hand, the military ideal in time caused the hard egoistic type of character to prevail to such a degree as to make true society impossible. Perhaps none are so sedulously patterned after as those who achieve a conspicuous success. If they are seen to get to the top by rapacity, deceit, and corruption, youth will form itself on their bad model. This is why it is not the petty crooks of dive and alley that are most dangerous to society, but the big crooks, who, unwhipped, steal, cheat, or bribe their way to the social dais. Both rob, but the latter also rot the national character, because the rising generation take their ways as proper means of getting on in the world.

CHAPTER XLIV

TRANSFORMATION

SOME changes in society *happen;* other changes are *willed.* Let us call the former process *transformation;* the latter, *reshaping.* Now, the factors which produce transformation may be distinguished as *statico-dynamic processes, transmutations* and *stimuli,* and we shall consider them in this order.

THE ACCUMULATION OF RESULTS FROM STATICO-DYNAMIC PROCESSES

Statical Processes in Society

Most of the activities which occur in society have no tendency to disturb the *status quo.* Production, if it is offset by consumption; reproduction, so long as births and deaths balance; exchange, in case the argosies of commerce carry goods but not ideas; education, provided it simply passes on the traditional culture — these, together with recreation, social intercourse, worship, social control, government, and the administration of justice, are essentially statical. They might go on forever without producing change.

Processes with Dynamic By-Products

Other regular processes leave behind them unintended by-products which in time accumulate and bring to pass social changes. Hunting, by elimination of the less cautious creatures, eventually makes the game scarcer and shyer, so that the tribe may have to look for another food-basis. In the pastoral stage the continual escape of the wilder creatures from the herd and the resultant breeding from the more tractable completes domestication and so paves the way to the adoption of agriculture. Disturbing, also, are operations which modify the physical environment, such as deforestation, the building of dykes, canals, drains, causeways, and roads. Mining, clearing, reclaiming, enclosing, as well as the extermination of pests, have a dynamic effect seeing that they lessen the material they have to work upon. The digging of the precious metals transforms society by making them in time so plentiful that the "money economy" supersedes the "natural economy."

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Accumulation of By-Products

History abounds in striking instances of large changes brought about by cumulative processes, i.e., those which left *a little more or less* of something. The destruction of the middle class, the *curiales,* in later Roman society came about by the operation through centuries of a tax system which ground them slowly to powder. In the Dark Ages the short-sighted practice of rewarding military services with estates, which, at first granted for life, later became inheritable, eventually dissipated the resources of the Crown and led to feudal decentralization.[1] In the course of centuries the death-bed gifts to religious corporations caused a fifth of the soil of Europe to be accumulated in the "dead hand" and made the Church a huge endowed institution. The oppressive exercise of their justice-of-the-peace powers by the great proprietors of medieval Germany pressed down the peasants one after another into a servile condition, until at last free cultivators ceased to exist. The similar practice of Southern justices a few years ago in imposing on negroes arrested on petty charges excessive fines, and binding them to work at a paltry wage for the planter who paid the fine, would in time have subjected the bulk of the Southern negroes to forced labor had not the Federal courts intervened.

TRANSMUTATIONS

Unintended Metamorphoses

Transmutations are changes of an involuntary character due to the difficulty one generation has in accurately reproducing the copy set by its predecessor. The speech of our ancestors underwent the unnoticed sound-shiftings recorded in Grimm's law. Refracted through generations of scribes, pictographs shrivel into conventional ideographic characters. Natural gestures became fossilized into meaningless forms. Coins minted first as tiny spades or knives drift into unrecognizable shapes.

How One Thing Turns into Another

Human institutions and relations likewise glide insensibly into forms which would not be assumed of intention. Presents freely given a chief pass into presents expected, even demanded, while volunteered help passes into exacted service. Among the Greeks there was "a gradual transition from the primitive idea of a personal goddess, Themis, attached to Zeus, first to his sentences or orders called Themistes, and next, by a still farther

[1] Kowalevsky, "Oekonomische Entwickelung Europa's," Vol. II, chs. 1 and 2.

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remove, to various established customs which these sentences were believed to sanctify." Bank-notes, issued as certificates of deposit of coin and redeemable on demand, come at last to be looked upon as real money, and circulate long after the tradition of the old right of redemption has been lost, and the original deposit dissipated. Often it is by an imperceptible process that lordship ripens into property. In India minor officers, courtiers, and servants "were provided for by being allowed to take, in individual villages, the whole or part of the Raja's grain." "In time these claims develop into a landlord right over the village." "The change from revenue-manager to landlord was accomplished in about a century."[2] The *flaith*, an elected public officer of the early Celtic clan, became a noble by the hereditary principle encroaching upon and choking the elective principle, while the clan land which endowed the *flaith's* office, from having been held by several succeeding generations of the same family, came to be looked upon as private property not only by the *flaith*, but by the people themselves. An ethical religion tends to become external and perfunctory, owing to the fact that its spirit is more quickly altered in transmission from father to son than its form. The most sacred commands and the most authoritative ideals will be unwittingly deformed if they run counter to human inclination and have not been fixed in writing.

Social Evolution Cannot Be Arrested

The word *evolution* is applied to a series of changes brought about by the operation of resident forces. Social changes brought about by *statico-dynamic processes* and *transmutations* may therefore properly be termed *social evolution*. These are what sociologists have in mind when they insist that society *evolves*, in fact cannot be prevented from evolving. A society may be so pleased with its institutions that it suffers no willed change — like the Greek city-state which decreed death to any citizen who should propose to alter its constitution — but it cannot arrest *social evolution*. Hence, it had better leave the door open to changes which *adapt* institutions to the new situations which social evolution has brought.

Stimuli Are Not within Society

Now, there are other unwilled social changes the cause of which is to be sought not *in* society but *under* or *outside* society. The growth of population, the production of the man of

[2] See Baden-Powell, "The Land Systems of British India," Vol. I, pp. 131, 186; Vol. II, p. 224.

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inventive genius, do not occur in the societal cycle but in the biotic cycle under it. The accumulation of wealth happens in the economic process which underlies men's social relations. The interaction of societies and the cross-fertilization of cultures illustrate how society may be pulled out of its orbit by outside forces. We may call these factors of social change *stimuli* and their result *social growth*.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

Increase of numbers changes adversely the relation of population to land, making it harder to gain a livelihood. This stress then incites to new ways of exploiting the physical environment. The advance from the hunting stage to the pastoral did not follow promptly the domestication of animals, for man seems to have first tamed animals for amusement rather than for food. It awaited the pressure of numbers.

The Pressure of Numbers Pushes Society into the Next Economic Stage

It was food-shortage which made man pass over from herdmanship to tillage. Of the Navajos we read: "Indian corn . . . was known to them apparently from the earliest times, but while they remained a mere hunting tribe, they detested the labor of planting. But as their numbers increased, the game, more regularly hunted, became scarce, and to maintain themselves in food, necessity forced them to a more general cultivation of corn, and the regular practice of planting became established among them." We have like testimony, as to the cause of going over to agriculture, respecting the Bashkirs, the Kirghises and various other peoples. Alluding to the passing over from pasturage to agriculture in seventh-century Ireland, an ancient chronicle remarks: "Because of the abundance of the households, in their period, therefore it is that they (the sons of Æd Slane) introduced boundaries into Ireland." There is evidence that the earliest cultivators of the soil were "strangers attached to the tribe upon whom the rough work of the community fell, and who would be the first to suffer from a scarcity of food."

Advance to the Next Economic Stage Transforms Society

By causing these economic shifts the growth of population brings on changes in social organization. The adoption of pastoral pursuits converts the savage horde into the tribe, institutes property, establishes male kinship, develops patriarchal authority, favors polygamy and wife-purchase, makes woman a chattel,

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causes captives to be enslaved instead of eaten, and substitutes the *wergeld* for the blood-feud. The adoption of agriculture even changes the nature of the social bonds. Says Maine: "From the moment a tribal community settles down finally upon a definite space of land, the land begins to be the basis of society in place of kinship." Agriculture breaks up the tribe into clans which become village-communities; while the back-breaking toil induces a resort to slavery and to the slave trade.

Increase of population does not cease to be a dynamic factor with the adoption of agriculture. The land is progressively occupied until at last the poor man has no longer a direct access to nature, but must offer his services for wages. When this point is reached slavery and serfdom disappear of themselves, for it is no longer necessary to own laborers in order to have them in sufficient supply. The expansion of population compels a resort to inferior soils. This, by enhancing the value of the better tracts and increasing the landowner's share of the produce, gives rise to an agricultural aristocracy, which, as it withdraws itself from labor and occupies itself with war and politics, becomes the dominant social class.

Enlargement of Demand Remoulds the Economy of Society

The enlargement of demand in consequence of the growth of numbers often causes an exchange economy to take the place of domestic husbandry. In some districts the natural resources fall short in certain respects and the local population desire to supply their lack of particular commodities from the larger resources of other districts, sending out in return those products of their own which are to be had in the greatest abundance. This potential exchange makes it worth while to create arteries of communication which, in turn, promote the territorial division of labor. Besides thus calling into being merchants, markets, and movements of goods, increase of numbers causes local groups of craftsmen to spring up producing articles formerly demanded in quantities too small to set up currents of trade. In place of periodical fairs appear now town populations regularly exchanging their wares with the country.

The need of better security for goods on routes traversing many local jurisdictions creates a demand for royal protection and cements that alliance of burghers with king which is so potent in humbling the feudal lords. In his struggle with the barons the king chooses from the burghers of the town his

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agents and servants, and the chief of these, ennobled by royal patent, take their places alongside the old territorial aristocracy.

Special Psychology of the Townsmen

The towns which arose in the Middle Ages to meet the economic needs of an expanding population gave rise to fresh social and political developments. The feudal manor stood for constraint; the town for freedom ("City air makes free"). Outside the town the workers were serfs and labor was despised; inside, labor was respected and the worker had pride in his work. Outside, fighting and working were distinct occupations; inside, one wrought or fought as occasion required. Outside was caste; inside, men were in free and fluid relations. Moreover, town life develops a social mind more impressible and plastic than that of the open country. Outworn traditions and narrow local sentiments meet and cancel one another. The shutters of the intellect are taken down. The mind becomes supple and alert. Freed from the net of kin ties and class fealty the *individual* appears. The town is therefore a hot-bed, where seed-ideas quickly germinate. It places itself at the head of the social procession and sets the pace for the country-dwellers.

The City Anti-Aristocratic

Less traditional than the country, the city appraises men according to some present fact — their achievement or their wealth, rather than according to their ancestry. It is plutocratic or democratic in temper, whereas the countryside believes devoutly in family. In the city, people consume, as it were, in one another's presence, and hence their expenditure conforms to the canon of Conspicuous Waste more than does that of the country folk. In town the multiplication of merely conventional wants intensifies competition, whets egoism, and restricts the size of the family.

Increase of Size of Society Transforms Government

Increase of social mass reacts upon organization. As society spreads, distinctions arise between local chiefs and the head chief, between local priests and the high priest, which lead to the formation of hierarchies. Differentiation occurs between sacred and secular functionaries, between military and civil heads, and between judicial and executive offices. The heavier burden of business obliges the ruler to surround himself with helpers, who in turn require other helpers, so that the governmental structure becomes complex. Power is deputed and redeputed; comes into the hands of the leisured or the trained. The poor no longer have part in government. Says Mommsen: "Now that Rome

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had ceased to be a purely Italian state, and had adopted Hellenic culture, it was no longer possible to take a small farmer from the plow and set him at the head of the community." [3] "Under Chlodovech and his immediate successors," we read, "the People, assembled in arms, had a real participation in the resolutions of the king. But with the increasing size of the kingdom, the meeting of the entire people became impossible." [4]

THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH

Prosperity Remolds the Economy of Society

General prosperity is a dynamic factor. Production is stimulated, not along the entire line of commodities but chiefly in the higher grades of goods, and in comforts and luxuries. This results in the transfer of labor and capital from certain occupations to others, from extractive industries to elaborative industries, from the fabricating of goods to the rendering of services. There will be some shift of population from country to city and from centers and regions producing necessaries to centers and regions producing luxuries. So far as augmented production is widely dedicated to capital-building, the sacredness of property will be emphasized in morals and law, while there will be wider support of government as a property-protecting institution.

A Surplus-Economy Has a Morals and Religion of Its Own

With more goods to consume there is more dread of vice, so that morals is less concerned with restraining one from aggression and more concerned with fortifying one against temptations to over-indulgence. An economic surplus causes human depravity to be doubted and undermines belief in the "lake of fire and brimstone." The God of Fear yields to the God of Love. In worship there is more praise and less prayer. To guide men, amidst the greater variety of consumables, toward the more harmonious groupings of goods, numerous standards of consumption are erected.

The Wealthy Acquire Prestige and Privilege

In accumulation some will distance others, and those who thus became differentiated from the rest in respect to possessions may eventually become a distinct social class. Almost inevitably great wealth translates itself into political power, legal privileges, and social prestige. "The heroes of the Homeric poems," says

[3] "History of Rome," Vol. II, p. 384.

[4] Richter, "Annalen der deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter," pp. 119–120.

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Maine, "are not only valiant but wealthy; the warriors of the *Nibelungen Lied* are not only noble, but rich. In the later Greek literature we find pride of birth identified with pride in seven wealthy ancestors."[5] Among the ancient Irish the nobles are in seven grades, distinguished chiefly by wealth. At the bottom of the scale is the Aire-desa and "the Brehon law provides that when the Bo-Aire has acquired twice the wealth of an Aire-desa and has held it for a certain number of generations, he becomes an Aire-desa himself."[6] Owning a horse, so as to be able to fight from horseback instead of on foot, has been the germ of every knighthood, e.g., the Greek *hippeis,* the Roman Equestrian Order, the Gaulish *equites,* and the medieval riders (*Ritter*), horsemen (cavaliers, *chevaliers, caballeros*), or knights.

With economic equality vanishes that primitive political equality of citizens based upon their equal value in defending the commonwealth. Clients and retainers multiply until they counterpoise the burgher class. The poorer citizens slip into a position of economic dependence. "It is by taking (live) stock that the free Irish tribesman becomes the Ceile or Kyle, the vassal or man of his chief, owing him not only rent, but service and homage."[7] Meanwhile the rich give themselves up to martial exercises and war and, since they are well accoutred and expert in wielding weapons, they often prove themselves more than a match for the *plebs.*

How a Civic Institution Is Deformed by Social Stratification

Gross inequality in possessions entails still other differentiations. Service in the Roman cavalry, at first obligatory upon every man who could furnish two horses, became after a time a badge of superiority. Men of standing remained in the cavalry after they had become too old to fight. "Young men of rank more and more withdrew from serving in the infantry, and the legionary cavalry became a close aristocratic corps."[8] By the time of Sulla the dying out of the sturdy farmer class and the formation of an urban rabble had converted the Roman army "from a burgess force into a set of mercenaries who showed no fidelity to the state at all and proved faithful to the officer only when he had the skill personally to gain their at-

[5] "Early History of Institutions," p. 134.
[6] "Maine," *Ibid.,* p. 136.
[7] "Maine," *Ibid.,* p. 158.
[8] Mommsen, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 379.

tachment."[9] Finally the rich came to feel that it was a shame that they should have to do anything they disliked. In Caesar's time "in the soldiery not a trace of the better classes could any longer be discovered. In law the general obligation to bear arms still subsisted; but the levy took place in the most irregular and unfair manner. . . . The Roman burgess cavalry now merely vegetated as a sort of mounted noble guard, whose perfumed cavaliers and exquisite high-bred horses only played a part in the festivals of the capital; the so-called burgess infantry was a troop of mercenaries swept together from the lowest ranks of the burgess population."[10]

The Products of Wealth Differences Poison Society

Under great pecuniary inequality the notion establishes itself after a time that *human worth is measured, not by one's achievements or personal merits, but by one's scale of consumption.* This sets pecuniary emulation above all other forms of rivalry, and begets a host of artificial wants which spread an insensate luxury through the upper circles of society. Percolating down through the social strata these wants divert a large part of income from the service of real human needs. In all classes the craving for wealth is raised to an extravagant pitch, while everything else is lowered in value. Very clearly is this to be seen in the decline of the Roman republic after the slave economy had wiped out the middle class. Says Mommsen: "To be poor was not merely the sorest disgrace and the worst crime, but the only disgrace and the only crime; for money the statesmen sold the state and the burgess sold his freedom; the post of the officer and the vote of the juryman were to be had for money; for money the lady of quality surrendered her person as well as the common courtesan; the falsifying of documents and perjuries had become so common that in a popular poet of this age an oath is called 'the plaster for debts.' Men had forgotten what honesty was; a person who refused a bribe was regarded, not as an upright man, but as a personal foe."[11] There was "nothing to bridge over or soften the fatal contrast between the world of the beggars and the world of the rich."[12] "The wider the chasm by which the two worlds were externally di-

[9] Mommsen, Vol. III, p. 455.
[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 581.
[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 616.
[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 621.

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vided, the more completely they coincided in the like annihilation of family life . . . in the like laziness and luxury, the like unsubstantial economy, the like unmanly dependence, the like corrupton differing only in its scale, the like criminal demoralization, the like longing to begin the war with property." [18]

New Wealth Extremely Dynamic

Wealth which wells up at new spots or comes into new hands is a great upsetter. The first full-fledged aristocracy develops on the basis of revenue from land. If, however, by the side of the territorial nobles there forms a considerable body of plebeian rich, the social structure is sure to be warped. It matters not whether the source of these fortunes be piracy, commerce, colonial exploitation, tax-farming, or finance; money is a power which assumes super-economic forms. The fall of the early Greek aristocracies was due to the fortunes made in commerce, shipping and manufacture. Absorbed in war and politics the Eupatrids were confronted by new men who by clearing and enclosure, sometimes by marriage, had become owners of landed estates. The assault of these upstarts on the political monopoly of the nobles began the movement which ended in democracy. Thucydides declares that the increase in the number of people of means brought about an irresistible demand for a larger participation in government and that this triumph of property over birth occurred usually in states where property was most diffused and where maritime commerce, industry, and financial speculation were most developed.

Political Democracy a Product of Free Land

In the Middle Ages flourishing trading or mining towns bought of their lords special rights and immunities, and thus virtually ransomed themselves out of the feudal system. In France, when extending his authority at the expense of the feudal *seigneurs,* the king leaned constantly upon the class which had become wealthy by tax-farming, trade and manufacturing. The strong trend toward democracy which manifests itself in the societies which have grown up in new countries outside of Europe. such as America, Australasia, and Siberia, owes much to the diffusion of opportunities to own property brought about by access to free land.

[18] *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, p. 621.

THE INTERACTION OF SOCIETIES

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Trade as a Transformer

The action of one society upon another by way of commerce, migration, and war is frequently a cause of social change. Commerce between societies hitherto self-sufficing makes them depend upon each other for certain goods and so constitutes them an enlarged economic unit. The balance of occupations within society is upset and this may lead to institutional changes. Trade with Europe and America is destroying the native arts all through Asia. In the fifteenth century the demand from the Continent for English wool resulted in the conversion of fields into sheep pastures, the inclosure of much common land, the raising of rents, the eviction of customary tenants, an over-supply of labor and the freeing of the villeins from their hereditary bondage. Again, it is the rise of foreign trade which converts domestic slavery into capitalistic slavery. Negro slavery would never have gotten such a hold on the South had not Europe stood ready to absorb cotton in unlimited quantities and to pay for it with manufactured goods, which slave labor is so unfitted to produce.

Dynamic Effects of Migration

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, foreign emigration played no small part in the transformation of European societies. The settling of vast fertile tracts by these emigrants, coupled with steam transportation, developed an overseas competition which, by depressing agricultural profits in the Old World, lessened the landlord's share of the produce. The rent receiver prospered less than laborer and capitalist, with the result that the political and social domination of the land-owning class was broken.

The modification of American society by an extremely heavy immigration from Europe has already been referred to.[14] Let one consider how much more we should have been transformed had we admitted Orientals as freely as we admitted Europeans. The presence here of ten million Chinese and Japanese would have acted like a continental upheaval, changing classes, institutions, relations, ideals — everything!

War a Welder

Still more momentous than the changes brought about by trade and migration are those resulting from the *hostilities* between societies. In previous chapters[15] instances have been

[14] In chapter II. See also Ross, "The Old World in the New," chs. x-xii.

[15] Chapters IX and XI.

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given of the welding power of war. Fighting on the same side promotes not only political unity, but religious unity as well. So long as they dwelt undisturbed in the home they had won for themselves in Canaan, the children of Israel succumbed constantly to the seduction of the local Baal cults. But whenever danger united them against a common foe, their loyalty to Jehovah, the god of their nomad life, was revived. Their wars prevented their assimilation to the Canaanites and the consequent failure of their religious career.

War Creates the Autocrat

War, moreover, creates headships which may become permanent and political. The Hebrew monarchy began in this way. During peace Saul returned to his own estate and lived there with a few followers. David's conquests and successes, however, gave the monarchy that solidity which enabled his son Solomon to supplant the tribal with the civil organization, lay taxes, levy *corvées,* conscript troops, establish a court and create a new nobility. The Germanic invasions united the kingship with the leadership of the army, which had become permanent. The Crusades, which were preached under the auspices of the popes, tended to aggrandize the papal authority within the Church.

And May Unite Undissolubly Throne and Altar

The grinding of people against people not only merges the civil with the military power, but may unite the secular power with the spiritual. The prolonged struggle of the Spaniards with the Moors identified the national creed with the national cause and produced that exaggeration of orthodoxy and loyalty which was so fatal to the intellectual freedom of the Spanish people. The close union of state and church in Russia had its origin in the centuries of strife with the Tartars, who were as hostile to the Orthodox Church as to the Tsars of Muscovy.

War May Ruin a Middle Class

Chronic and profitless warfare waged by levies of freeholders ruins the middle class. The exhausting duel between Israel and Damascus produced the evil state of things which aroused the reforming prophets, Amos and Hosea. The little farmers lost their lands during their absence in the field, and on their return debt crushed them into slavery. Great estates took the place of small holdings and the poor became dependent on the rich. Likewise in early Rome.

The burdensome and partly unfortunate wars, and the exorbitant taxes and task-works to which these gave rise, filled up the measure of calamity; so as either to deprive the possessor directly of his

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farm and to make him the bondman, if not the slave, of his creditor lord, or to reduce him through encumbrances practically to the condition of a temporary lessee of his creditor.[16]

Or Aid the Plebs at the Expense of the Upper Class

Sometimes a defensive struggle raises an oppressed class. Taking advantage of a military crisis which caused insolvent debtors to be released to fight the foe, the Roman *plebs* extorted from the ruling class the institution of tribunes to protect the rights of the plebeians. Moreover, remote military enterprises may waste and weaken the ruling caste. The Crusades rid Europe of many turbulent nobles whose presence made order and industry well-nigh impossible. The decimation of the petty baronage under the pressure of debt and travel, battle and disease, helped to concentrate authority in the hands of the royal officers. Taking advantage of the Crusader's need of cash, the towns bought immunities of him, and the ecclesiastical corporations took a mortgage on his estate.

The Spoils of War May Upset the Equilibrium of Classes

Victorious warfare yields booty, captives, lands and tribute, and the disposal of these may transform society. Maine surmises that the capital which Greek eupatrids, Roman patricians, and Gaulish knights lent to commoners at such rates of interest as to force many of the borrowers into debt slavery and lead to violent social upheavals, may have originated in the seizure by the nobles of the lion's share of the spoils of war. In early Roman society much depended on whether the state land was let in great blocks at a nominal rent to the aristocrats or was allotted as homesteads to the commoners. The one policy strengthened the patricians, the other the plebeians, in their two centuries of conflict. More decisive for Roman society than even the state lands was the glutting of the labor market with those made captive by the incessant conquests of the State. It was the ruin of the middle class by the competition of the slave proletariat that brought destruction on the Roman commonwealth.

THE CONTACT AND CROSS-FERTILIZATION OF CULTURES

The Borrowing of Institutions

A society may be swerved from its natural orbit by borrowing institutions which have originated in some other society. Recall how the Christian Church, Roman law, the feudal tenure, parliamentary government, the jury system, and the federal principle spread by imitation far beyond their original habitat. Mar-

[16] Mommsen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 349.

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cus Aurelius borrowed from the Germans the status of serfs or *liti*. The centralized government of Louis XIV found imitators all over Europe. The spectacle of free institutions across the Channel was fatal to the old régime in France. The abolition of serfdom, as now the woman's movement and social legislation, spread largely by national example. A true social evolution obeying resident forces has nearly disappeared from the face of the earth, seeing that to-day the germs of every new social arrangement are blown throughout the world, and peoples at the most diverse stages of culture are affected by the jurisprudence, the laws, and the organization of the advanced societies.

The Borrowing of Elements of Culture

Such open-mindedness is, however, rather recent. Usually the peoples have rejected alien *institutions*, but borrowed alien *elements of culture*, which, nevertheless, in time are likely to work social transformations. When a backward people is in contact with a highly cultured one, there occurs simple borrowing, but when the peoples are nearly abreast on different lines of development, one fructifies the other and a higher culture results. Just as the crossing of two strains may yield a creature superior to either, so the crossing of two cultures in the minds of an *élite* may initiate a superior civilization. One reason is that contact with a culture not too unlike one's own produces that open-mindedness so essential to progress. Another is that by retaining what is best in its own culture and replacing its poorer elements with superior elements from an alien culture, a people may create a blend surpassing both civilizations. Finally, the meeting in originative minds of dissimilar ideas or ideals may fecundate thought and produce a flood of inventions. It is thus that the meeting of Orient and Occident engendered neo-Platonism, and the mutual fertilization of Christian tradition and classic culture by the Revival of Learning produced the Renaissance.

THE INNOVATING INDIVIDUAL

Martial Inventions

Ideas born of gifted individual minds deserve credit for most of the changes in society which are of a progressive character. For the most part, these transforming ideas are either the industrial-martial inventions or the religio-scientific innovations, the reason being that these are *condition-making*. Since there is no herdsmanship without the training of animals, no agriculture

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vithout the domestication of plants, no water communication vithout the boat, invention had much to do with that expansion of population or of wealth which I have shown to be so pregnant vith social change. The inventions pertaining to warfare have een fateful for the survival of the more ingenious races and or all forms of domination and parasitism.

Space-Conquering Inventions

Next in importance are the inventions which have facilitated ransportation and communication — wheeled vehicle, boat, sail, ompass, rail, steam, airplane, wireless. These call into being ities, promote diffusions and comminglings of races, hasten rossings of cultures and blendings of blood, abolish frontiers, ake possible vast political units and supersede local association y national, even international, association. More than this, they ccelerate progress by transmitting everywhere good new ideas vhich arise anywhere; so that every section of mankind is served ot only by its own inventive spirits, but by the productive genuses of the whole race. Last come the condition-making inentions embodied in languages, sciences, and speculations. Lanuages support the inter-mental activities by which like-minded-

Conceptual Inventions

ess spreads. The building of concepts and generalization about he physical world is indispensable to the progress of mechanical nvention. Speculations about the Unseen determine to what exent men's groupings and institutions shall acquire sanctity by eing bound up with the gods. The revolutions in ideas wrought y founders of religion reverberate in society almost as much s the revolutions in production wrought by mechanical inventors.

Invention of Social Institutions

In some cases, however, a new institution, relation or activity prings directly from the individual mind. The Hebrew prophets ho originated worship without sacrifice, and the Reformers who roclaimed "justification by faith," consciously severed the tie at binds layman to priest. With his principle that the ties of inship should be wholly subordinated to the ties of belief, Maomet gave a new basis to Arab society. Caesar was a social nventor when he established the principle that insolvency shall ot cost the debtor his freedom. So was St. Paul when he onceived that the gospel was for Gentiles as well as for Jews. o was St. Benedict when he devised the "Rule" that gave orm to the innumerable monastic communities of Western Euope. So was Hildebrand when he imposed sacerdotal celibacy pon the Church. If we may believe Maine, the strong feeling

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among the Latin peoples in favor or portioning daughters is "descended by a long chain of succession from the obligatory provisions of the marriage laws of the Emperor Augustus." Whoever conceived this *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea* was in reality a social Edison. Pythagoras, St. Francis, and Loyola originated new types of religious con-fraternity. Henry IV instituted the invalid soldiers' home. Grotius modified the relations of nations. Robert Raikes invented the Sunday school; Toynbee, the social settlement; Le Claire, the profit-sharing group; Raffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch, the co-operative credit association; Pinel and Tuke, the modern insane hospital; Marbeau, the *crèche;* Howard and his successors, the reformatory; Barnardo, boys' work; George, the Junior Republic; Leverhulme, the "garden city"; the Hetheringtons, the "play school."

TRANSFORMATIONS OF OUR TIME

Primary Factors of Contemporary Change

Ours is a tumultuously dynamic epoch. Never before has the bulk of mankind been required to adapt itself so quickly to great changes in underlying conditions. Of these changes the chief primary factors are:

1. The wide introduction of machinery and mechanical power.
2. Great improvements in the means of transportation and communication.
3. The application of Science to the destruction of human beings in warfare.
4. Discovery of many means of combating disease and saving human life.
5. The cheapness of printed matter.
6. The social policy of universal education.
7. Adoption of the scientific method in all inquiry.
8. The establishment of the fact of *evolution* in all fields.

Secondary Factors of Contemporary Change

The more immediate factors of contemporary social change are derived roughly as follows:

a. The growth of cities; from 1, 2, 4, and 5.
b. The extensive fixation of capital; from 1.
c. Great-scale industry; from 1, 2, and a.
d. Appearance of a leisure class founded on income from in-

dustrial capital rather than on the profits of commercial capital or the rent of land; from b and c.

e. Immense displacements of population by voluntary migration; from 2, 5, and 6.

f. Intermingling of dissimilar races and discordant cultures; from 2 and e.

g. Rise in the plane of popular intelligence; from 2, 5, and 6.

h. A higher standard of living; from 1, 2, a, and g.

i. Weakening of the authority of religion; from 7, 8, and g.

j. The voluntary limitation of the size of the family; from 4, g, h, and i.

k. Acquisition of political power by the popular classes; from g, h, and i.

Accelerated Transformation

With so many ferments at work it is not surprising that for our race the world has changed more in the last hundred years than in the previous thousand years. Nay, one can go farther. One can safely aver that since the outbreak of the Chino-Japanese war, a quarter of a century ago, the situation of the white race with respect to other races has changed more than in the three centuries preceding. Thanks to overseas commerce and colonial exploitation, races which lived in ignorance of one another's existence have been jostled together and have to make up their minds whether it is to be peace or war.

Willed Change Lags Behind Unwilled Change

Ideas, standards, and policies are quite as real entities as howitzers and motor trucks, for they determine men's actions. Unfortunately, it is not so easy to perceive when an idea, standard or policy is out of date and deserves to be scrapped as it is to perceive when a machine or technique is out of date and deserves to be scrapped. Consequently the great majority of men are holding to ideas, standards and policies which they learned from their parents or adopted in their youth, but which are unsuited to the changed situation.[17] In half a life time, so headlong

[17] To illustrate: the idea of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man might render supreme service in this era of race intermingling. But see how it is compromised by the diction of war and monarchy. The common appellations of Jesus are "Lord," "Lord of Hosts," "King," "Prince," "Master." The Christian life is represented as a warfare, or as the orderly working of a great royal household with "servants," "stewards," "messengers," "soldiers." Among our favorite hymns are "Onward, Christian Soldiers," "Fight the Good Fight," "Hold the Fort." Says Fairchild: "As embodied in the formulated sects of to-day, the

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has been our rate of movement, much which appeared to be wisdom has become foolishness.

For example, now that the necessaries of life are in the channels of trade, the merchant should not expect to be left as free from regulation as he was in the days when trade was chiefly in the superfluities of life. More and more a concern engaged in supplying the public with a necessary will be looked upon as a public instrumentality and will be obliged to accept certain responsibilities. Those who insist that it is merely a private venture can only make trouble for themselves and for others.

A generation ago the courts began to recognize that certain businesses are "affected with a public interest." In the eyes of the sociologist *all* considerable enterprises supplying us with essential goods or services are "affected with a public interest," and may properly be restrained from arbitrarily discriminating among their customers and from extorting a profit out of proportion to the value of the services they render.

Business Should Be Viewed in a New Light

Now that handworkers can read and write, have votes, unions, rising standards of living, and ambitions for their children, employers should not expect to make, according to their own good pleasure, decisions affecting the safety, health, and income of their employees. Industrial autocracy is as out-of-date as a hauberk. The time is ripe for limited constitutional monarchy in the factory. Yet owners who inherit their ideas of property from the handicraft stage imagine that their autocratic control rests on Divine right and they may resist too long the workers' demand for a voice in industrial government.

In these days of close-knit economic inter-dependence among nations and universal publicity, for a nation to cultivate the naïve ego-centrism which prevailed in the stage of national self-sufficiency indicates that it does not realize what kind of a world it is living in.

Absolute Sovereignty an Out-of-Date Concept

In a time when, owing to economic interlacement, war spreads like a forest fire, the statesman who contends for the ancient unqualified right of sovereign states to fight out their disputes

Christian religion is essentially pastoral, patriarchal, militaristic, despotic and feudalistic, and therefore fails to appeal to the citizen of an industrial democracy as a vital and practical thing. All the paraphernalia of thrones, diadems, armor, and blood-red banners arouse no response in the mind or heart of the day laborer, the clerk, or the mechanic — they are symbols without significance." "Applied Sociology," p. 321.

without hindrance shows that he has not adjusted his ideas to the contemporary situation. Likewise, the claim of a single power to rule the seas is bound to prove inadmissible now that the industrial people which does not have equal access with its rivals to the world's food stuffs and raw materials must starve. With ocean carriage as vital as air to a diver, neither insular position nor far-flung empire can justify such control of one nation over the economic existence of the rest. If there must be a "mistress of the seas," let it be a league of nations.

European Domination in Asia Doomed

The means of destruction have been developed far beyond the means of self-protection. Yet the race, nation, or class which is, for the time being, stronger ignores this fact and confidently indulges in a high-handed domination engendering an ill-will that may later prove devastating. For example, no one who knows the Asiatic peoples believes that the present subjection of Asiatics to Europeans can endure. Machine industry, science, schools, newspapers, and agitation will rouse these long-civilized peoples as they have roused the upstart-peoples of Europe. Before the end of this century, probably every vestige of European eminent-domain in Asia will have vanished. But whether it will be relinquished peaceably or will go down in blood and flame depends on whether European power-holders can adjust their ideas to the realities of to-day and to-morrow. In the closing two decades of the last century, anti-imperialist prophets went about beseeching the governing classes of Europe to consider what they were doing. They were laughed at and a tension was allowed to develop which resulted in the cataclysm of the World War. It remains to be seen whether the foretellers of other coming stresses will be heeded as little.

Danger Ahead

The prospect ahead is dazzling. Science and invention have put mankind in possession of the means of ridding themselves forever of plague, famine, penury, overpopulation, ignorance, superstition, priestcraft, fanaticism, despotism, slavery, and caste. They have only to do everywhere what is now being done with success somewhere. But men's ideas of human relations are those of an earlier and simpler time. In many ways their traditions inhibit their seizing the opportunities for good will, peace, enlightenment, and social progress which beckon them. Their conduct and policies have not been accommodated to the rapidly-developing social situation, so that at many points we perceive

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class animosity, national antagonism, or race antipathy growing up. Explosives are being heaped up just as they were heaped up in Europe during the thirty years before 1914. To come into the promised land humanity has to negotiate a perilous "knife-edge" and humanity *may fail!*

CHAPTER XLV

RE-SHAPING

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We Study Social Phenomena in Order to Direct or Control Them

ARE we limited to such improvements and ameliorations of society as occur in the ways just described or may the human will intervene to bring about or hasten desired changes? One object in the study of living forms is to discover ways of improving the useful species of plant and animal. We search for the laws of physical forces in order, by means of machinery, to harness them to the service of man. With microscope and tube and stain we probe the life history of micro-organisms in the hope of devising means of protecting our race against these invisible enemies. Why, then, is it not legitimate to sound social phenomena in the hope of discovering how they may be controlled to suit our wishes? Should we study society as we study the stars, the courses of which we cannot influence, or as we study the human body, in sickness and in health, in order to know what to do and what not to do? We vanquish small pox, typhus, diphtheria, the bubonic plague — why should we not endeavor to banish such social maladies as pauperism, prostitution, juvenile delinquency, child exploitation, trampery, mob violence, family disintegration, religious antipathy and race antagonism?

Social Evolution Is Too Slow and Uncertain

Indeed, attack upon the maladjustments among men is an inevitable consequence of the development of social science. What is the use of working out causes and effects, of discovering how things hang together in society, if we are to do nothing with this knowledge? In this time of social self-consciousness and quick and easy dissemination of ideas are we to content ourselves with the tardy and uncertain improvements brought about by blind social evolution? There is, in fact, no alternative but to leave society in self-ignorance or to acquiesce in its reconstruction by the intelligent collective will.

Let no one suppose this is new and untried doctrine. It is a long time since the social will began to interfere with the natural

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Marriage an Ancient and Successful Control of Human Relations

course of things. One of the oldest controls of human relations is pair marriage. One can hardly imagine a bolder interference with private matters — yet few wish to abandon it and leave individual men and women to assume to one another such relations as they choose.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF "DO NOTHING"

Where Laissez-faire Would Land Us

The *laissez-faire* social philosophy, which expects the state to protect individuals in their rights but not to suppress noxious social phenomena, would require us to allow the lottery to return, to cease from interfering with the circulation of salacious books and pictures, to give up the suppression of Mormon polygamy, to let the Spanish bull-fight acclimatize itself among us, and to fold our hands while saloon and bawdy house, animated by boundless greed, do their utmost to break down the good habits which home and school and church have been at endless pains to build up.

Convincing proof that the human will is not impotent to deflect the current of social life is afforded by the outcome of successful foreign Christian missions. After investigation on the spot ten years ago, I wrote:[1]

The Results of Missions in China Exemplify a Willed Change in Society

"What of the young men leaving the mission colleges unconverted, yet imbued with Christian ideals? What of the bracing effect on the government schools of competition with the well-managed and efficient mission schools? What of the government schools for girls, which would never have been provided if the missionaries had not created a demand for female education and shown how to teach girls? What of the native philanthropies which have sprung up in emulation of the mission care for the blind, the insane, and the leper? What of the untraceable influence of the Western books of inspiration and learning which, but for the missionary translations, would not yet be accessible to the Chinese mind? Among Chinese who neither know nor care for the 'Jesus religion,' the changes of attitude toward opium-smoking, foot-binding, concubinage, slavery, 'squeeze,' torture, and the subjection of women, betray currents of opinion set in motion largely by the labors of missionaries.

"In other words, the running of so many heathen into our

[1] See Ross, "The Changing Chinese," pp. 245–6.

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religious molds is not the chief accomplishment. Over and above the proselytes won are the beneficient transformations, intellectual and moral, wrought in great numbers of people who do not affiliate with the Church. Then, over and above such transformations of individuals are the transformations wrought in the society and government of the Middle Kingdom — better treatment of slaves, of prisoners, of orphans, of wives, of commoners. In this the missionaries have a great part, though no man can say how much. Finally, over and above the transformations of society are the transformations wrought in the Chinese civilization."

Genesis of the Laissez-faire Doctrine

Laissez-faire was the philosophy wrought out by honest European thinkers, wishful of social progress, who thought nothing would help so much as the removal of such barriers and hindrances to the operation of beneficent, social forces as imprisonment for debt, the established church, laws against the combination of workmen, protective tariffs, restraints on trade, and the poor laws.

Class Interest Gets Behind the Doctrine

However, it chimed with the policy of the propertied to insist that their success came to them in a "natural" order and owed nothing to laws and institutions. Possessing the legal rights which most suited their pecuniary interests, it was good tactics for them to dissuade from the use of appropriate remedies on behalf of the unpropertied, to cry down laws, to insist on their futility and impotency as against "natural" law, and to make much of the failure of badly-drawn laws, unworkable laws, and laws which were never enforced, to produce the results hoped for.

THE DISCREDITING OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE

Why Laissez-faire Broke Down

The *laissez-faire* social philosophy reached the zenith of its ascendancy in the third quarter of the last century. Then its power over minds began to be broken down, partly by the success and extension of such bold enterprises of social reconstruction as the German workingmen's insurance legislation, partly by the criticisms of Lester F. Ward, the great champion of developing the science of society for the purpose of giving society control over its own future.

Laissez-faire is now in utter discredit by reason of the number

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Success of Interventionist Policies

of successes which stand to the account of the interventionist policy. Among these are

1. Universal education at the public expense.
2. Workingmen's insurance.
3. The provision of public libraries.
4. Public provision of facilities for recreation.
5. Restriction of the industrial labor of children.
6. Reformative treatment of juvenile and first offenders.

Their Spread over the World

It may be that the ultimate effect of these policies will belie the effects which have so far disclosed themselves. It is certain, however, that societies which have adopted these policies show no sign of turning back, but rather move onward in the same path. Continually they perfect and extend them while other societies, after looking into their results, adopt them. If these are not proofs of success, it would be hard to know what should constitute such proof.

There are other controls of social phenomena which are too recent to be regarded as fixed and settled, but which give strong indications of permanence. Among these are:

1. The suppression of alcoholism, gaming, and prostitution.
2. Housing regulation and city planning.
3. The control of immigration.
4. The legal minimum wage.
5. Public employment bureaus.
6. Instruction of the young in sex.
7. Interference with the reproduction of the unfit.

No Signs of Race Deterioration under These Policies

These bold experiments in the scientific shaping of social destiny have, to say the least, not proven disastrous. The peoples which have ventured on these measures have added to their longevity and lessened their sickness, mortality and loss of infant life to a degree before unknown. The comparison of the heights, weights and intellectual performance of school children shows that those peoples have the brightest outlook for the next generation which have been the most enterprising in applying intelligence to the removal of social ills.

CANONS OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

While such facts encourage us to remould society nearer to our heart's desire, there is little prospect of success in such an undertaking unless certain precautions are observed:

Human Nature Must Not Be Left Out of the Reckoning

1. *Reforms must not do violence to human nature.* Proposals for having women in common, which have cropped up among Utopists ever since Plato proposed it, ignore the existence of male sexual jealousy. Of the more than three score communities which have been launched in the United States all failed save those on a religious basis, because not sufficient allowance had been made for the greed and self-assertion of the ordinary unsanctified and unchastened human being. Attempts to live in one big building, the Fourier phalanstery, collided with the general craving for domestic privacy. Proposals for the state guardianship of children have failed to meet with favor because they outraged the parental instinct. The solitary confinement of prisoners had to be given up because it violated the social side of human nature.

Communism Goes against Our Native Grain

Social reformers like Fourier and Robert Owen assumed that God made man good and that his faults came from living in a bad social system. If the surroundings were made right, man's inborn bent for harmony with his fellows would insure the success of a communistic order. Since Darwin traced the descent of man, however, we are not at liberty to view human nature in such a rosy light. Man's disposition was evolved long ago as a part of his equipment for survival and includes some instincts which are at odds with social harmony. Accordingly communism is a defunct ideal and the one powerful protest of our time is not against competition but against private capitalism.

Reforms Must Be Suited to the Nature of Things

2. *Reforms must square with essential realities, if they are to succeed.* The anarchism of Kropotkin and Tolstoi was drawn from observation of the process of spontaneous human adjustment in the Russian rural village and is unsuited to the expanded economic society of to-day. Cooperative production has disappointed expectations because business management is more difficult than it was supposed to be. The settlement of city families upon the land fails, not from inherent difficulty, but because not enough guidance and credit have been provided for the inexperienced settler. The Russian Bolsheviki at first quite under-

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rated the rôle of managers and technical experts in production and were eventually obliged to lure them back into the factories by high pay and the promise of a free hand.

Investigation Should Precede Action

3. *Intervention should be preceded by a close study of the situation it is proposed to control.* The aspiration to create a "science" of society has had the effect of importing into the study of social conditions the methods of exact observation in the field, counting, measurement, induction, and verification, all of which had been worked out in the older sciences. As a result, contemporary society intervenes not on the basis of brilliant dreams and guesses, but on the basis of comprehensive, thorough and impartial investigation. Whether it be a legislature creating a system of vocational education, a religious denomination contemplating the resuscitation of the country church, a philanthropic association forging a program on behalf of the rural young people, a wealthy foundation confronting the problem of promoting public health, or a great industrial concern under the necessity of gaining the good will of its employees, policy waits upon the results of a survey of the situation by experts. Some of the great modern pieces of social legislation prepared by commissions after elaborate inquiry and deliberation are veritable monuments of scientific law-making.

Unexpected Results of Intervention

Sociology is, however, not an exact science. Even our most intelligent intervention may have consequences quite unforeseen. Laws restricting the labor of children, by raising the age limit and cutting down the hours of work as well as enforcing school attendance, have converted the workman's children from an asset into a burden. It is not surprising then, that in England there has been a marked decline in the birth rate of the women in the manufacturing towns. Workingmen's compensation was originally urged in this country as a remedial measure, and only experience showed its efficacy in directing the employer's mind to the prevention of industrial accidents. By prompting employers to cause their employees to be physically examined at the time of hiring, it has proven itself an important health measure.

Step by Step Is Best

4. *If possible a reform should be tried out on a small scale before being adopted on a large scale.* It is fortunate that the large number of commonwealths in the American Union permits one state to experiment for the other forty-seven. One state or an-

other makes a new departure in the way of a minimum wage for women, abolition of private employment bureaus, "mothers' pensions," the "social evil," probation of adult first offenders, the juvenile court, municipal ownership, factory sanitation, the surgical sterilization of degenerates. Other states watch eagerly the results of the experiment and follow suit if the results are encouraging. It is significant that reforms which have had the support of the leaders in social work have not failed at their try-out, but have been adopted, with some modification perhaps, by other states.

Reforms Succeed Best Which the People Understand and Believe in

5. *Every fundamental social reform should be the outcome of a social movement.* The most egregious failures have been reforms introduced from above without that preliminary process of agitation and education by which understanding and sympathy for the reform are created. The cause of education is not advanced merely by multiplying schools. Usually there is need of a campaign which shall plant belief in and desire for education in young people and their parents. Public health interference with the habits of a people is usually futile unless at least two-thirds of the people understand why the habits are objectionable. The legal suppression of the liquor traffic would be impossible but for the vast public agitation which has been carried on for a generation. The creating of playgrounds is by no means the principal part of the recreation movement. The main thing is the spread of the gospel of play. It is because the people have been taken into the confidence of the reformers that so many modern reforms have produced the hoped-for results.

Harnessing Social Movements to the Task of Administering a Law

It may even be possible to harness up the social movement for the work of administering the reform. Take the method devised in Wisconsin for administering the labor law. Formerly the officials enforced a labor law on the employers of the state against their will and better judgment. In recent years, however, the Industrial Commission, a body of three experts, cooperates with an advisory committee composed equally of representatives of employees and employers. It has wide powers to issue administrative orders but is bound to submit such orders for consideration by the proper advisory committee. Having had a hand in framing the new order the members of this committee act as volunteer popularizers and enforcers of it among their respective

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organizations. Thus two antagonistic social movements — among employers and among employees — are made to pull in harness to help carry out the will of organized society.

Short-Cuts to Social Change Are Not Profitable

6. *Under a popular government reform should never be sought save by legal and constitutional methods.* Often, no doubt, the adoption of a reform which is actively opposed by an influential social class is delayed long past the time when it is due. Perhaps a whole generation is defrauded of its just remedy. Why then, should not an intelligent, coherent minority, conscious of the disinterestedness of its aims, seize power by a quick stroke and put through its beneficent program? True, the majority of the people, divided and duped, perhaps, by a church and a press secretly subservient to the intrenched class, by political parties cunningly manipulated to keep the people amused by sham battles over trifles, are not with the reformers; but they will be, once they have sampled the good things in store for them. The Puritans were a minority which dared to go ahead when the bulk of the English people were quite below the threshold of political consciousness. The Jacobins saved the French Revolution because they did not stand in awe of a politically inert majority. The independence of the Spanish colonies in America was achieved by an energetic element which did not wait for the support of the ignorant and dispirited masses. Indeed, have not the greatest new departures in history been the work of a determined, consecrated group which, unlike the indifferent and nerveless majority, were ready to risk their lives for their ideas?

The answer to such reasoning lies in the effects upon society of catastrophic change. In the words of Professor Ellwood, who has reached valuable generalizations about revolutions:

The Flare-back from Violent Revolution

"The revolutionary party is rarely united upon a constructive social program. Hence, a period of social confusion and uncertainty, which is intensified if the overthrow of the old order has been sudden or by violent means. This may result in a general breakdown in the habits of social order in a large proportion of the population. . . . Now, there is always a tendency in an individual to reversion to simple animal-like activities following the complete breakdown of a habit. This tendency becomes more pronounced if the breakdown of the old habit is accompanied by violence. So in the social life, if the breakdown of old habits and institutions is accompanied by a struggle between classes, there is apt to be a re-

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version of the whole social life to a barbarous or even animal level; for fighting, as one of the most primitive activities, greatly stimulates all the lower centers of action. Hence, revolutionary periods give opportunity for the brute and savage in man to reassert themselves and to dominate many phases of the social life. The methods of attaining ends in revolutions are, therefore, often characteristic of much lower stages of culture. They are apt to be unreflective, extremely direct and crude. The resort to brute force is constant, and when attempts are made at psychical control it is usually through terrorism.

Bloody Internal Strife Decivilizes

"The violent seizure of power by one class, to accomplish its ends, can rarely take place without bloody conflicts between classes. This releases, as we have already seen, the primitive instincts of man which civilization with such difficulty controls. Violence, therefore, can rarely be successfully employed in the higher stages of civilization without defeating the very ends for which it is employed. Its employment starts a process of rebarbarization which is absolutely destructive of those higher social values which civilization has so painfully built up, and by which men have slowly learned to regulate their conduct. If long continued, then, violence must result in the total destruction of anything worthy to be called civilization. The method of social change through revolution must be regarded, therefore, as involving too grave risks to be tolerated by an intelligent people, if it is avoidable." [2]

Social War Wrecks the Economic Organism

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that cheap carriage is creating an economic organism ever more sensitive to the disturbances which nearly always attend a social revolution. Territorial specialization has advanced so far that civil strife, which paralyzes first the organization for communication and transport, would cause unspeakable suffering. Without regular transportation the people of certain Michigan counties would have to live chiefly upon their staple product, celery. Southern Wisconsin would have to subsist upon butter and cheese; Southern California on oranges; Eastern Pennsylvania on anthracite; certain districts in the South on cotton or tobacco. Without access to the coal fields half the population of the Northwest would perish in a hard winter. More and more the distribution of the people over the country and the economic specialization in each locality are predicated upon cheap and uninterrupted transportation. Russia is an economic organism far less developed than

[2] "Introduction to Social Psychology," ch. VIII.

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the United States. Yet the effect of cutting off the central region from the oil of Baku, the coal and iron of the Donetz basin, the food stuffs of Western Siberia and the cotton of Turkestan has been most calamitous.

In a Free and Popular Government There Is No Valuable Reform Which Will Not Come by Peaceful Agitation

The conclusion is irresistible that violent social change is a desperate policy which has no place where speech is free and elections are honest. Any good thing which might be established by the arms of a minority will, within a few years, be voted in by the majority, if only its friends will keep agitating. Therefore the unpardonable sin in a would-be reformer is *impatience*. To defy the verdict of the count, when that count is the only thing which commands general reverence, is to invite chaos. The principle that the duly ascertained will of the majority should prevail and that if a certain minority has the right idea it will be able to make itself the majority is the only safe principle to follow. In the end society will get on faster on this principle than on any other. The true reformer gets out into the arena and battles stubbornly for his ideas, takes political defeat submissively and good-naturedly, comes up smiling for the next bout and perseveres until he has won over the majority or sees that he has been in the wrong.

The Suppression of Free Agitation Invites the Resort to Force

But the boot is on the other foot if a dominant social class lays rude hands upon the mechanism by which social readjustments are peacefully accomplished. Serious and persistent interference with public criticism, free discussion, the spontaneous formation of public opinion, association for political ends, the free selection of policies and leaders, leaves force as the sole means of bringing to pass needed social change. It is now the foes of reform, rather than its friends, who are in the wrong. By violating the conditions on the strength of which we bid reformers to abjure all thought of hastening their reforms by violence, they have put themselves outside the social pact. Morally they have not a leg to stand on and deserve to be treated as any other band of stranglers.

PART IV

SOCIAL PRODUCTS

CHAPTER XLVI

UNIFORMITIES

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The Mergence of Small Groups into Great Peoples and Races

ONE grand outcome of the social processes is that there is uniformity where there was diversity. In prehistoric times mankind must have comprised thousands of racial stocks which, although springing originally from a small number of parent stems, had gradually become more or less differentiated physically from long continuance in diverse natural environments. The formation of larger and yet larger societies, however, has facilitated displacement, migration, crossing and blending, the result being that innumerable kindreds and peoples have disappeared by amalgamation, leaving a small number of great races counting tens of millions, yea, even hundreds of millions, of human beings. While anthropologists discriminate various racial types in each of the great modern peoples, e.g., the English, the French, the Germans, the Italians, there can be no doubt that many ancient stocks have vanished in the melting pot leaving not a trace.

STRUGGLE AND SURVIVAL AMONG CULTURES

The Disappearance of Little Cultures Before Superior Cultures Like the Chinese

Incipient cultures have been merged as well as incipient races. Consider the destiny of the civilization of those Chinese who more than thirty centuries ago came down the Valley of the Wei River. It has been spread and spread until half a billion people in Eastern Asia light their tapers at its flame. Uncounted savage tribes and barbarian hordes have succumbed to its influence. Says Metchnikoff:[1]

> Whatever these heterogeneous tribes have of civilized life, Kalmucks of the Russian steppes and Annamites of Tonkin, Tunguses of Siberia, Manchus of the Amur and the Ussuri, mariners of Fokien and Canton, emanates from one and the same center of civilization, the "Land of the Hundred Families." . . . Nor can one doubt that

[1] "La civilization et les grands fleuves," p. 321.

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if Japan had not had the good fortune to light her torch at the fire of the Celestial Empire, she would perhaps have remained like the Philippines with their Tagals and their Visayas.

Nestorian Christianity came, flourished for a time and vanished. The Jews of Kaifêng-fu lost their language and their religion and became Chinese in all but physiognomy. The conquering Manchus have forgotten their language and literature. "China," it has been finely said, "is a sea which salts everything which flows into it."

and the Saracenic

Or take the Near East. What wealth of contrast would have been noted in Homer's day in the country between Bokhara and Morocco! But the Saracen flood passed over it and now it has the sameness of an ancient beach from which the sea has retired. No sooner is one south of the Caucasus than the eye notes such characteristic "Eastern" features as

> "shaven heads and mustachios, instead of the full beard; the middle girt by the gay sash or the fancy ornamental belt; brimless caps of lambskin and huge black mantles of shaggy felt; embroidered heelless slippers or soft-soled boots; baggy cotton trousers tied in at the ankles; strings of beads for the man's idle hands to play with; merchants sitting cross-legged on beautiful hand-woven rugs; barefoot, veiled women and women draped with festoons of coins; finger nails and grizzling beards stained with henna; shepherds who look as if they live on locusts and wild honey; importunate beggars with the air of having an assured social position; diminutive donkeys, Biblical asses, camels of the desert and slow-moving oxen at the plow; piles of pomegranates, and long, sweet grapes; sacks of goatskin, with the hair turned inside, distended with wine or olive oil; draft animals bedecked about the head with beads to avert the evil eye; heifers treading out the grain on threshing floors; bricks of mud and straw drying in the sun; white-washed mud huts with flat roofs; domed marabouts, and Moorish architecture." [2]

The Struggle of Diversifying Forces with Homogenizing Forces

All down the stream of history diversifying forces have been at work and homogenizing forces have been at work; but often they are quite out of balance. During the pushing out of the Roman frontiers and the diffusion of the classic culture the likeness-producing forces had the upper hand. After the break-up of the Empire and the decay of communications, i.e., after the fifth century A.D., the diversifying forces came on top, as we

[2] Ross, "Russia in Upheaval," pp. 51–52.

see plainly in the development of a whole sisterhood of Romance languages out of the Latin.

Could one have aviated about the earth, say fifteen thousand years ago, when the cultures of Egypt and Babylonia were in their infancy, one would have come upon thousands of isolated petty societies each with its more or less distinctive tools, weapons, speech, folkways, standards, and cult, embodying the experience which generations of men had accumulated in a particular locality. Since then differencing forces have been active as well as assimilating forces, but the latter have been stronger. The net result is that to-day we find mankind aggregated into half a hundred political units and three-score or four-score self-conscious nationalities, while nine-tenths of them speak some one of a score of leading tongues and adhere to one or another of half a dozen great religions.

THE EXTENSION OF PLANES OF UNIFORMITY

Extension of Planes of Uniformity

In other words, communicating men tend to gravitate into a common plane of belief or practice. In early times only those of the same group, the same stock, or the same valley fell into these common planes. But culture gains radiant energy until such elements as the Arabic speech, the written characters of China, the religion of Islam, or the game of chess overcome all rival culture elements in their neighborhood and draw myriads of people into one plane. While such planes of uniformity have been extended and broken countless times, the improvement of communication causes them to form on an ever vaster scale. Never before our time has a convention, like the dress suit, or a sport, like tennis, or a convenience, like the sewing machine, been so widely diffused over the earth. Civilization, which once was *fluvial* — as on the Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Hoang Ho; then *maritime* — as on the Persian Gulf, the Ægean, the Mediterranean, the Yellow Sea; then *oceanic* — as was possible after Columbus and Magellan; has lately become *planetary*.

Generally, no doubt, peoples have been more alike than the regions they inhabit. Consequently, those elements of culture spread farthest which are best suited to human nature and those prosper least which, bearing the impress of a particular geographical environment, are handicapped in appealing to men in any other environment. Drawn from Eastern pastoralism, the

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Culture Elements Fitted to Human Nature Spread Farther than Those Fitted to External Nature

imagery of Christianity is so foreign to the Eskimos that the translator of the New Testament into their tongue had to render the word "sheep," wherever it occurred, by "little seals." What commends the Gospels to the Greenlander is, therefore, not their pastoral background, but their insight into the human heart.

If a truth like the binomial theorem or the rotundity of the earth becomes established in men's minds, the resulting plane of agreement never breaks up. But many planes are laid by things which have only a *relative* value. They are good until something better is to be had. The use of bronze spreads until the art of smelting iron is developed. Romanesque churches multiply until Gothic architecture is perfected. Now, the planes laid down by partial truths and relative goods are liable to be shattered if something of greater merit presents itself. After touching its perigee the Phœnician culture recoiled before the superior Græco-Roman culture. After a certain expansion hieroglyphic writing met a barrier in the spread of the simpler alphabetic writing. The abacus conquered China and Russia, but its empire was doomed by the spread of the practice of "figuring" made possible by the invention of the cipher (o). The formal duel, after gaining vogue with the upper orders everywhere, has largely gone out owing to the decline of the military spirit and the growth of the influence of the popular classes.

A Given Uniformity Lasts Only Until Something Better Comes into View

CULTURE AND DOMINION

The Rôle of Force in the Diffusion of a Higher Culture

Some things spread everywhere whatever their origin, e.g., tobacco, coffee, the cross-bow, firearms, printing from movable type, the American saddle. On the other hand, the boundaries between different religions, types of family, and moral codes curiously coincide with the limits of by-gone empire. Hellenic civilization took hold wherever Alexander bore the Greek arms and stopped where he stopped. The line between Latin and Teutonic Europe is strangely reminiscent of the *limes*, or frontier of the Roman Empire. Islam went where the conquering Arab, Turk or Mogul bore it, rarely farther. There would be to-day no penetration of modern civilization into Japan, India, China, Turkestan, the Caucasus, Northern Africa and the Soudan if some Western nation had not gone there sword in hand. It is true that Japan, China and Siam are freely borrowing Western ways without having surrendered their political independence, but they

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would not do so had there been none to force open their gates to Western influences. Take the case of the Philippines. Had not America become mistress there how long would it have been before, by voluntary imitation, the Filipinos would have gained the benefit of such American blessings as public sanitation, compulsory schooling, equality before the law, and representative government? Surely a century or two.

Force and the Diffusion of the Blessings of German Kultur

The German scholars erred in representing Teutonic aggression as necessary to the diffusion of the blessings of German *Kultur*. The advanced peoples would soon have borrowed the best features of their *Kultur;* were in fact doing so when the World War broke out. Back in history, it is true, rapid propagation of a higher culture has rarely occurred save after conquest. But printing, school systems, universal literacy, international reading matter, and the cinema have changed popular psychology. Our age borrows as never before.

WHY SOME GOOD THINGS NEED TO BE PUSHED

The reason why some good things spread of themselves, whereas other good things do not spread unless they have military or political backing or are subjects of propaganda, depends upon a distinction made by Sumner and stated thus by Keller:[8]

Superiority Does Not Insure Acceptance Unless It Is Manifest

"It is not hard to demonstrate to an ignorant person in this country that he should learn to read and write; he can see that by living in this society. Similarly for his interest is it that he shall use the English language. Tests lie all about him and are immediate and decisive. But try to persuade him by abstract argument to give up the vendetta, to renounce anarchistic leanings, or to change his religion, and you fail. There are no immediate and decisive tests at hand. You cannot demonstrate that interest will be subserved by change; you cannot even secure visualization of evil consequences. . . . The more nearly custom represents direct reaction on environment in the actual struggle for material aids to existence, the more rational a test does it undergo; and, conversely, the more derived the societal forms the more clearly do they fall under the tests of tradition rather than reason." "You can persuade a savage of the inadequacy of his stone hatchet long before he can be made to see that his family system is capable of being superseded by one yielding better satisfaction to his interests."

[8] "Societal Evolution," pp. 131–136.

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This is why superior drinks, foods, narcotics, materials, tools, implements, methods of production and means of enjoyment make their way rapidly among peoples and races; while superior sex morals, forms of the family, upbringing of children, relations between parents and children, status of social classes, treatment of the weak, relief of the poor, types of recreation, and political institutions make their way slowly or not at all. Since their merit is not so evident and appealing as that of a reaper or a bicycle, people reject them and persist in the bad old ways of their ancestors. Here again we come upon justification of the right type of foreign missions, for to-day along with the propagation of the elements of the Christian religion goes propagation of the best moral standards, family type, class relations, civic ideals, educational methods and governmental policies in vogue in the country which sends out the missionary.

The Higher Values of Our Civilization Will Not Make Headway of Themselves Among the Backward, but Need to be Propagated

In China "The missionary is the introducer of current Western standards. He instructs his schoolboys respecting bathing, spitting, the use of the handkerchief, neatness of garb, the care of one's room, modesty in personal habits. He teaches the people to clean house and yard, to whitewash the walls of the home, to scour the floors of the school room or church. He enforces the duty of being humane to dumb animals, of sparing defective children, of educating daughters, and consulting the wife.

"Unwittingly he reads into the Scriptures everything that has commended itself to the conscience of Christendom, and becomes, in spite of himself, the voice of his country and his time. The girls' schools in the American missions reflect American ideas as to woman's proper place. The industrial schools inoculate with American belief in the dignity of manual labor a people so disdainful of toil that every one exempt from it advertises the fact by wearing his finger-nails long. The notions of government taught in the mission colleges would have horrified those who Christianized the Irish and the Saxons. The place these same colleges give to natural science and scientific methods betrays the modern spirit, and would have scandalized St. Boniface or St. Francis Xavier." [4]

Missions, therefore, are an infinitely milder and cheaper means of disseminating the higher elements of a superior culture than dominion. The proper relation between force and persuasion is

[4] Ross, "The Changing Chinese," pp. 246, 249.

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seen in the Far East, where the gun boats of the European powers have but procured for missionaries the opportunity to live, work and go about without molestation.

The Extension of Culture Plans Makes for the Growth of Individuality

The uniformities laid down by certain social processes do not condemn us to become uniform. On the contrary, they provide us with opportunities for a richer diversity. As our own culture borrows from other cultures we have more to choose from. Consider how our literature has been enriched in a century and a half by the addition of Sanskrit, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Icelandic, Celtic, Finnish and Ukrainian masterpieces; how the stock of good music has gathered in lovely folk airs from all over the world! The like is true of styles of painting or architecture, philosophical speculations, religious tendencies, theories of life and conduct. A cosmopolitan culture offers in its every department a wealth of elements from which each individual may choose that which appeals most to his nature.

CHAPTER XLVII

STANDARDS

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BESIDES the planes formed by voluntary imitation there are planes laid through society by social pressure. The doing or abstaining from something is believed to involve human welfare, so the group makes it binding upon all. The pattern of conduct society thus puts its influence behind may be called *standard*.[1]

THE IMPORTANCE OF STANDARDS

Standards Are the Very Life Blood of Society

Standards are, perhaps, the most important things in society. They are invisible, intangible, ill-defined, yet the quality of a society is more revealed in its standards than in anything else. The characterizing differences between medieval society and modern society, between Chinese society and American society, may be read in the standards which these societies respectively uphold. Culture heroes, founders of religion, prophets, saints, evangelists, reformers, poets and artists leave a lasting impression on society chiefly by making or modifying its standards. The precipitate of wisdom from experience in living together is passed on by the same means. Let the sociologist but know the standards of a people and he can infer the chief features of their social history.

But for the Social Standards We Should Behave Like Savages

The effective social standards constitute, as it were, a trestle by means of which a people rises farther and farther above the plane of its instincts. If the higher standards were broken down, it would sink to the barbarian level. If all gave way, it would find itself on the moral plane of savages. There is no reason to suppose that our original nature is appreciably better than that of our Neolithic ancestors. If we behave much better than they did it is owing to the influence of the social standards we are reared in. When by tradition, early suggestion, or education they have become second nature, they lift the individual without sub-

[1] I prefer this word to the word *mores* (suggested by Professor Sumner) because the latter is an alien unfamiliar word and, besides, its singular is unavailable.

jecting him to any form of compulsion. When, on the other hand, they remain outside his nature, they lift him by reason of the sanctions of collective opinion or religion behind them.

SOCIETY'S STOCK OF STANDARDS

Every Class and Intimate Circle Develops Standards of its Own

Wherever a collective mind has been organized, there standards are likely to appear. The boys' gang, the underworld, the "sporting" circle, the "smart set," "Bohemia," "Wall Street," the "peculiar" sect, the "colony" of foreign born, the proletariat, the *bourgeoisie,* may develop norms of its own for judging conduct. In case they conflict with the standards enforced in general society, sooner or later strain will develop. One or the other will have to be modified, or else there will be conscious opposition between the group in question and the rest of society. In India there exist many conflicting standards since men of each caste or group of castes look to the public opinion only of their own caste fellows. On the west coast of tropical South America there are three elements in the population — whites, *cholos,* and Indians. Every one is profoundly influenced by the standards of his own element but pays no attention to the standards of the other elements. The whites fix the legal, political and economic status of the Indians but have almost no influence upon their collective mind.

The Russian is far Freer of Social Standards than the American

The older and riper the social mind, the more standards it imposes. Marked in this respect is the contrast between Russia and the United States. In Russia, "the masses lack *economic* standards, i.e., a standard of decency or standard of comfort, such as rules most American rural communities. They lack *moral* standards, e.g., the average peasant is a free and artistic liar, while men and women conduct themselves pretty much as they please, with little heed to marriage vows. There is little sign of the existence of *hygienic* standards. One notes the tendency toward excess in eating and drinking, the neglect of systematic exercise, the shutting out of fresh air, and the irregular habit of life. The American dining-car serves meals at stated times, whereas the Russian 'restaurant-car' caters all day and half the night. Much more than with us, circumstance and whim determine the time of going to bed or getting up. Here may be the explanation why Russians often age early and why the peasant at forty considers himself 'old.' Again, the educated classes are little

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ruled by *intellectual* standards. Not often are their scholars mastered by the ideal of continuous advancement and unflagging scientific productivity. After he has 'arrived,' the professional man engages no further in research."[2] Comparative freedom from social standards is the cause of the Russian's tolerance and lack of Phariseeism but also of his anarchic bent, which peoples reared under social pressure cannot understand.

Live Standards in Our Own Society

In society at a given moment there are *sleeping* standards, which are not thought about until some one violates them, and *live* standards, which occupy the foreground of consciousness. With us the taboos on murder, incest, cannibalism and slavery are asleep. Among our live standards are that a man should keep a promise made for consideration received, a man should support his wife, a woman should stand by her husband in trouble, chivalry in the treatment of women, deference toward the aged, "put up or shut up," "live and let live," "boost, don't knock," "don't flinch, don't foul, hit the line hard," "let the other fellow have his say," "if you play the game at all, play it for all it is worth." Besides positive standards of this type there are numerous taboos — on the marriage of near-kin, on the marriage of a white woman with a black man, on sex intimacy outside marriage, on marrying for money, on the public discussion of sex facts.

Standards Lately Set Up

In our time we have seen successful struggles to fix taboos on liquor selling, adulteration, misleading advertising, the wasteful use of limited natural resources, the working of young children in factories, combinations in restraint of trade, arbitrary discrimination among the patrons of public utilities, black-listing, the use of violence in labor disputes, vote-buying, the bestowal of public office for personal or party reasons, and the secret pledging of candidates for public office. Earlier in our history were established taboos on drinking to excess, gaming, betting, the lottery, duelling, "free love," African slavery and Mormon polygamy.

Taboos Which Are Becoming Effete

While new taboos are being set up, attempts are made to break down certain old taboos such as the "color line"; the ban on dancing, the theater, and Sunday recreation; and the serious discussion in public of social problems connected with sex. Not infrequently those trying to break down certain traditional taboos

[2] Ross, "Russia in Upheaval," p. 118.

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are at the same time doing their best to create new taboos, their motive in both cases being the public welfare as they see it.

WHAT STANDARDS DO

The Standard of Living Regulates Propagation

No social product is more momentous than *the standard of living*, because it plays a star part in regulating propagation. It includes those things which at a given moment are so keenly desired that, rather than do without them, men will postpone or forego marriage, or limit the size of their family. It differs for different classes and sometimes, among the capable and successful, the standard of living is so high that it actually checks their increase more than the increase of day-laborers is checked by *their* standard of living. From the social point of view it is desirable that among the mass the standard should be high enough to prevent the increase of numbers absorbing all the fruits of economic progress, while among the rising it should not be so high as to lessen the proportion in which they contribute to the series of generations. It is a misfortune that for a generation American achievers in every line have been under the spell of the "business" standard, which rates men according to scale of expenditure rather than personal worth.

Pattern Types Fix the Goal of Aspiration

Pattern types, the man-as-he-should-be, the woman-as-she-should-be, are active forces in society. Elsewhere [3] I have shown at length how by capturing admiration these types become personal ideals and direct the development of individual character. Each age gets its slant from the dominant pattern. In the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. the man-as-he-should-be was a religious ascetic. In Charlemagne's time and yet more during and after the Crusades the knight was the man-as-he-should-be. The cardinal virtue was no longer *renunciation* but *measure*, i.e., the avoidance of excess and extravagance in all actions and manifestations of feeling.

The "Gentleman" Model

"In modern English-speaking society," writes Sumner,[4] "the 'gentleman' is the name of the man-as-he-should-be. The type is not fixed and the definition is not established. It is a collective and social ideal. Gentlemen are a group in society who have selected a code and standard of conduct as most conducive to

[3] "Social Control," Chs. XVII and XVIII.
[4] "Folkways," pp. 206, 207.

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prosperous and pleasant social relations. Therefore manners are an essential element in the type. A gentleman is one who has been educated to conform to the type, and that he has the *cachet* is indicated by his admission to the group. Novels develop and transmit the ideal; clubs are the tribunal of it." "A gentleman of a century ago would not be approved now." "In the eighteenth century he patronized cock fights and prize fights and he could get drunk, gamble, tell falsehoods and deceive women without losing caste." "A gentleman of to-day in the society of a century ago would be thought to have rowdy manners. Artificial manners are not in the taste of our time; athletics are." "It appears now that he must have some skill at sports and games." "The sentiment *noblesse oblige* was once the name for the coercive force exerted on a noble by the code of his class. Now that fixed classes are gone and the gentleman is only defined by the usage and taste of an informal class, it is a term for the duties which go with social superiority of any kind, so far as those duties are prescribed and sanctioned by public opinion."

The Scholar Model in China

In China the scholar has been taken as the model. School teachers and pupils cultivate the scholar's stoop and those with good eyesight wear broad-rimmed goggles for the sake of the scholarly effect. The scholar has shunned vigorous exercise lest he spoil his skill with the writing brush and so a frail and ascetic appearance has been coveted. Pedants and book worms, myopes and recluses have had to rule, largely by moral force, and, since their long suit is learning, they have cried down bodily prowess. If the sturdy coolie sports fan and sun umbrella, it is not from effeminacy but because the common people form themselves on the model of the *literati*. The ascendancy of the intellectuals has cast a kind of spell upon the active and combative impulses of the Chinese.

Social Patterns Rise and Fall

There is only one thing certain about social patterns and that is that they will change. The Churchmen of the Middle Ages would regard us as decadent because we worship virginity so little. The Puritans would despair of us because we care less than they did for long sermons and "godly conversation." The military orders of olden times would despise us for honoring obedience and loyalty no more than we do. A century ago who anticipated the popularity of the athletic type? Two decades ago who foresaw the suffusion of a dozen or more important callings with

professional ideals? A century hence young people may have as strong a bent for mental hygiene or disciplinary moral exercises as now they have for physical culture. Scientific gains and new thought are bound to leave their mark upon social patterns.

GENESIS OF STANDARDS

Standards Reflect the Shaping Conditions of Existence

Whence comes the standard, or the change in standard? Sometimes from experience. Newcomers to the cattle country become willing to hang horse thieves after experiencing the helplessness of being afoot in vast spaces. Hospitality becomes a sacred duty in a sparsely settled region, because grateful to both hosts and guests. Cheap sugar and the spread of machine-operation favor the growth of temperance sentiment. In accounting for the modern standard of decency Sumner observes that "the cheapening and popularization of luxury have made houses larger, plumbing cheaper, and all the apparatus of careful living more accessible to all classes. The consequence is that all the operations and necessities of life can be carried on with greater privacy and more ostentation of conventional order and decorum." "Therefore the standards and codes of all classes have risen and the care about dressing, bathing and private functions . . . has been intensified."[5]

The Standards of the Upper Class May Find General Acceptance

Often social standards originate with an upper class. In tropical South America only the *gente decente* take care to safeguard the chastity of their daughters. As the masses rise economically and respond to church and school and good reading matter, they will imitate the *gente decente* as regards the association of young people. In respect to bathing, outdoor sports, frankness of speech and aversion to boasting the English aristocracy have been pace-setters for English and Americans. *Bushido*, the moral code of Japan, originated with the *samurai*. The nobility of Russia were the channel by which Western standards got among the Russian people.

The Standards of a Middle or Lower Class may Come to Dominate Society

Sometimes standards rise when leadership departs from an aristocracy. Sumner[6] remarks: "Steam and machinery with the increase of capital and of power over nature which they have produced, have given social power to the lower middle class, as the representatives of the masses. This has brought into control the *mores* of those classes, which were simple, unluxurious, phi-

[5] *Op. Cit.*, p. 451.

[6] *Op. Cit.*, p. 452

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listine and comparatively pure, because these classes were forced to be frugal, domestic, careful of their children, self-denying and comparatively virtuous on account of their limited means."

The same author insists that Christianity first took root in the lowest free classes of the Roman Empire. It got its *mores* from them and in later times gave those *mores* authority and extension.

Again, standards may be traced back to outstanding individuals or *élites* — Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Confucius, Jesus, Mahomet, Francis of Assisi, the Prophets of Israel, the Pharisees, the Stoics, the Christian Fathers, the Reformers, the Puritans, the Quakers, the Methodists, the Liberals, the Abolitionists, the Humanitarians, the Socialists, the Eugenists. No doubt there has been a tendency to exaggerate their rôle, for it is easier to attribute revolutions in moral opinion to the initiative of conspicuous individuals or groups than to connect them with those obscure changes in the life of the people which actually caused them.

THE PURPOSE OF STANDARDS

The current standards are invariably held up as eternal norms of welfare. The truth is, however, that some of them are positively harmful as, e.g., the taboos in India on the killing of venomous snakes and on the eating of food prepared by a man of a lower caste.

Many Standards are Not Conducive to Welfare

So, too, the Indian customs regarding child marriage and widows are noxious rather than benign. Other standards which feign to promote the interest of all serve merely the interest of a dominant element, e.g., the standard of flawless chastity, which men impose on women but by no means submit to themselves. Often public opinion has stood behind customs of no utility whatever, which had their origin in some long-since-exploded belief regarding ghosts, goblins, or the evil eye.

Nevertheless, after these deductions have been made, there remains a body of standards which are the fruit of collective experience and which are reasonable at the time of their adoption. But not a few of these will become nuisances once they have been handed on with all the authority of tradition, so that they are able to outlive the conditions to which they were suited.

CRITICISM OF STANDARDS

Without Criticism Standards Accumulate and Clog the Life Current

Time should not consecrate error. Without the free play of judgment and unfettered criticism standards will accumulate and choke the channel of life. New needed taboos will be added to old useless taboos until one is penned in a thorn hedge of Don'ts, like the orthodox Jew, who must obey 613 commandments. When, however, a standard is attacked it is well to note the ground of the attack. Is the reproach against it that it limits one's freedom? or that obeying it benefits society less than it costs the obeyers? The latter is a home thrust, but not the former.

Any clever person can dissect standards to death, can make them out to be arbitrary, inconsistent and burdensome. Without a sense of responsibility such a one is dangerous, for he breaks down standards, not on general-welfare grounds, but to display his cleverness or to rid himself of salutary restraints.

Destructive Critics and Constructive Critics

We may distinguish in society two elements: those who take standards seriously, live up to them under trying circumstances, propagate them, expose those who violate them and shame the public into enforcing the standards it professes to hold; and those who regard standards as gyves, ignore them when no one is looking, flout them when they feel themselves strong with the public, and pour upon them ridicule and contumely. The former are the upbuilders, the latter the destroyers. There are times when the latter are so many and strong that there is a moral sag in society from its members being freer to give themselves up to their appetites and passions.

THE DISINTEGRATION OF TRADITION

Why Nowadays Tradition is Weak

What gives a social standard power over the reluctant will is chiefly public opinion, the prestige of age and the grip of early education. In our time, however, the latter two are uncommonly weak, because the startling transformations in manner of life forced upon us by the economic results of mechanical inventions have obliged us often to cast aside tradition and to laugh at childhood teachings. Here is the prime cause of the raw individualism of our age, the ruthless self-assertion, the struggle-for-life ethics founded on a perverted Darwinism, and the elevation into a dogma of that ancient maxim of the underworld, "Every man for himself."

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When Moral Traditions Break up Human Nature Asserts Itself

The break-up of moral traditions throws men back upon unschooled human nature and has its good side as well as its bad side. Writes Professor Cooley:[7] "It may obscure those larger truths that are the growth of time and may let loose pride, sensuality and scepticism; but it also awakens the child in man and a childlike pliability to the better as well as to the worse in natural impulse. We may look, among people who have lost the sense of tradition, for the sort of virtues, as well as of vices, that we find on the frontier; for plain dealing, love of character and force, kindness, hope, hospitality and courage. Alongside of an extravagant growth of sensuality, pride and caprice, we have about us a general cult of childhood and womanhood, a vast philanthropy, and an interest in everything relating to the welfare of the masses of the people."

The Public is Not Wise Enough to Dispense with Standards

In the absence of social standards good people come to apply the simple humanitarian touchstone of conduct. "It is right for one to do what one likes, provided that nobody is harmed." This principle sounds well but is really an unsafe guide. For example, a miscreant who has confessed to an atrocious crime falls into the hands of an enraged crowd. Why should they restrain their vengeful impulses? His life is forfeit anyhow. Lynching him will save the state the expense of trying him, and strike terror to men of his ilk. It needs deep insight into society to warn the crowd, "Yield to such impulses and in the end you will lose control of them. Hang malefactors to-day and in a few years you will be burning them. Lynch for murder to-day and ere long you will be lynching for larceny or arson. Insult your courts by taking justice out of their hands and presently only inferior men will consent to be your judges."

Few People are Competent to Trace All the Social Consequences of Conduct

In a certain legislature a group of life insurance companies used money to accelerate the passage of a needed amendment to the law on life insurance. The facts came out later in a law suit and a certain farmer-legislator known as "Honest John" was shown to have accepted a sum for his support. He defended himself after this fashion: "Yes, I took that money and used it in reducing the mortgage on my farm. Now, who was harmed by my taking it? Not the companies, for they are making no complaint. Not the public, for the law I voted for deserved to pass." Probably few of his constituents reflected that insurance

[7] "Social Organization," pp 354–5.

companies which to-day put through a good bill by the use of money will be tempted some day to put through a bad bill by the use of money; that the success of the insurance companies will encourage railroad and traction and gas companies to use money in order to gain their end; that if all through the underworld the whisper runs that dirty money is floating about the legislature, the "grey wolves" and the "yellow dogs" of politics will move heaven and earth in order to make their way into the legislature and get some of it.

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Social Insight Becomes More Difficult as Society Becomes More Complex

No, we still need guidance by norms. Many questions of right and wrong are hard nuts to crack. They call for the profoundest insight into human nature and into society. Year by year human relations become more tangled. The questions of our complex society are to the questions that troubled our grandfathers as problems in quadratic equations are to problems under the "rule of three." Well does Cooley observe:[8] "In a traditional order one is accustomed from childhood to regard usage, the authority of elders and the dominant institutions as the rule of life." "But in our own time there is for many persons, if not most, no authoritative canon of life, and for better or worse we are ruled by native impulse and by that private reason which may be so weak when detached from a rational whole." "We find, then, that people have to make up their own minds upon their duties as wives, husbands, mothers and daughters; upon commercial obligation and citizenship; upon the universe and the nature and authority of God. Inevitably many of us make a poor business of it. It is too much. It is as if each should sit down to invent a language for himself. These things should be thought out gradually, cooperatively, each adding little and accepting much."

Sound Canons of Life are Built by Cooperation

THE PERFECTING OF STANDARDS

Sociology Should Constantly Test Standards

While most of us need the support of social standards in skirting the abysses of life, there is no reason why these standards should be arbitrary or antiquated. The influence of the scientific students of society ought to be directed to testing current standards from the rational point of view, e.g., the color line and the taboo on the marriage of near kin, and to formulating and pushing standards called for by novel situations or new knowledge, e.g., the obligations of the parent in modern society, the

[8] "Social Organization," p. 352.

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responsibility of the employer of young people, eugenic standards, and taboos relating to race poisons.

Only by Effort are Standards Maintained and Advanced

Sometimes standards advance of themselves in sympathy with changed conditions of life. Generally, however, moral progress does not occur without worry and strain, without heroism and sacrifice on the part of the *élite*. We cannot agree with Ward when he says of the spiritual part of civilization: [9] It is a "flower so delicate that it can only bloom in the rich soil of material prosperity. As such it does not need to be especially fostered. No amount of care devoted to it alone could make it flourish in the absence of suitable conditions, and with such conditions it requires no special attention." Is it not significant that no modern society neglects to maintain either an established church or an established school for the purpose of diffusing and transmitting its standards? The fact is that always in a healthy society a great deal of thought and care is given by the choicest spirits to propagating and preserving what are considered to be spiritual values.

[9] "Pure Sociology," p. 18.

CHAPTER XLVIII

GROUPS

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Many Social Processes Generate Groups

OFTEN human groups are among the end-products of social processes. *Domination* calls into being large aggregates, such as empires. *Exploitation* binds exploiters and exploited together in certain permanent relations. *Opposition* between sects, parties, classes, and nations causes those on the same side to stand together both from sympathy and from the practical motive of mutual support. When two elements of a population engage in struggle, the blows of each pound the other into a coherent mass. Warfare, the extreme phase of opposition, has long been recognized as the arch-consolidator. *Adaptation* smooths away the obstacles to the formation of groups or makes men more harmonious and cooperative if they are already in the same group. *Stratification* extends the *we*-feeling among those of the same social condition. *Socialization* makes people ready to cohere into a group when an occasion for union presents itself. *Professionalization* necessitates a union of those within the same profession to formulate its standards and to expose, punish or cast out practitioners who ignore these standards.

Nevertheless, social processes are not the only creators of groups. What is necessary in order that men should feel themselves to be one and therefore stand together is that they should be aware of essential common traits distinguishing them from others, or of a momentous common interest which can be protected and advanced only by collective effort. Therefore, whatever marks off certain persons from others or establishes among them a community of interest is a group-maker.

LOCAL GROUPING

For various reasons, the ancient natural grouping by propinquity is giving way to selective association. Inequality of culture may hold neighbors apart, as we see in the aloofness of the artist colony or writer colony from the farmers of a picturesque New

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The Place Bond is no Longer Strong and Exclusive

England valley or the fishermen of the Maine coast. Class lines divide so that, as in rural England or Russia of the Tsars, one lives in his class rather than in his neighborhood. Reading, giving the companionship of historical or imaginary characters, lessens social dependence upon neighbors. Correspondence and travel admit one to other circles than that of the vicinage. Once parish was coextensive with local community and neighbors were co-worshippers; but now, thanks to sectarianism, half a dozen starveling churches will struggle to exist in a community which might furnish a single fair-sized congregation.

It is significant, too, that gifted persons who for the sake of their personal development have had to break hampering ties — of kinship, of neighborhood, of religious fellowship — have produced most of the literature which furnishes cultivated people with ideals. Their eloquent individualism stirs youth to rebel against inherited ties of every sort and implants a yearning for independence which unfits them to share in the neighborhood life. And yet without such sharing they cannot remain happy or, indeed, quite sane. Unwittingly the strong-winged geniuses tempt the less gifted to pitiful little flights from the home ledge which too often end only in disappointment and loneliness.

LIKENESS GROUPING

Groupings according to color and other external race characters are, of course, natural formations rather than social products. But groupings on the basis of dress, speech and social habits are, indeed, product of association. However, as I have shown in the chapters immediately preceding, the extension of planes of uniformity as well as the dissemination of conventional standards continually raze barriers of this sort. As sunderers of men extrinsic differences are on the wane.

Less and Less does Occupation Divide

It is a question to what extent the social population of the future will be cloven by occupational differences. In frontier society industrial specialization is slight and the useful callings are not sharply graded in social prestige. As society develops, specialization grows and occupation counts for more in rating men. At the same time a number of branches of business become professions, while even the skilled trades, taught in a systematic way, gain something of the dignity of the professions. Then, too, the latter-day tendency to see in the useful callings so

many forms of social service forbids us to despise the socially necessary coal-heaver or street-sweeper because of the repulsiveness of his work. There seems little likelihood that in the future vocations will be distinguished as "noble" and "base," as they were in olden times, or that occupation will ever again sunder people into castes such as we see still in India.

Diversity in knowledge, culture and taste will continue to segregate men, but in an epoch of universal education it is impossible that they should rear such barriers as the past knew. When all but the mental deficients have the equivalent of a high school education — as may well be the case among us within forty years — there will be no "bumpkins," "boors," "clodhoppers" or "chawbacons" for the educated to look down upon.

INTEREST GROUPING

Grouping dictated by interest will, no doubt, last until the end of time. Men will not cease to struggle groupwise, until they have no closer community of interest with *some* of their fellows than with *all*. Nevertheless, the typical interest groups of today are not life-and death affairs as groups were in the days of yore. The extension of the régime of law and justice does away with the necessity for such little compact sovereign groups as the clan, the kindred, the mark, the guild, the vigilance committee. The general acceptance of the same ideas of right and the widening of the scope of operations of the machinery for realizing these ideas relieve one of the necessity of belonging to a strong group in order to get justice.

The Justice Group is More and More Comprehensive

Just as the spread of the "King's peace" has taken much of the life out of the groupings of kindred or neighbors, so justice for strangers on the same terms as for nationals will take much of the life out of the nation.

Just as in history tribes have merged into peoples, and communities and provinces have merged into nations, so nations are bound to be merged into something still larger. Whether this more comprehensive organization will be coextensive with civilization, Christendom, the White Race, the Free Nations, or some other grouping, is not yet clear. Just as those who dreamed of One People were looked upon as bad tribesmen until the dream became reality; just as those who dreamed of One Nation were looked upon as bad citizens until the dream became reality; so

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those who dream of a super-national society will be deemed bad patriots until the dream becomes reality.

INVENTION AND DISCOVERY CONDITION INTEREST GROUPING

The Machine as Arrayer of Men

Often it is the inventor who fires the train which breaks up an old order and leads to new groupings. For example, the incessant development of machine technique gathers workers into ever-larger production groups. As this goes on, in order not to be at a fatal disadvantage in bargaining with their employers, the workers form unions for the purpose of substituting collective bargaining for an individual bargain which has become one-sided and oppressive. Furthermore, in order to re-enforce their holding-out power, all of the same craft in a given field of industry unite in one organization, so that approved strikers in one factory may be sustained by contributions from their brothers at work in other factories. Thus the organization of labor, with all that this implies in the way of solidarity, loyalty, and self-sacrifice for the common good, is really a by-product of large-scale industry, which is, in turn, a by-product of the machine.

The immense expansion of sea-borne commerce in consequence of the perfecting of the marine engine, the iron ship and the ice machine, sharpens the interest of all trading nations in the maintenance of international peace and the security of the seas. Very likely this new common interest will eventually beget certain forms of joint action among them. Again, the invention of such weapons as the torpedo, poison gas, the aeroplane, the dirigible, and the aerial bomb obliges the nations to enter into some more comprehensive organization for the restraint of disturbers of the peace if they do not wish to be blotted out one by another in some future war.

The Conquest of Disease Will Bear Immigration Barriers

Quite unconsciously the finders of the germs of disease and the concocters of antiseptics and serums are moulding with giant hands the near political future of the human race. The recent marvellous progress of the art of saving life — the blessings of which will soon be extended to all mankind — will for a time divide humanity into *prolific peoples,* producing constantly a surplus which must emigrate or starve, and *self-controlled peoples,* which curb their fecundity, raise their standards of living, and disallow mass immigration. This situation will cause the National State to be cherished until birth control has so spread over the earth

that a man's right to remove from one land to another will be as freely conceded as now his right to shift his residence within his home land.

EFFECT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ART OF WAR

Constrained Association Grows with the Ascendancy of Attack Over Defense

From time to time martial invention has bent the stream of history by altering the relative strength of Attack and Defense. Walls, moats, drawbridges, casemates, mines, *abattis*, wire entanglements, trenches and anti-aircraft guns exemplify the development of Defense. Battering rams, mortars, siege guns, armor-piercing shells, poison gas, hand grenades, torpedoes and submarines have told chiefly on the side of Attack. The distinction between Attack and Defense counts for most in land fighting, less in sea fighting, and least in air combat.

Now, when Defense has little advantage over Attack, numbers count, conquest is easy, the little peoples cringe before the big peoples or band themselves together, empires become formidable in proportion as they gain size, and the nations are in unstable equilibrium. When, on the other hand, smokeless powder, high-power fire-arms, machine guns, steel turrets and land mines enable a thousand to hold off ten thousand, a strong state finds itself weak invading the territory of another. Small peoples alongside powerful neighbors maintain their independence. The bullying empire is foiled by some handful of brave mountaineers and the nations are likely to remain each in its own place.

National Freedom Depends on the State of the Art of Defense

Lovers of human freedom should rejoice when martial invention aids Defense and should grieve when it allows Attack to overtake Defense. Nevertheless, no one would wish Defense to be so strong as to guarantee the success of every revolt and hence make large states impossible. The battering ram was the answer to the mud walls of Babylonian towns, but to the thick stone walls of the Dark Ages there was no answer until gunpowder made it possible to blow them up or breach them with cannon balls. When count or baron or bishop could flout the authority of any king not strong enough to beleaguer him and starve him into submission, the state was too decentralized to fulfill its higher mission and private war knew no check. To-day, however, we should wish the art of war to take such a tack as to make aggression more costly and dangerous.

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GROUPS AS TRANSMITTERS OF THE THOUGHT AND PURPOSE OF THE PAST

Men's Groupings Reflect Past Conditions Rather than Present Conditions

Thanks to the power of tradition and the stability of structures human groupings often correspond to bygone conditions and aims rather than to living forces. Not only do men stick together after they have lost their reasons for sticking together, but they remain apart, mutually suspicious and at sword's points, after they have lost their reasons for remaining apart. Because they abide in groupings which no longer answer to their actual sympathies and interests they fail to come together in groupings which correspond to their actual needs. It is this power of the past over human association which in many parts of the world keeps groups small and local, suited to means of communication, modes of travel, forms of economic life, and tactics of defense, characteristic of an earlier time.

The Vitality of Religious Denominations,

The persistence of groupings is illustrated in the contemporary failure of kindred Protestant denominations to merge into a single organization in order to avoid wasteful competition and duplication of work in communities too weak to support several Protestant churches; this despite the fact that the principal causes of their separateness no longer exist, while their doctrinal differences mean nothing to the majority of their members and are trivial from the viewpoint of modern religious thought.

of Nationalities

Again, the persistence of groupings has shown itself in the successful revival of submerged European nationalities since the middle of the last century. Lately we have seen the sentiment of nationality fly in the face of common sense by inspiring the founding of independent states quite too small to promote effectually the industrial and commercial interests of populations which virtually constitute a single economic unit, e.g., those of the Danubian basin. Jewish nationalism thrives as if Israel had a present binding interest, despite the fact that the members of this scattered race have the best of reasons for identifying themselves with the peoples amid which they find themselves and with which their future is bound up.

Men Form Groups, but Groups Form Men

One would expect human groups to arise and pass away freely like vortices in a liquid, for they are supposed to project and to fulfill the changing purposes of their members. As a matter of fact, however, once an organized group has gained headway and

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traditions it behaves as if it had a life of its own, for it determines its members instead of being determined by them. How often a political party or reform association which has fulfilled its mission, instead of disbanding casts about for new issues to justify its further existence. The dominating spirits simply cannot bear to relinquish the power which their control of the organization gives them.

GROUPS AFFORD LEVERAGE FOR MINORITY CONTROL

Groups may be Multipliers of the Influence of the Few

Because churches, nationalistic associations and political parties play so great a rôle in pre-determining the reactions of the average man to whatever comes up, they afford the shrewd and masterful few a rare opportunity to mould opinion. Can any one doubt, for example, that from the last seventy years' conflict between Science and Faith the Christian religion, organized into ecclesiastical bodies, has emerged with far less damage than if it had been no more organized than the religions of Asia? Under the leadership of positive characters who love the tenets and past of their denomination, the churches have yielded little from conviction and have revised their theology only when it was a matter of keeping their hold upon the rising generation.

Political Parties as Stabilizers

In the same way national parties afford the Vested Interests a rare opportunity to direct political opinions to their own advantage. In view of the progress of manhood suffrage in Europe since the Revolution of 1848 it is really astonishing how little the ballot in the hands of the toilers has actually been used to modify property rights, inheritance, taxation, or the legal status of labor. When they saw the tidal wave of political democracy coming the privileged classes were in despair and never dreamed that they would be so little disturbed. The fact is, however, before the war very little had been done anywhere to correct the monstrous concentration of ownership, while the "rash experiments" which were expected to be launched as soon as the common people wielded the ballot never materialized. The explanation is to be found partly in the control of newspapers by the Vested Interests, but chiefly in their ascendancy over such opinion-forming groups as "Society," the churches, and the political parties. The party, instead of being a fluid grouping corresponding to the play of popular interest and opinion, is really a tough highly-organized body, taking in respect to a new political issue a position dic-

Why Political Democracy is often so Reactionary

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tated by the watchful dominant element and indoctrinating the rank and file with this official view. Instead of the position of the party reflecting the view of the majority of its members — as is the bland accepted theory — the position of the majority of its members is likely to reflect the view of the party. Here is the secret of the fruitlessness of English political democracy as long as English politics was a series of sham battles between "Liberal" and "Conservative" parties under the "invisible government" of one and the same social class. Only when a formidable party arose, built and officered by *bona fide* representatives of labor, was Privilege seriously menaced.

CHAPTER XLIX

INSTITUTIONS — THE FAMILY

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The Family is a Natural Formation Institutionalized

THE family is not collectively willed in the same degree as, for instance, the public school. It springs directly out of certain universal instincts and, among some primitive peoples, it is more of a natural formation than a social institution. In the civilized stage, however, society has striven to master this department of life by moulding to an approved type the relations springing out of the sex instinct and the parental instinct. The societies which have contributed most to human progress have taken a deep interest in the family and have had no little success in standardizing it.

NEED THE FAMILY BE A SOCIAL INSTITUTION?

Will Sex Relations Become a Private Matter, as Religion Has?

Some speculative thinkers insist that the endeavor to institutionalize a thing so intimate and personal as mating and care of the young goes against the grain, is foredoomed to failure and will be abandoned as mankind becomes more enlightened. They hail the modern latitude of divorce and the tendency of the law to individualize the members of the family as harbingers of an era of greater freedom when society will no longer force upon men and women a single rigid pattern of relation. They anticipate that sex relations between the mature will become a private matter as in many modern societies religion from being a social institution has become a private matter.

Growing Recognition of the Social Significance of the Family

The facts give small encouragement to these expectations. The state intervenes on behalf of the abused or neglected child or wife not out of indifference to the "sacredness" of the family, but just because it cherishes the family too much to suffer it to fall below a fixed minimum standard. Social control of the domestic relations is advancing rather than losing ground. Sociology, the scientific study of society, which has made marked progress in the last thirty years, has brought to light in the family unsuspected social significance. It has become clear that the family is basic

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in respect to the production of the social traits of character, so that society has good reason to treat it as a social institution rather than a personal concern.

ECONOMIC CHANGES AFFECTING THE FAMILY

The Supreme Question is the Future of Durable Monogamy

There is hardly an imaginable form of sex relation or of parent-child relation which has not prevailed somewhere in the world sometime. Nevertheless, the queer and even (to us) shocking forms which crop up here and there in the childhood of peoples have no significance for the future. Over most of the world the durable monogamic family has triumphed, so that the real question is, What modifications is monogamy undergoing, or likely to undergo? Since the middle of the last century the family, which appeared to have reached its fixed and final form, has been played upon by so many transforming forces that it has become an active mutant. The machine in the factory has filched from the home most of the industrial processes — spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, brewing, pickling, curing and preserving — which made the wife nearly equal with her husband as a prop to the prosperity of the household. One result is a growing economic dependence of the home-staying wife which makes her discontented with the slowly-narrowing round of domestic duties. If, on the other hand, the wife engages in paid work outside the home, the unity of the family is apt to suffer.

Expansion of Woman's Earning Opportunities Outside the Home

Thanks to the march of invention, the volume of light-running machinery has become so great that industry offers an illimitable field for the employment of girls and women. On account of being able to accept a lower wage than the man, especially the man of family, requires, they are continually substituted for men in the industrial field and rarely experience lack of employment. With more than ten million females above sixteen years of age earning outside the home, women's participation in industry is momentous enough; but it is *access* to industry, even more than *participation,* which reacts upon the family. The open door to self-support lessens woman's interest in the protected economic position of the wife. She is harder to win and harder to keep than when matrimony was the sole career open to her.

City Life Tells Against Domesticity

The engulfing of population in the maw of cities is unfavorable to the family institution. On the farm the family is the convenient unit for life and work; in the city, however, celibacy is

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made easy and comfortable, while the couple with small children can scarcely find shelter. The working members of the city family are rarely at the same task, while the worker who lives remote from his job may never see his children awake save on Sundays and holidays.

SPIRITUAL CHANGES AFFECTING THE FAMILY

After all, however, these changes are *external*. They remove some of the hoops which once helped bind the members of the family together, but they leave untouched the ties of affection and loyalty uniting its members. More serious are certain *spiritual* changes which attack the family from the inside and work against its success and stability.

The Family is Losing its Religious Sanction

One of these is the decay of religious belief. Fraternal religion is stronger than ever among us, but fewer people are willing to bear conjugal unhappiness because they believe it to be God's will. For myriads the religious sanction to marriage has crumbled away, leaving it a galling yoke if they are not well-mated.

Individualism Works Havoc in the Family

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the reigning social philosophy in America was individualistic. In the field of domestic relations this implies: absolute freedom of matrimonial choice; mating in obedience to romantic love; marriage the opening of the door to "wedded bliss"; *rights* uppermost in the mind rather than *duties;* and slight appreciation of the significance of the family for racial and social welfare.

Feminism

Formerly the unity and stability of the family were achieved, not by equal sacrifices of the spouses, but chiefly by the sacrifice of the wife's wishes and personality. This is what one sees still in Central Europe and South America and even more in China. Now the education and mental emancipation of women results in the husband being called upon to bear his share of the sacrifices domestic harmony requires; but often he, bred to a belief in the superior worth of the male, refuses. Among Americans two ideals of the family struggle for mastery — the semi-patriarchal family, of Roman origin and ecclesiastical sanction, based on the authority of the husband and the merging of the wife's legal personality in his, and the democratic family of Germanic origin based on the consenting and harmonious wills of two equals. In proportion as women escape from abject mental dependence on men and find a point of view of their own, they spurn patriarchal

Contending Ideals of Marriage

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claims and expect marriage to be the union of equal wills. Nevertheless. many of the men they wed cherish the conviction that the husband is the rightful "head" of the family. This clash of ideals is none the less disastrous because it is but an incident of a transition process in social evolution.

SINISTER TENDENCIES

Indications of Growing Instability in the Family

Owing to these causes we find the family now less stable than it has been at any time since the beginning of the Christian era. The development is world-wide, but it has reached its most advanced stage in the United States. Even in 1885 this country granted more divorces than all the rest of Christendom, while in 1905 it granted 68,000 divorces as against 40,000 for the rest of the Christian civilized world. At the latter date the divorce rate of the United States was twice that of Switzerland, thrice that of France, five times that of Germany and forty times that of England. In 1916 in the United States as a whole there was one divorce to every nine marriages, while in two far-Western states there was one divorce to three marriages. Between 1887 and 1906, while population gained a half, the number of divorces increased 160 per cent. It has been computed that, if the rate of increase continues, by the middle of this century a fourth of all American marriages will end in the divorce court and before the end of the century a half! The sociologist does not expect the movement to go so far but, it must be admitted, he bases his judgment on his faith in society's instinct of self-preservation rather than on anything the figures show.

Spread of Traits of Character Unfavorable to Family Stability

It is natural that cities, always the first to quit the rut of tradition, generally show more divorce than the country. The fact that two-thirds of the divorces have been granted at the instance of the wife suggests that the tendency reflects woman's new sense of dignity and her new opportunity for self-support. Ninety-four per cent. of the divorces are granted for such serious causes as adultery, desertion, cruelty, imprisonment for crime, drunkenness and neglect to provide. That adultery or desertion — either of which testifies that a real bond no longer exists — figures in three-fifths of the cases indicates that the prevalence of divorce is not due to the laxity of our laws as some insist, but to the decay of the virtues upon which the family rests, namely, self-sacrifice, forbearance and loyalty. These traits of the adaptive or self-

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subordinating type of character are yielding ground to the traits of self-interestedness, self-assertiveness and love of self-direction.

ENCOURAGING TENDENCIES

Extraordinary Popularity of Matrimony

Let it not be supposed that a casualty rate of a ninth is the only feature of the contemporary family. In view of the increase of city life, industrialism and woman's ease of self-support, the persistent vogue of matrimony is wonderful. More of the Americans are married than of any European people west of Hungary. Of our whites of native parentage only one woman in twelve and one man in eleven reaches middle age without having taken a spouse. In 1890 out of a thousand American men, 417 were single; in 1910, only 387. In 1890 out of a thousand American women 318 were single; in 1910, only 297. Moreover, marriage now occurs earlier. The censuses since 1890, when we began to inquire into conjugal condition, reveal more people wedded before they are twenty years old, and before they are twenty-five years old.

Earlier Marriage

Encouragements to Mating

This genial trend is due in part to the comparative ease of earning a living here, and to the small proportion of servants who, as is well known, have little opportunity to achieve a family life of their own. It owes something also to the lightening of the burden of work and of child-bearing to be shouldered by the wife. Among the native-born the worn-out mother of a dozen children is almost unknown. Although the outlook of the self-supporting spinster has brightened, that of the well-mated wife has brightened even more. The popularity of marriage reflects, furthermore, the attractiveness of a type of wedlock which constrains woman less and grants her an ampler sphere of self-determination than any other type known to civilization.

Sex-Love Canalized

In view of the remarkably low rate of illegitimacy among the whites here and the conspicuous faithfulness of American husbands and wives in comparison with peoples which pride themselves upon their low divorce rate, there is ground for believing that our society is more successful than any previous large society in confining sex intimacy to the legal channel appointed for it. Our reward for not making it excessively difficult for unhappy persons to escape from marriage is that, while one is in it, one is willing to abide by its rules.

It is noteworthy also that the outcry over headstrong children

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Fewer "Spoiled" Children

"spoiled" by laxity of domestic discipline is fainter now than it was a generation ago. Most of the confusion attending the decay of patriarchalism seems to have passed and the relations between parents and children appear to be established on a new and higher basis.

Is a Nobler Family Emerging?

In view of these encouraging symptoms it is not unreasonable to hope that what we are witnessing is not the disintegration of the family institution, but the transition from the old type of family, in which real incompatibility was masked by the husband's authority and the wife's submissiveness, to a nobler and more democratic type.

MONOGAMY NECESSARY TO SOCIETY

The Family Should be a Socializer

In proportion as this approaches accomplishment the tide of divorce ought to turn, for the precarious home is bad for spouses as well as for children. To most persons love offers more happiness when the union is pervaded by a sense of finality than when it is the sport of caprice and change. In any case there is no place like a stable home for the building of social character in children. The family is, as it were, a half-way house between the ego and society. It has charge of the earlier part of the process of socialization. In it the child should slough off its naïve instinctive egoism and take its first steps in the path of love, service and self-sacrifice. In the words of Ellwood,[1] "Loyalty and unselfish devotion to the larger human groups, psychology shows, cannot be effectively developed without first developing loyalty to those smaller groups which call forth the instinctive affections of the child. The attachments developed in the family make possible and actually strengthen the attachments to larger groups. Hence, where family sentiments are strong, there one usually finds strong patriotism and strong social sympathies in general."

The Socializing Family Need Not be Large

To discharge this beneficent office it is not necessary that the family be large. With parents of the right kind and with enough children of the right age accessible in the neighborhood nursery, kindergarten, or playground, the three-child family may socialize its members quite as thoroughly as the family with a dozen.

It is true that in a caste order the House or Family Line is a rival of society and monopolizes the love and loyalty which ought

[1] "The Social Problem," p. 199.

to be shared with one's fellows. But the simple democratic family constituted only of parents and ungrown children can be no serious competitor of society. Provided it pulsates to humanitarian ideas, it ought to prove a school of social service.

MEANS OF COMBATING THE INSTABILITY OF THE FAMILY

Restrictive Legislation Cannot Cure Family Instability

For about thirty years the drift of American divorce legislation has been in the direction of greater restriction. The fact that neither this nor increasing uniformity of law as between the states has reduced the divorce rate suggests that the remedy must reach the deep-lying cause, which is the mental attitude of the married toward their relation.

Importance in Marriage of Initial Will-attitude

Now that for innumerable young people marriage has no religious sanction, it is essential that they be imbued with the *ethical* conception of marriage. The *romantic* conception from the principle "Love cannot be forced" deduces that the newly-wedded can only *hope* that the attachment will last, but that they can do nothing to keep it alive. Experience shows, however, that will-attitude is a very essential thing in a lasting and happy union. If lovers enter upon marriage with a lively sense of obligation and with a firm resolve to make such sacrifices as may be necessary to insure its success, their attachment is far more likely to endure than if they obey only their impulses. So fine a thing as the concord of two persons living one life is rarely to be had without determined effort. Sex attraction fluctuates and its contribution to conjugal harmony is uncertain. On the other hand, admiration, respect, and the sense of duty stabilize the bond of sentiment.

Public Opinion May Curb Divorce

No doubt it would be well if young people were taught to look upon divorce as a moral shipwreck rather than an incident in sex adventure. Pride, selfishness and want of self-control ought not to escape condemnation when masquerading behind the excusing phrase, "incompatibility of temper." There is no reason why divorce should not bring upon those responsible for it as deep mortification as the confession of bankruptcy brings upon insolvent business men.

Ethical Marriage

Not chiefly because sex love is naturally a tricky and mercurial thing do marriages fail, but because the husbands and wives have the wrong attitude toward their undertaking. What, therefore, is necessary that they should embark on it possessed of concep-

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tions and ideals of marriage which will put them in the right attitude? The problem then is one of replacing false standards with true standards, of bringing under the sway of social standards relations which now are governed by impulse.

Marshalling Education, Culture, and Opinion on Behalf of the Stable Family

Already in many circles prevail the ideals of the ethical family which, we hope, is the coming type. Among college-bred women, for example, the divorce rate is said to be so small as to be negligible. These select women have the intelligence to choose well the mate and the strength of character to make their mating a success. If the influences which fit them to realize the ethical family could be brought to bear upon all young men and young women, little of the divorce problem would remain. The true policy, therefore, is to impart sound ideals of marriage and family in the schools to all of sufficient age; to fix these ideals everywhere in social tradition, so that the young shall meet them at every turn; and to make the social atmosphere frosty toward foolish and frivolous ideals of marriage. It is difficult thus to marshal all the constructive forces in society in a drive which shall reach and influence individuals of every degree of education and of every social level; but it is not impossible.

CHAPTER L

INSTITUTIONS — INDUSTRY

Why Great-scale Industry may Become Institutionalized

HALF a century ago, to suggest that industry might become something willed and ordained by society, i.e., a social institution, made one a candidate for Bedlam. The rising "captains of industry" were without responsibility either legal or moral. Hard upon the opening of the railway era an imposing system of production and exchange for the public-at-large grew up without supervision or control. A concern employing thousands of workers and supplying millions with some essential ware was as private a matter as a kitchen garden or a smoke house. Since machine industry and commerce had sprung up to anticipate the wants of society without any thought, concern, or risk on its part, to scrutinize them critically was to "look a gift horse in the mouth." Rather ought one to marvel at Divine Providence having so arranged it that, wherever Demand gives token of its presence, there presently a Supply is forthcoming. What might happen on plantation or in mine and mill in the way of dark oppression, driving, exploitation, strife, moral degradation, and blasting of the race in its very bud, was none of society's business.

No Prospect that Farming Will Come Under Social Control

Industry for home needs survives, although in shrinking volume, and will never be treated as other than a private matter. Then farming, unlike manufacturing, does not appear to be evolving in the direction of big capitalistic enterprise. So long as it remains an intimate small-scale affair with the indivdual farm-family as the typical unit, it rarely gives rise to social relations. Hence, it will be left — as now — to individual judgment and enterprise. Nevertheless, the collection, transportation, grading, storing and distribution of farm produce challenges social attention and regulation.

On the other hand, a long series of mechanical inventions has caused the production of most minerals, manufactured goods and public services to become more or less social. It is carried on by

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operative groups of ever-increasing size at the instance and under the direction of business men. As internal strains multiply in these groups it becomes more and more preposterous to insist that the constitution and management of them is altogether a private matter.

Beginnings of the Control of Industry by Society

By protecting patrons and consumers from negligence and fraud, by enforcing safety measures and the installing of safety devices, by attacking working conditions inimical to health and morals, by excluding from the factories children of tender years, by limiting the hours and fixing a legal minimum wage for working women, by providing for the amicable adjustment of industrial disputes which threaten the continuous operation of public utilities, organized society here and there is projecting its deliberate will into the field of industry and business. For all its strong intrenchment in law and tradition and the vast power of the class behind it, capitalist prerogative in the field of large industry is being curtailed, just as in England under the Stuarts the royal prerogative was curtailed. School and post office, once private undertakings, have become public. To a considerable extent the "public utility"— such as street railway or lighting plant — has become public. In a slight degree even mill and mine and shipyard have become public.

Industrial Questions Which Will Not Down

If we may judge the course of the future from that of the past, society will become constantly more attentive to evils in the field of industry, more solicitous that the health of young working women shall not be broken down by setting them at tasks involving too great physical strain, that boys shall not stagnate and lose heart in blind-alley jobs, that homes fit to rear children in shall be available for the workers, that the discipline of the shop shall not be such as to affront the self-respect of the working citizen, that wage earners shall not be goaded to desperation by wanton and unredressed wrong, that inequality of bargaining power shall not be used to switch product from wages to profits, that what the capitalist takes out of the business shall not be out of all proportion to the value of his services to society.

Just as in our time the social will has pared down the traditional sacrosanct authority of the father in situations in which it works wrong or hardship to the dependent members of the family, so the time-hallowed autocratic authority of the "master," "boss," or proprietor, of an industrial concern will be pared down in situ-

ations in which it leads to needless risk, overwork, under-payment or class animosity. If the "natural" authority of the father over his own flesh and blood has not been able to stand against an aroused public conscience, is it likely that the artificial authority of the employer over his "servants" will be able to stand against an aroused public conscience?

The Absolutism of the Employer Will be Curbed as the Absolutism of the Father Has Been Curbed

To predict that "social" production will be brought under the will of society is not to predict that the private capital now employed in the process will be by expropriation converted into public capital, or that men of business will no longer be free to found or to abandon an enterprise according to their judgment of its prospect of profit. Whether public capital bids fair to be as intelligently managed and conserved as private capital is an economic question. Whether without the initiative of the tested business man animated by hope of profit production will be as adaptable, anticipative and progressive as it now is, is an economic question. Whether the advantage from having the cherished secrets of the plant made known to all like plants will more than offset the loss of incentive to experiment and improve is an economic question. How far the traditional authority of the employer over his workers can be curtailed without serious loss of productivity is an economic question. The degree to which worker participation in the governance of industry can be pushed without impairing efficiency of management is likewise an economic question. It would therefore ill beseem the sociologist to set himself up as an authority on matters like these, which fall within the province of the economist.

The Future Rôle of Private Capital and Private Initiative is for the Economist to Consider Rather than the Sociologist

In respect to industry and business then, the contention of the sociologist does not go beyond this. The progressively capitalistic character of production and the increasing size of production units are translating industry from the sphere of the individual to the sphere of society. The contemporary autocratic control of the representatives of capital over the lives of hundreds, nay even thousands, of workers with their families, over the degree of risk, the menace to health, the pace of labor, the length of the working day, Sunday and holiday work, factory discipline, pay, housing and other features of existence, is a relic from an earlier stage of industry. It is glaringly apparent that to-day such control is an anachronism and a misfit. Its support in the moral and legal conceptions which grew up in the era of petty produc-

The Business Man's Title to Authority and Profits Will Rest on Social-Welfare Considerations Rather than on Property Rights

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tion is crumbling. Great industry is on its way to be, in some degree, institutionalized. Every considerable establishment bids fair to be treated as a "public utility." Such scope of discretion as will be left with the owner will be based not on the implications of property rights but on appreciation of the conditions conducive to intelligent business management. So far as is possible, "making money" will be linked with the rendering of conspicuous services to the public. Power without responsibility for its exercise will not be conceded to the captains of industry.

Can the Capitalist Class Deflect Society from Its Normal Line of Development?

This is on the assumption that society will follow a normal path of development. For normal it certainly is that production which has become social should in time come to be regulated by ideas and theories which are social rather than individualistic. It is true that the capitalist class, becoming ever more conscious and solidified, devises constantly new agencies for swaying public opinion. But since already in certain matters the will of society has been imposed on industry in the face of the utmost resistance by capitalists, there is no prospect of their being able to halt the movement unless in their slow retirement they should come upon *terrain* more favorable for resistance than any which they have yet defended.

CHAPTER LI

INSTITUTIONS — THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

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The School a Pliant Institution

UNLIKE the family, the school is not a natural formation but a thing *willed*. Back of it lies not *instinct*, but *purpose*. It was a domestic concern for thousands of years before it became a social concern; but no agency has been institutionalized with less trouble. In bending the school to its will society has encountered no such strenuous resistance as captains of industry have offered to social control. Nor has the School ever gotten out of hand and made itself master of society rather than servant, as Church and State frequently have done.

Shall Obedience Spring from Fear or from Common Understanding?

Obedience to the rules and agencies which are set up to carry out the social will may be inspired by fear or veneration, or may be founded on understanding and consent. As the process of socialization goes on, feelings are refined and men grow averse to preserving the social union by means of force, superstition and prestige. They prefer to found it on agreement, and turn to church and school as agencies capable of creating the likemindedness out of which agreement springs.

Why Religion no Longer Serves as the Chief Binder

In the Middle Ages all through Christendom the Church was looked to as the chief promoter of concord and obedience and in many ways society aided and favored it. But, since the Church cherished aims and ambitions of its own, it proved to be by no means a pliant, manageable institution. Moreover, certain later developments have sadly impaired its value as a binder. Variation of doctrine has spread among the laity confusion and doubt. The splitting of believers into sects has made it impracticable to support religion with public money. The growth of unbelief has lessened the efficacy of religious dogma in producing likemindedness. Consequently we see modern society leaning less on the Church and more on the School.

The builders of the noble cathedrals which are the wonder and pride of western Europe imagined that by rearing such temples to glorify God they made themselves safe against Paynim and

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Growth of Popular Confidence in Science

pestilence, against blight and murrain. As a matter of fact, however, no such security was experienced and in the sequel it was Science not Faith that delivered men from these afflictions. Nevertheless, Science had no resources for quieting the greed, jealousy and hate of men. The catastrophe which has just taken in battle the lives of seven and a half million men has demonstrated that Science is not enough. There is need of a religion of brotherhood to prepare man for the larger social life he is obliged to enter. The diffusion of such a religion, however, is not something that society may direct and stimulate. The religious spirit is altogether too fine and sensitive to be worked as a social institution.

The Religion which Promotes Social Feeling Cannot Well be Institutionalized

The Less Progressive Societies Still Use Religion as a Cement

The Mohammedan world still relies on religion as the cement of society and its schools teach little else than sacred lore. In Spain and Portugal education plays but a slight rôle in comparison with religion. Until the Revolution, the Tsars of Russia relied on the Orthodox Church to orient the minds of their subjects in the desired direction. In the Russian rural scene the blue-domed church holds the place which the "little red school house" has in the American rural scene. However, the Bolsheviki have ignored the church and set up the school as the spiritual base of the future social order.

The More Progressive Peoples are Dis-establishing the Church and Establishing the School

The world over, the progressive peoples are pinning their hopes to Knowledge rather than to Faith. When China launched the new education a few years ago, schools were set up in temples, and under lofty pillared roofs I found little fellows in queues reciting before the grim god of war, or Kwan-yin, goddess of mercy. In South America as a rule the *colegio* or university is housed in an old convent. In the United States the great universities, palatial high schools and splendid public library buildings that are rising are as characteristic of the age as the cathedrals that rose in Europe between the twelfth century and the sixteenth. In fine, the School, once semi-private, has become a public institution, while the Church, once a public institution, has become semi-private.

POPULAR EDUCATION AS THE BULWARK OF DEMOCRACY

As inventors transform economic society into a whole composed of specialized interdependent groups and members, popular enlightenment should grow if democracy is to be preserved. When

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Government Now Holds a Key Position in the Distribution of Wealth

domestic husbandry prevailed, as it largely did a century ago, if the people lost their hold on the steering wheel of government, they paid for it chiefly in high taxes. To-day they would pay for it not only in high taxes but, as well, in monopoly prices for many things they have to buy and in prices artfully depressed for some things they have to sell. More and more economic life has to be watched and regulated, so that where Government sits there is the head of the table. The intelligence of the American voters of a century ago sufficed to maintain and even to extend the control of the people over their government. If the voters of to-day were no better informed, our government would soon degenerate into ring rule. Continually the plane of citizen intelligence should rise if we are not to slip again into the deep-worn rut of veiled oligarchy. As the state rises to the high tasks which economic and social development thrusts upon it, it becomes more remote, unintelligible and mysterious to the uninstructed man. In other words:

If Democracy is to Survive the Voters Must Grow in Intelligence

States at Once Vast and Free Are a New Thing in the World

"Civilization and common progress in the arts of life are possible only in communities which are both ordered and free; and no community can have that quality unless there is a widespread appreciation of the ends and methods of government and social life. We cannot work with the small scale of freedom that marked the culture cities of ancient and medieval Europe. For good or evil, we are irrevocably committed to a freedom which is, in principle, universal; and such a freedom is far more difficult to maintain than the old. It is still . . . insecure and the only warrant of its security is that men should learn the ends for which their freedom should be used."

"Democratic government at least demands an educated people. For government of any sort requires authority; and authority attaches to a decision or decree only when it has some definite authentic will behind it. Plainly, it is easier to secure singleness of aim and action with few rulers than with many. Hence a democratic community is sometimes apt to be hesitating in counsel or a prey to the danger of inner dissension. Its safety in such a condition lies only in an educated community. Men may be reluctant to be persuaded of a truth: but it is the only thing of which, in the long run, they will be persuaded, or on which they will agree. Unanimity, therefore, or that measure of harmony of mind and will which makes possible effective common action, depends upon the wide diffusion of a sense of truth and of the candour which will abide by the truth. It is a product of education and nothing else."[1]

Frequent and Facile Agreement is Not to be had Save in an Educated Electorate

[1] Hetherington. "Social Purpose," p. 208.

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TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

The Politicians Miseducate the Naturalized Voter

The logic of deliberately training youth for citizenship is exemplified in recent American experience. An overwhelming immigration brought into the electorate great numbers of illiterate peasants with only the most rudimentary notions of what democracy means. The low politician promptly took the naïve foreign-born voter in hand and proceeded to miseducate him politically. It was easy to persuade the simple-minded stranger that a political party is a mutual benefit association, that the Constitution should be nothing between friends, that to be independent in voting is to betray a sacred obligation, that to "scratch" your ticket is to "go back on" your friends, that it is weak-minded not to use the power of office to reward your friends and punish your enemies.

Grounding the Future Voter in the Fundamentals of American Democracy

These considerations created about fifteen years ago a widespread alarm as to the future of popular government in this country and prompted an anxious survey of what might be done to cure political evils. Thence sprang the demand that the schools train for citizenship. What is called for is not the old-time, dry-as-dust course in "civil government," but generous high-school instruction in civics by a trained, alert man. The aim is to ground coming citizens in the fundamentals of democracy — majority rule, free speech, the distinction between liberty and license, the importance of law enforcement, the place of party, the sacredness of the ballot, the merit system, and the responsibilities of public office. Whether civics can make a place for itself below the high school remains to be seen. It will certainly be taught to immigrants as part of an Americanization program and may find a larger place than we imagine in the adult education of the future.

THE IMPARTING OF SKILL

Breakdown of the Spontaneous Handing on of Skill

The traditional way of perpetuating the technique and secrets of each craft has been that the craftsman transmitted them to his sons, who, as a matter of course, followed their father's calling. This no longer avails because the young are reluctant to commit themselves to an occupation merely because their father happens to be engaged in it. The spirit of modern industrialism bids one choose for himself his life work rather than inherit it.

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Even the apprentice system of imparting skill has broken down. The skilled artisan works as employee of another rather than for himself and is not free to teach his art to whom he will. The employer may not deem it worth while to take apprentices into his plant and provide them with opportunities for learning their trade. For these reasons the number who come up through apprenticeship by no means keeps pace with the demand for skilled workers.

Decay of the Apprentice System

The logic of the situation points to systematic provision by society for imparting such skill as industry needs. The transmission of the industrial arts, which in the past has been casual and unplanned, is likely to devolve more and more upon the school. Every day the demand for vocational education becomes stronger. It is probable that the provision which has been made here and there for the methodical handing on of such skill as society seems likely to require will become general. When each trade has been dissected and the aptitudes it calls for have been ascertained and when, furthermore, a technique has been worked out for testing the aptitudes and limitations of the pupil, the school will be able to discover which applicants have and which have not the traits requisite for success in a particular calling. When it can do this it will be charged with the responsibility of guiding youths into their vocations as well as imparting the skill which these vocations call for.

The School is Undertaking Vocational Guidance and Vocational Training

TEACHING THE DIGNITY OF LABOR

We are assuming the burden of instructing all the children of all the people. Unfortunately our notions of what ought to be taught come down from a time when schooling was for the children of the propertied and professional classes. These classes sought and obtained for their children an education fitting them for leisure-class pursuits. As the school has moved down the social ladder, each new social class admitted has been confronted with a traditional curriculum prepared especially for the social ranks above. Now even our high schools have a working-class *clientele* whose home environment and social heritage make them often contemptuous of the type of culture offered them. They have voracious appetites for hearty intellectual fare which will not be satisfied with tidbits of culture carefully selected and often denatured. For this reason to the sons of farmers and day la-

We Offer the Many an Education Devised for the Children of the Few

The School Imparts Culture when it Ought Rather to Impart the Capacity to do Worthwhile Things

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borers the school seems out of touch with life and the less far-sighted quit it as soon as possible for the paying job.

Only of late have the captains of education recognized that if the schools are to hold the three out of five whose lot it will be to earn their living in the sweat of their brows, they must come closer to farm and workshop. The school building of the future will be constituted of workshops rather than classrooms, so that hand and eye will be trained along with the mind. The children of banker as well as of hod-carrier will learn to use tools, and to have joy in work.

Difficulty of Introducing the Useful Arts into the Curriculum

Yet with what incredible slowness have workshops won their way in the schools! There has been little objection to the manual arts, yet it has been nearly as easy to move the Pyramids as to make a place for them in the curriculum. A mysterious force ever resists the endeavor to make school-girls deft with foods and fabrics, schoolboys skilful with machines and materials.

Leisure-class Prejudice Against Manual Labor

This force is simply the prejudice against manual labor with which most of us are tainted. In every society the propertied class instinctively cherish and propagate the idea that work is contemptible. They are bound to do this lest their social position be ruined by the spread of the rival idea that work is worthy, whereas habitual idleness is contemptible. So from the conspicuous class spread constantly false ideas which make the working many think small of themselves and look up to those who are exempt for work.

Many Functional People Have Little Respect for Work

It was not direct control of the propertied class over education which long kept the school curriculum bookish but the contamination of even the functional people by their toxic notions. The wives of butchers and bakers and farmers feel the lack of gentility in tools and are bleakly inhospitable to the industrial features of the school. Nevertheless, book studies have been ousted from their monopoly and the tide runs strong in favor of dignifying work by making a place for it in the pupil's daily schedule. There is in the United States an element as wealthy and luxurious as the modern world has known; yet no society with such an element has been poisoned less by leisure-class standards than our own. Indeed, strange to say, the boot is on the other foot; for the majority of our wealthy have become so infected with the popular contempt for idleness that they cannot take full advantage of their riches without forfeiting their self-respect. This demo-

Nevertheless, the Leisure Class is no Longer Sure of Itself

cratic gain should be clinched by making work with the hands a part of the curriculum of every public school. CHAP. LI

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

From the Theory of Necessary Harmony of Private and Public Interests it Follows that the Schools Should Train for Individual Success

American society by the middle of the last century was saturated with the optimistic social philosophy emanating from Adam Smith and his school, according to which, as a normal thing, men intelligently pursuing their private pecuniary interests promote inadvertently the social welfare. This not only made for *laissez-faire* in government, but for individualism in morals. If a man did the right thing by other individuals there would be nothing to worry about. It was overlooked that this leaves without restraint actions which injure, not known persons, but the general public, or the good customs and institutions which are the guy ropes of the social order.

Now, this philosophy, falling in only too amiably with the demands of parents and pupils, long caused education to be dominated by the idea of *individual success*. The school was to train and develop the powers of the youth so that he might run well in the race for the good things of life. It was assumed that if the community contains a large number who are competent to take care of themselves, the social interest will be well cared for. To be sure, some of the studies pursued were very far from developing any kind of serviceable power in the youth, but still there reigned the doctrine that the school exists to fit him to attain his personal life ends.

Discovery that Working for Self is not Identical with Promoting the Social Interest

In the eighties of the last century the multiplying of social and political evils and the appearance of dangerous discontents caused thoughtful men to begin to doubt this rosy social philosophy. Politics was full of clever trained men working ably for self, but somehow the major public interests were not well looked after. Business was in the hands of capable men, who were no more tricky than their grandfathers, yet the distribution of wealth grew rapidly worse and class struggle was coming nearer.

Gradually it was perceived that there are a number of important social interests which are not parallel with individual interests and which should be preferred when they clash with such interests. The natural-harmony theory of society therefore falls short and the personal-success ideal of life turns out to be a false beacon. Adjustment to these ideas went on rapidly through the

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nineties, and it is safe to say that by 1910 no one continued to hold to the old social philosophy unless he was ignorant, elderly, or very prosperous.

The Penetration of Social Ideals into the Professional Schools

The change in the national spirit soon registered itself in the field of education and under the slogan "educate for service" has triumphed in the universities, colleges, and high schools. The striking thing is that there is no marked difference between endowed institutions and tax-supported institutions in their response to this ideal. It is the national spirit, not the source of support, that has counted. Even better proof is the fact that up to fifteen years ago law schools and medical schools maintained by the state had no higher notion of their duty than to train young men to earn fees; while, on the other hand, in the course of the dozen years since the public gained the social point of view, the private law schools and medical schools have been nearly as keen as the universities about teaching professional ethics.

Following a Profession is a Form of Social Service

Behind the mushroom growth of courses in journalism and courses in commerce lies clearly the social intention. The point is not that the graduates shall know their business better than those who learn it at desk and counter, but that they shall go out with professional standards which the other training often fails to give. For to put a calling under right professional standards is to socialize it without socialism.

THE EQUALIZING OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Extreme Local or Regional Disparities in the Provision for Education

Recognizing the tragic handicap of the unlettered man in a society which more and more takes intelligence for granted, educational leaders deplore the great disparity in school opportunities. In American commonwealths, for example, the school "year" varies from four months to ten months. In one state four-fifths of the teachers have only an elementary education, while in certain other states all are at least normal school or high school graduates. In 1916 the average pay of teachers in California was nearly thrice that of Mississippi. In the same year the state at the head of the list spent nine times as much on its average child as the state at the foot of the list. Apparently Scandinavia and the Balkans, Scotland and Chile stand scarcely farther apart in respect to educational opportunities than do certain states in the American Union.

Such inequalities may not be trusted to disappear of them-

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Everywhere There is a Levelling up of Educational Opportunity in Order to Rid the Nation of its Dark Spots

selves. Ignorance is self-perpetuating. Poor schools may become endemic in a region. Nevertheless, the intelligent communities must submit to be governed in part by the representatives of the dark-minded districts. No wonder they resort to state compulsion or state financial aid to level up educational opportunities within the state and advocate Federal compulsion or Federal financial aid to level up within the nation. Nor is this tendency to nationalize education peculiarly American; it is, in fact, world wide. All progressive peoples are coming to feel that the child's schooling is too much a social concern to be left entirely to the discretion of the parents, or even of the local community.

CHAPTER LII

INSTITUTIONS — THE RECREATION CENTER

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Human Nature Not all-of-a-Piece

THE evolutionary origin of our race supplies the missing key to the conflicts between instinct and reason, between impulse and purpose, which were puzzling so long as man was supposed to have been turned off at a stroke by the Creator. Thanks to the evidence that our inborn tendencies established themselves as aids to survival under primitive conditions, Mencius' doctrine of the goodness of original human nature as well as Calvin's doctrine of its total depravity no longer present themselves as horns of an unescapable dilemma. Far from being a simple, consistent thing, man's nature appears to be a tangled skein. Besides very old tendencies which he shares with all mammals, and later ones which he inherits with the apes from their common ancestors in the Tertiary era, man has tendencies which have struck root only in the course of the thousands of centuries since he stood erect.

Original Tendencies Hard to Make Out

Very quickly is this human nature overlaid and hidden by the training that fits us for our civilized and social life. Learned responses, acquired habits, the clipping and pruning to make ourselves acceptable, so mask our original tendencies that they are soon hard to make out. For knowledge of them we must observe children in a state of freedom or adults in their self-revealing moments — that is, when they are off their guard, distraught, dreaming, diverting themselves, projected suddenly into a strange situation, or meeting a crisis, when they act quickly and from the subconscious.

MORAL ASPECT OF THE INSTINCTS

Some Instincts Have Lost Their Value by Change in Conditions of Living

Since our original tendencies — let us say *instincts*, for short — proceed neither from the hand of the Creator nor from a "fall" in the Garden of Eden, it is idle to try to make them out as inherently good or bad. Every one of them, during the process of its acquirement, was an aid to survival and therefore was good. But

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owing to the grip of heredity, an instinct may outlast the wild life in which it was serviceable. Within the brief historic period the conditions of living have so immensely changed that not a few of man's original tendencies have become a handicap to the possessor or a menace to society. In our present stage, for example, the teasing, tormenting, and bullying impulses make trouble and should be curbed; while, for the sake of social peace, the fighting impulses must be guided into safe channels. The latter-day doctrine that every natural tendency is good is as wide of the truth as the venerable dogma of original sin.

Why the Instincts Have a Bad Name

Generally the instincts which do not appear to be grinding anybody's grist have been given a bad name. In the primitive instincts the moralists have perceived the roots of the great vices. Parents are exasperated by the impish and mischief-making bent of their children. Teachers, clergymen, employers, magistrates, and drillmasters — in a word, the whole corps of man-tamers — find themselves continually baffled by the waywardness of human nature. Efficiency is ever being tripped up by man's inborn restlessness, *wanderlust*, gregariousness, self-assertiveness, or thirst for excitement. It is these traits that hinder people from living according to some pattern held up to them — the sage's "life of reason," the saint's "godly life." So that all that is authoritative in ourselves or in society has sought to repress the instincts in the interest of rational purpose.

The Ascetic Delusion

Worse yet, prophets have often sharply opposed mind and body and stigmatized the propensities of the latter as base and brutish. It is only the *soul* that strives for the good, the true, and the beautiful. Natural appetites, impulses, and inclinations, being of the *flesh*, should be brought under. Hence ethical and religious systems have frequently apexed in a morbid asceticism, condemning comfort, pleasure, laughter, and play, and idealizing fasting, vigils, celibacy, silence, solitude, and poverty.

To "Mortify" Our Natural Dispositions is no Simple Matter

In the light of our present knowledge of man, "mortifying the body" ranks in senselessness with human sacrifice and witch-baiting. The peoples which have gone the farthest in smothering the instincts are marked by passivity and weakness. What a contrast between the ancient Greeks, with their ideal of temperance, and the modern Hindoos, who, intent on strengthening the spiritual nature at the expense of the animal nature, seem really to have squandered their vitality! The truth is that — to quote

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Graham Wallas—"we cannot in St. Paul's sense 'mortify' our dispositions. If they are not stimulated, they do not therefore die, nor is the human being what he would be if they had never existed. If we leave unstimulated, or, to use a shorter term, we 'baulk,' any one of our main dispositions, Curiosity, Property, Trial and Error, Sex, and the rest, we produce in ourselves a state of nervous strain."

MUCH MODERN WORK IS UNSTIMULATING

The Growth of Drudgery

The ascetic frenzy is passing, but meanwhile the work side of life has turned ascetic and appeals less and less to man's native tendencies. The case was bad enough when, a few thousands of years ago, hunting failed him and in tilling the soil he first made his acquaintance with drudgery. Then began the elimination of the laziest and the invention of whips to drive men through unstimulating tasks. But the husbandman, working with growing things out of doors and in touch with domestic animals, is a glad child of nature compared with the modern factory-worker, feeding metal plates to a punching machine for ten hours a day.

The Secret of the Appeal of Business, of the Professions

The grind of business, on the other hand, is relieved by situations which stir the hunting, emulative, fighting, or constructive instincts. The man with a prospering enterprise of his own usually finds zest in running it and hates to have to take the salaried post offered him by the trust that absorbs his concern. The fact that the phraseology and mental imagery of typical business men are saturated with pictures borrowed from the chase and the fight reveals why so many remain in business long after they are able to retire, and why they are so loath to admit that business should be a form of social service and not a game.

The professions appeal less to the cave man in us, though, to be sure, the trial lawyer tastes the joy of battle, the preacher may think of himself as wrestling with Satan, while the engineer may delight in besting snowslide or quicksand. If on the whole they are less piquant than business and speculation, the professions offer the excitement of variety and uncertainty, put intermittent strains on the attention, and set problems which stimulate curiosity and the instinct of workmanship. Unlike the maker of the fiftieth part of a pin, the professional man feels the elation that comes from following a job right through to the anticipated end.

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Occupations Need to be Studied from the Point of View of the Instincts

It is a pity that no one has ever methodically dissected the occupations to determine how much we relish them from instinct, how much from transferred interest, and how much they go against our grain. No doubt an investigator would discover startling contrasts. Children react to callings without heed to their pay or social grade, and the boy's naïve ambition to be a scout, a sleuth, a teamster, or a locomotive engineer gives a clue to the reaction of the primitive self. At the same time, this self appears to be lynx-eyed in detecting in dull-looking situations material for thrills. The same golden make-believe that in childhood transforms playfellows into bears and Indians saves many of us in overspecialized callings from becoming mere automatons.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GROWING PASSION FOR RECREATION

The Less Appealing is One's Work, the More One Craves Recreation

The increasing poverty of modern employments in elements which stimulate the instincts accounts for the amazing growth in our time of the passion for recreation. What the "stale" worker covets is not *rest;* else why not lounge away his holiday on his back porch? Nor is *change of activity* all he craves; else why does not the hotel clerk spend his vacation as stevedore, the physician as teamster or piano-mover? If it is *relaxation* he is after, why does not the tired brain-worker spend his summer holidays in gymnasium, bowling alley, and shooting gallery? No, what ails the slave of desk and clock, of client and customer, is what ails the horse pawing in his stall, the wolf restlessly pacing his cage. *He needs experience that will feed his famishing instincts.*

Why "Back to Nature"?

Hence the great recipe for recreation is "back to Nature"— raw Nature, so rich in simple and racially familiar things! In a wilderness trip the novice thinks it is the big outstanding features that do him good — canoe paddling, swimming, fishing, or shooting rapids. The fact is, most of his benefit comes from a lot of little things which he scarcely notices, but which register in his subconscious mind. Such are green-clad hills, tossing seas of verdure, the sparkle of sunlight on stirring leaves and rippling water, the mirror magic of still lakes, the soughing in pine tops, the shadow dance of sun falling through foliage, the challenge of precipitous trails, the sense of little peering furry creatures all about one. Thick woods, darkness, and queer night noises stir the wild self in us just enough to afford a delicious tingle. The fact that after a night passed close to lapping waves or a water-

The Secret of the Charm of the Wilderness

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fall one wakes fresher than after a still night may mean that the subconscious self was recognizing grateful sounds. Anyhow, from sleep in a hotel near to train sheds or to a busy traffic corner one wakes weary.

The priceless gift a summer camp offers to city boys is not fresh air and exercise so much as the stimulating of deep-seated instincts, which find no outlet in the regular round of home, school, and street. It is full of challenge to the prying, roving, hunting, collecting, contriving, and vying tendencies. The woods appeal to youth as catnip does to cats. "I have often," says Professor Puffer, "in taking cross-country walks with boys attempted to switch out from among the trees into open meadows or pasture land to save distance. Over and over again, however, have the boys protested. 'No, don't. Let's stay in the woods,' they have entreated."

Sport

One who watches himself closely learns that very little things get a rise out of his original nature. Plodding through a drizzle is depressing, but there is exhilaration in battling a gusty rainstorm or a blizzard. The canoeist notices that adverse waves by rousing his fighting instinct are easier to paddle against than a current or a head wind. The angler cares more for fly-casting and bait-casting than for still-fishing, because a thrill in him answers the "strike" of the fish. This is why he seeks out the "gamy" species, that seize his lure with a rush and fight hard when hooked.

Fire Magic

Experienced campers know better than to let a "tenderfoot" party turn in without a camp fire. The brightening of spirits in the circle as the genial blaze gnaws its way out of the heaped wood has its root doubtless in the selection that went on among the earlier generations of our race. Those who did not respond to the fire's charm wandered too far into the dark and were pounced on. We are descended from such as took comfort in fire at night and kept close to the red protector.

Out-door Life may Heal Mental Disturbances

The reason why life out of doors has a mysterius healing power over mental disorders is that it teems with experiences which are as grateful to the subconscious as soft fur is to the skin. Its rehearsal of activities of body and states of mind belonging to the childhood of our race rests the overtaxed higher cerebral centers. This no doubt accounts for the marked improvement in the state of epileptics, insane, and incorrigibles when

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removed from almshouses and jails to a farm colony well situated with reference to water, groves, and hills. It is significant that to sick minds the greatest benefit comes, not just from working out of doors — fencing or digging — but from farming, gardening, and caring for animals.

What the Farm Youth Misses

Like townspeople, the dwellers on lonely farms suffer from "baulked disposition," but their trouble comes from quite another quarter. In the open country what irks is not so much lack of the stimuli Nature provides as lack of society. Gray days of toil, alone or with grave, still elders, are zestless to the child of a race that went always in bands. The farm youth craves elbow touch, eyebeam, voices, the call of his kind, concerted rhythmic response. After an autumn of hard work amid sere stalks and under leaden skies, his thrills will come, not from "camping out," but from social "bee," dance, *charivari*, or religious revival. Foot-loose, he will seek the city, bathe himself in throngs, and make up for months of flatness by a prolonged spree in motion-film theaters, vaudevilles, and amusement parks.

WANT OF RECREATION DRIVES TO VICE

Certain vices get much of their power from men's desperate desire to escape from the humdrum of a life bare of recreation. Says the Philippine Opium Commission:

Why the Chinese Smoke Opium

> What people on earth are so . . . destitute of amusement as the Chinese, both rich and poor? There are no outdoor games in China, or, indeed, any games except in a gambling sense. Absolute dullness and dreariness seem to prevail everywhere. As these two demons drive the Caucasian to drink, so they drive the Chinese to opium. As an individual may by habitual toil and attention to business become incapable of amusement, so a race of almost incredible antiquity, which has toiled for millenniums, may likewise reach a point in its development where the faculty of being amused has atrophied and disappeared, so that all that remains is the desire to spend leisure in placidity. And nothing contributes so much to this as opium.

Alcoholism by no means indicates either a physiological demand for stimulant or a specific craving for strong drink. Many hope for relief from the mental depression produced by living against the native grain. What a far cry from the running, striking, throwing, hunting, stalking, and fighting Nature fitted us for to the few endlessly repeated movements of the modern fac-

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Intoxication a Refuge from a Type of Life and Work Without Appeal to One's Native Tendencies

tory operative! The discipline, the monotony, the meaninglessness of one's minute fragment of a task, the dreary surroundings in industrial towns, make life more irksome than ever before it has been for free workers. The series — herdsman, husbandman, craftsman, artisan — constitutes a curve *away from* the instinctive, which finds its terminus in the machine-tender. With little in it to rouse the impulses of rivalry, curiosity, or constructiveness, the day's work is done under steady strain. One drives through it only for the Saturday pay check. "Why do you get drunk?" a Chicago stock-yards worker was asked. "Because that's the quickest way out of Packingtown," was the reply. Small wonder that people who scrape pig bristles sixty hours a week and live in mean, dingy little houses, looking out across stretches of mud, cinders, or car tracks, should seek the ruddy glow of saloon good-fellowship and drink to forget.

RECREATION RAISES GRAVE MORAL PROBLEMS

Recreation is Potent to Uplift or Degrade

Recreation, then, there must be, if people gone stale are not to poison themselves with drugs. But what shall serve for recreation is far from being a private question. Still less can it be left to the conscience of commercial amusement caterers. Because they touch and awaken the instincts, and because the instincts may call out the jungle self, amusements have always given rise to many of the chief ethical problems in society. The experience of civilized peoples with certain sports which rouse the aboriginal instincts of combat make it clear that we have here to do with a very serious matter.

De-humanizing Effect of the Roman Gladiatorial Spectacles

The bloody spectacles of fighting men and beasts provided by the ruling class of Rome as a means of contenting the populace eventually struck root in all parts of the Empire save Palestine, and were for four hundred years a master-influence upon the ancient world. The recent surmise that they were "*not a brutalizing agency, but an afterglow of brutality left behind*" is confuted by the fact that they were not Latin in origin, but Etruscan, and that five centuries elapsed after the founding of the city before Rome saw them. At first such spectacles were occasional, but in time a veritable mania for them grew up, and the acquired love of bloodshed was perpetuated from age to age. When Antiochus introduced the games into Syria, the first impression was one of disgust, but repetition changed the feeling into approval.

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Greece, superior in civilization, long resisted bloody spectacles and only the rabble ever became fond of them. To the last the educated unanimously condemned them.

The moral harm wrought by the arena baffles measurement, but it is significant that the Roman world remained hard and ruthless until Stoicism, and, later, Christianity, brought a spirit of mildness, and that none of its peoples experienced the gradual genial humanization that had occurred in the development of the Greeks.

The Bullfight a Debasing Influence

That morally the bullfight has been a millstone tied about the neck of the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Peruvians is doubted by no one who has ever seen it. In the beginning it was a knightly sport, but with the coming on of generations which had drunk in the gory sights of the bullring almost with their mother's milk it degenerated. To-day the onlooking multitude shows a quite depraved taste for seeing living flesh torn and blood gush out. The riding out of blindfolded old horses for the bull to vent his rage upon is obviously no part of the fight, but a sop to the bloodthirst of the crowd. The devotees of the bullfight insist that it fosters "manliness," but what is the manliness of the spectators who from their safety cry "Nearer!" to the *matador*, compared with that of the aviator or mountain climber who seeks his thrills by risking *his own* life, not that of another? Noting the children about the bullring, noting how even the boys in the street play bull and *matador*, one perceives why the history of so fine a strain as the Celt-Iberian is stained with mistreatment of domestic animals, the use of torture, cruelty to the fallen foe, and ruthlessness to political adversaries. A few years ago a Mexican governor addressed his people with the prophetic words: "Diaz is old. When he is gone, what will happen? I say so long as your recreation centers in the bullfight, so long as your little boys and mothers with babes at breast flock to these places, so long will Mexico be a land of revolutions. While the strong hand of Diaz still supports you, commence now to find a substitute in character-building recreation."

The Prize Ring Like the Bullring Rouses the Primitive Self of the Onlooker

The prize ring differs from the arena in that the combatants are free men and their weapons not deadly. It appeals, however, to instincts as primitive as those which found satisfaction in the duels of gladiators. President G. Stanley Hall testifies:

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In witnessing great pugilistic contests, which I sometimes permit myself to do as a student of human nature, the three surprises are: first, my own tense and absorbing interest that makes me want to shout and yell like a wild Indian as the rest do and perhaps leap into the ring; second, a kind of cathartic refreshment after the brain-storm, which like a thunderstorm clears the air; and third, that I see so many other respectable people there whom I know, but do not wish me to recognize them.

Refreshment from indulgence in old prehistoric states of mind there is, no doubt, but, were the prize ring open to children and youth, it would brutalize as the bullring has brutalized. What keeps pugilistic encounters from becoming rougher than they actually are appears to be, not the squeamishness of their devotees, but the sentiment of the outside public. The disgust of "fight fans" at a "tame" bout, their joy in "bare knuckles" and "a fight to the finish," indicate that but for society's veto a revival of gladiatorial combats would be a money-making venture in the great cities of to-day.

Why Catered Sport Degenerates

In the conflict type of recreation it makes a great difference morally whether a man gets the sharp tang of excitement by struggling himself or by watching others struggle. In the latter case he is a spectator, not a player, and has his elation without effort, pain, or danger. But so fine a thing ought not to be had on such easy terms. It is the man willing to put on the gloves and "take punishment" who has earned the right to enjoy the boxing of others. The chief reason why national sport degenerates is that, after people have become lazy and soft, they will not make their own fun, but have it catered, allowing to be spilled the cheap blood of beasts, slaves, criminals, captives, gladiators and *toreadors,* because they are too canny to risk their own skins.

The Influence of the Parasitic Spectator Leads to Monstrous Excess

The parasitic onlooker is to blame for the monstrous and demoralizing excess that presently shows itself in sport. The amateur sportsman is held back from such excess by the price he pays in danger and pain. The spectator knows no such curb; dulled by familiarity, he demands sights ever more sensational and shocking to thrill his jaded nerves. Thus in the course of two centuries the Roman populace became gluttons for blood. At a single spectacle Trajan produced eleven thousand animals, while Claudius staged a sea fight in which nineteen thousand gladiators butchered one another till the waters of the lake were red!

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Among us, multitudes who want, not to *play*, but to *be amused*, participate by inner imitation in the contests of professionals when they should be at games of their own. One who hunts, fishes, canoes, rows, sails, climbs, golfs, or skis, despises these flabby athletes-by-proxy. The "fan" who is nothing else is a hanger-on of the play of others. Least athletic of men, he never plays at anything himself but is content to be a mere spectacle-hunter. His crowd hysteria and partisanship disgust true sportsmen and throw sport into the hands of those who play for the money there is in it.

Contemptible Rôle of the Athlete-by-proxy

Quite apart from its lure of easy gain, gambling fascinates because its conflict situations appeal to the same instinct which is excited in boat race or ball game, in business competition or stock speculation. Its reaction, unlike that from watching physical combat, is not brutalizing. Society bans the gamester, whose zest is but that of the business man or sportsman, because he creates no values and breaks down good habits. Once the something-for-nothing itch seizes upon it a people loses heart for industry and saving, while all the parasitisms — theft, swindling, fraud, extortion, graft, vice-catering, imposture — flourish with a tropical luxuriance.

The Lure of Gambling

A host of diversions appeal openly or subtly to the primal and masterful mating instinct. Promiscuous erotic dancing, "girl" shows, risqué plays, the nude in art, and the daring in literature allure because they are saturated with sex suggestion. Great cities and old civilizations become corrupt because they so abound in means of titillating desire. The fact that man is the only species possessing arts for whetting sex appetite justifies, in respect to the relations between the sexes, a discipline and a surveillance to which no other creature needs submit. No doubt if amusment caterers were given a perfectly free course — no check from police or public opinion, from current standards of decency, or from the steadying influence of elders — sensuality would be excited to such a pitch that marriage and home would be broken down and race continuance imperiled.

The Appeal to the Sex Instinct

POLICIES FOR DEALING WITH EVIL RECREATIVE TENDENCIES

For dealing with demoralizing sports and amusements there are three policies — viz., *suppression*, *substitution*, and *sublimation*.

No policy has been so thoroughly tried out as *suppression*.

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The Suppressers of Recreation Misconceive Human Nature

Religion naturally dreads whatever unleashes the beast in man and hence has taken a critical attitude toward recreations. The early Christians turned with horror from the arena. The medieval Church sought to solve the problem of popular recreation by herself providing pageants, plays, festivals, and like means of brightening the drab existence of the masses. The Puritans uprooted the old loose communal diversions of "merrie" England, closed the playhouses, and destroyed the people's pleasure fields. Macaulay's gibe that they stopped bear-baiting, "not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators," will equally fit the foes of bullfighting, cockfighting, or any other demoralizing sport, for they are more shocked by the brutalization of men than the suffering of beasts. Various Protestant groups long ago took alarm at the moral flare-back from recreations and proceeded to lay their ban on gambling, dancing, the theater, the circus, and the novel.

We Dare Not Deny the Craving for Recreation

Such a yoke may be assumed by the elect, but it cannot be imposed on the people as a whole. Even the religious groups have had to give up much of their old-time strictness. Instead of recreation being cut down in volume, there is every reason to anticipate that it will greatly expand. As our daily occupations become more specialized, more methodical, more routinary, fall completely under "scientific management," and lose much of their creative gladness, as the hotter pace of modern life throws upon the higher brain centers a constant and severe strain which must be offset by longer intervals of rest and relaxation, the demand for recreation will become more general, more imperious, and more justified.,

Not Recreation but Certain Elements in Recreations, Work Harm

The *substitution* policy goes on the theory that for every low and demoralizing sport some fine and wholesome substitute may be found which will in the end prove just as satisfying. This in turn rests on the psychological principle that each of our tendencies may be brought into play by a variety of situations. Detective stories and Boy Scout maneuvers afford gratification to the hiding and hunting instincts, as well as playing "It" or "I spy." Marching, crew rowing, and choral singing give the pleasure of rhythm no less than see-saw and dancing. Our political contests certainly stir and refresh us. If the Romans had stayed democratic, as the Athenians did, they would have hankered less for bloody games. Patriotic festivals, political barbecues, and ec-

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Substitute Clean Sport for Vice and Demoralizing Recreation

static religious revivals are as truly emotional "sprees" as prize fights and lynchings, besides being innocent.

The experience of the last fifteen years opens a wonderful vista for substitution in the sphere of sports. The four thousand supervised playgrounds in the United States, looked after by nine thousand professional leaders and supervisors, have weaned great numbers of lads from mischief-making, broken up "tough" gangs, and overcome slum tendencies. Athletic contests have driven the bullfight from Hispanic peoples under American influence. The Filipinos are finding their excitement about the baseball diamond rather than the cockpit; the chocolate-colored Malay lads took to playing our national game and talking its slang before they were able to speak English. Under the lead of American officials the wild Igorrotes of Luzon have learned to divert themselves with athletic contests and dancing instead of head-hunting. At first the savage bystanders would stone the too-skilful pitcher of a visiting team and match games often broke up in a free fight; but the onlooking Americans and the police checked such tendencies and now the Igorrotes are said to be good sportsmen. In China, as opium smoking declines, sport comes in with a rush and thousands of Chinese make long journeys by train in order to attend the national meets. In the light of experience it does not seem rash to anticipate that bullfight and cockfight, opium debauch and vinous "spree," every ghoulish orgy of religious fanaticism and every obscene or bloody rite in Asiatic temples, may be displaced in a generation or two by ball games and track meets, folk-dancing and symbolic pageants, if only in public supervised recreation centers all the children are bred to merry and wholesome plays.

Wonderful Transformations in Sight

The Imaginative Gratification of Our Native Cravings

Sublimation occurs when the original demands of our natures accept purely imaginative gratification or become blent with culture elements. This leads to the enjoyment of art, which is quite a different outlet from play. Music touches and rouses instinct after instinct, but not in a way to threaten the poise of the civilized man. In the theater our emotions are fed with the situations presented by love, war, diplomacy, crime, adventure, and politics. The flight instinct, after childhood quite suppressed in real life, causes us to hang breathlessly upon the motion-picture representation of the hunted animal or the hunted man. The maternal instinct is stirred by the representation of the waif, the

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hapless victim, the stricken hero. The well-made plot of novel or drama is a challenge to the instinct of curiosity, like a puzzle or a riddle. The fighting spirit is never neglected, for, in the language of President Hall, "Every drama and romance pivots on a conflict ending in the triumph of one and the defeat of the other force or person, and the zest of it all is that the conflict is more intense and the issues more clearly drawn and palpable than in real life about us."

There are signs that society, which has recently been converted to the policy of making provision for play, may yet be brought to do something for music and art. Municipal bands and orchestras are not uncommon, and the Puritan horror of the theater is nearly gone. Educators recognize the socializing power of good drama, and a stage is often provided in the newer school buildings. The social settlements have taken a hand in producing good plays, and their successors, the public social centers, may offset the evil tendencies of the commercial theater.

PLAY AS BUILDER OF THE SOCIAL VIRTUES

Let it not be supposed that the innocent stimulation of instinctive tendencies measures society's interest in the promotion of play. Certain games, particularly antagonistic team games, afford character discipline of the highest value. The game fosters loyalty to one's fellows, to one's team, and to one's institution. It accustoms one to obey the captain, to accept without a murmur the decision of the recognized authority and to work for the good of the whole rather than for self. It develops facility in concerted action and gives practice in quick unreflecting adjustment to the intentions and moves of others. In being required to abide by the rules of the game under circumstances which sorely try the temper, one acquires self-control. Sport, moreover, imposes the difficult ideal of the "good sportsman," who is just, magnanimous, who neither gloats in victory nor sulks in defeat.

The playground, then, offers experience in an animated stimulating miniature society which presents many of the situations one encounters later in adult life. It forms the cooperator, the competitor, the rival, the leader, the follower, the comrade. On the other hand, it contributes nothing of moment to forming the friend, the lover, the parent, the painstaking craftsman, the creative artist, or the seeker after truth.

CHAPTER LIII

INSTITUTIONS—THE STATE

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THE state is unique among associations in that membership in it is not voluntary and it asserts over its members an unlimited power of coercion. The origin of the state has been an enigma. Relying on certain modern instances, some imagine that the state came into existence as an agency for preserving order and protecting the rights of the individual member. The fact is, however, that early crime is held in check by blood revenge or the vengeance of the local community. Disputes between individuals are settled by public opinion or arbitrated. The group of kinsmen or neighbors handle the problem of justice and the state does not arise.

The True State Originated in Conquest

Nor did the state originate primarily as an organization for common defense against external foes. An emergency may, it is true, call into being a political headship but, after the danger is past, the former tribal or local authorities resume sway. The fact is, a coercive organization has arisen generally as a result of the conquest of one people by another. Usually the conquered are tillers of the soil while the conquerors are a folk of hunters or herdmen, who abhor toil. The latter create the state in order to hold down the beaten, so that they may be thoroughly and continuously exploited. The masters of the state and the subjects of it are therefore altogether different peoples. The state exists not to serve those on whom chiefly it operates, but to bleed them. This explains the traditional harshness of the state, its bloody methods, its ferocity when opposed, its arrogant refusal to acknowledge limits to its authority, its contempt for public opinion and accepted moral standards. No people would frame such an organization if it were intended to bear upon themselves. History fully justifies Herbert Spencer's remark: "Government, begotten of aggression and by aggression, ever continues to betray its original nature by its aggressiveness."

Why the State Has been Arbitrary and Ruthless

It is a striking fact that this type of state has invariably es-

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The People Lose Control of Their State

caped the control even of the conquering folk which calls it into being. Regularly it comes to be the engine of a small social class, perhaps 5 per cent. of the dominant people, perhaps but 1 or 2 per cent. It may, indeed, become, as it were, the personal possession of a monarch who can declare, "I am the State." How is it that so few are able to subjugate so many?

THE GENESIS OF ABSOLUTISM

The King Juggles Power to His Own Advantage

It is due, in part, of course, to the cunning organization of physical force. The despot has his Pretorians, Varangians, Janizaries, Swiss, Cossacks or pet guard regiments, privileged and well paid, or else a standing army which long ago lost its sense of brotherhood with the people from which it was recruited. Again, the jealousies between subject races are dextrously played upon, so that the soldiers of one oppressed people delight in holding down another people. This was the favorite trick of the Hapsburgs in ruling their polyglot Empire.

Religion Props the Throne

Then throne enters into partnership with altar in order that the State and its agents may be clothed with sanctity. Priests proclaim the Divine Right of Kings, so that to resist the monarch is to lift hand against God's anointed. From the fifth century to the sixteenth this doctrine was coextensive with Christianity. It is possible to go even further in hedging authority with superstitious terrors. In the Roman Empire and in modern Japan the sovereign becomes a god!

The State Grew too Big for Common Men to Grasp

There was a reason for absolutism, too, in the fact that the state quite outgrew the social mind. It became imperial in extent, while the imaginations of the ignorant commoners who lifted on their shields their elected king were bounded by their tribe or township. The wisdom of the folk fell sadly short of the requirements of the situation. The war chief or king with large conceptions and far-reaching plans stood no chance of getting them past a popular assembly of unlettered narrow-minded men. Only those leaders who freed themselves from such hampering were able to accomplish much. As for the city-states which remained free because they did not outgrow the social mind, they were too small to hold their own in a world developing these huge political aggregates. It was their fate to be engulfed in some expanding empire.

Nor should it be forgotten that the "estates," "diets," "*cortes*,"

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"*witangemots*," etc., which sought to curb the monarch were by no means truly representative of the people. They spoke for nobles, clergy or wealthy burghers, little class oligarchies which intended no good to the working masses. Hence, it was easy for the monarch to rally to his side the rightless layers of the people when he defied the privileged classes. Kings and commons stood together against the nobility.

Why the Commons Stood with the King

Thus the state escaped the people's control and became an irresponsible power over them, against which there was no protection save prayer. The larger part of mankind was delivered to Sultanism. In all Asia it seems to have occurred to no one that a ruler could be made accountable to the people. The idea of "citizen," which reached its flower in Greece, never even germinated in the Orient. The Asiatics knew government only as despotism tempered by assassination and even the Russians after long experience of the Mongol yoke lost their early liberties and became Asiatic in their attitude toward the ruler. In China the Sages balanced the Divine Right of the Emperor with what might be called the Divine Right of rebellion, for they insisted that a popular uprising was Heaven's mark of displeasure with a governor or ruler.

Triumph of Sultanism

THE GERMINATION OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

Self-government, which had been well worked out both in practice and in theory in the maritime city states of the Greeks, vanished from the world with the advent of the Cæsars to reappear only in the free cities which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sprang up in all parts of Europe. In the course of two or three hundred years the expanding royal power brought them all under in France, Italy, Spain, and Russia. Only in Switzerland, England and the Low Countries did absolutism meet with checkmate.

Reappearance of the Democratic Idea

The colonization of France and Spain in America, no more than that of Russia in Siberia, gave rise to self-government. On the other hand, thanks to the motives of their founding, to their being settled largely by liberty seekers, and to their opportunity to bring to fruition certain sturdy English and Dutch traditions, the English colonies in North America developed the principle that government exists for the benefit of the people and is responsible to the people. This principle, vindicated in the American

It Sprouts in the English Colonies in America

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Revolution and spread broadcast by the French Revolution, has gone on from victory to victory until with the recent downfall of all the European autocracies its future is secure.

Difficulties of Representation in Large States

While in the city-state popular control by the town-meeting is easy enough, in the extended territorial states built up by conquest it is very difficult to devise an acceptable means of ascertaining and formulating the general will. It is by no means a simple matter for the people to act through representatives. Shall the representative sit for a stated term or until recalled? Is he to obey the instructions of his constituents or to use his own judgment? Does his vote bind his constituents or does his every act have to be ratified by them? It took generations to establish the political morality which forbids a representative to feather his own nest with the bribes and favors offered by the government he is sent to curb.

The principle that the will of the majority shall prevail strikes us as self-evident. But it was not so to the folk motes of the Slavs. Their *veche* or town meeting admitted no other mode of settling public affairs than unanimous decision. . . . "The *veches* passed whole days in debating the same subjects, the only interruptions being free fights in the streets. At Novgorod these fights took place on the bridge across the Volchow, and the stronger party sometimes threw their adversaries into the river beneath. A considerable minority very often succeeded in suspending the measure already voted by the *veche*, but if the minority was small, its will had soon to yield to open force."[1] The famous "free veto" which was tolerated in the Polish Diet and which wrecked the Kingdom of Poland was but a survival of this old Slavonic custom. The discovery that it is cheaper to count heads than to break them is to politics what the discovery of the lever or the inclined plane is to mechanics.

Liberum Veto

YOUTHFUL DEMOCRACY

Early Democracy Aims not to Govern but to Curb Government

In the infancy of modern democracy there was no question of setting up a people's government. A massive, venerable State was there, built up about the royal power and buttressed by Divine Right and the juristic doctrine of sovereignty. The strategy of the Commons was to rear barriers beyond which this State should not pass, to set constitutional bounds to it. Already some

[1] Kovalevsky. "Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia."

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monarchs were measurably held in check by the spiritual authority of the Church, by the solemn charters which, in return for aid, they had granted to the municipal corporations, and by the people's time-hallowed right of petition.

Making Government Responsible to the Representatives of the People

In England and in the English colonies in America the representatives of the people denied the competency of the Crown to levy a new tax without their consent and took advantage of the financial necessities of profligate kings to extort royal recognition of their claim. By this "power of the purse" they got their hands on the brake of the car even if royalty still held the steering wheel. Warned by Continental example of the peril of a standing army in the King's pay, they favored a militia as the means of national defense and asserted the right of the people to keep and to bear arms. To secure justice against the pressure from the King and his minions they contended that the judge appointed by the King should be free to follow his conscience in the performance of his duties, i.e., they stood for the "independence of the judiciary." They opposed the inheritance of offices, denied the Divine Right of kings, insisted that magistrates are trustees or servants, not masters, and proclaimed the unqualified right of the people to reform, alter, or abolish their government.

Guarantees of the Rights of the Individual

In order to provide the innocent individual with an ark of safety against irresponsible power they asserted the equality of all before the law and forbade that any one should be deprived of life, liberty or property without "due process of law." Private property was not to be taken for public use without just compensation. There should be no unwarrantable searches and seizures. A person accused should have an open, fair and speedy trial before a jury. No excessive bail should be required nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. The citizen was to be secure in his freedom of speech, of assemblage, of the press, of conscience and of contract.

Anti-social Interests Shelter Themselves Behind These "Constitutional Guarantees"

The time arrived when certain of these old gyves bound upon government when it was an alien and uncontrolled power became a nuisance, hampering the effective action of a state which had become responsive to the will of the people. Long after the arbitrary George III. of England had become dust forces new and unforeseen sprang up in society. There came a day when the railroads, the traction companies and the trusts taxed the people as the Stuarts had never dared to tax; when great corporations

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and employers trampled on the rights of the employee, the competitor or the patron with the arrogance of the officials of King John. And when the people endeavored to curb these new tormentors by orderly means the judges barred the way in the name of "due process of law," "freedom of contract," and "just compensation." Happily, the strain has lately been relieved, but the scandalous blockade of remedial measures in the closing years of the last century by judges most of whom were probably conscientious enough illustrates how revolutions are bred.

MATURED DEMOCRACY

Making Government Obedient to the People's Will

Since the American Revolution a technique for the control of the State by the people has been gradually worked out, so that now no intelligent people, unless they are held down by sheer force, ought to suffer long from irresponsible power. In a written constitution the political organs are described and their orbits drawn. Hereditary executives are dispensed with or become mere gilded figureheads of state. No class has any preference in office holding. Officials are chosen for short stated terms and the official who misconducts himself may be retired by impeachment or recall. Since filling many offices by election confuses the voter and aids the political "boss," key positions are filled by election and the rest by appointment.

The legislator is to respect his mandate and "instructions," while by means of "initiative" and "referendum" the people have a check on their legislature. The suffrage has been extended to adults of all classes, while elections have been hedged about with restrictions designed to protect their purity.

"Invisible Government"

In proportion as popular control moved forward in America on these lines the property interests most fearful of advancing democracy intrenched themselves in the political parties, then purely private and unsupervised organizations. By the lavish use of money through a long period they built up a control of party primaries and conventions and a technique for the winning of the electoral campaign. Here was the citadel of what came to be known as "invisible government." Within the last dozen years, however, by means of "direct primaries," the prohibition of contributions to political parties from corporations, the limitation of political expenditures and the enforced publicity of campaign contributions and disbursements, this citadel has been made

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untenable. Of late the threatened interests have retired further back to the field of political opinion and seek to manipulate it by secret propaganda, by controlling speaking halls and printing presses, and by silencing or discrediting all who voice opinions which they dislike.

Contradiction Between Democracy and Efficiency

The long stern fight for the people's control of the state has made clear that there is a certain contradiction between political democracy and governmental efficiency. The fact that every class domination of the past has posed as the rule of the wise and intelligent should not blind us to the grain of truth in this claim. In forcing the barriers erected by ruling classes universal suffrage becomes as absolute as a religious dogma. It is urged as an indefeasible right of an adult, like the right to mate. Perhaps when the principle is no longer in jeopardy we shall recognize that the vote of the imbecile, the pauper, the habitual lawbreaker, the illiterate, or the follower of an infamous occupation does no good either to the voter himself or to society. Since such classes of voters constitute a permanent political asset of the moneyed anti-social interests, they should be deprived of the ballot.

Again, the people, in order that they may control all their government all the time, make such hard conditions that they will not be well served. The principle of "no office-holding class," "pass the offices about," etc., discourages capable youths from preparing themselves for the public service. Direct primaries so burden the contestants with expense for personal publicity that strong men will not run for office. The people's right to recall a public official at will may put the expert at the mercy of the inexpert before there has been time for his policies to work out.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT AND CENTRALIZATION

Popular Government is Averse to Centralization.

The passage from absolutism to popular sovereignty is accompanied by decentralization. As it ceases to be an engine of domination which one race or class uses upon others, matters which are regional or local in character are relinquished to a political subdivision. Once the dynasties have vanished from the scene, the central government does not show itself so jealous and distrustful of community self-government. The uniformity of administration dear to absolutism ignored the dissimilarity of conditions in different parts of the country and stretched all on one Procrustean bed. As soon as the people have their way they

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refuse to wear the strait-jacket of uniformity and each self-contained locality or region insists on dealing in its own way with highways, irrigation, drainage, education, poor relief, trade, police and justice.

but Social Development Calls for It

Nevertheless, altho in the democratic era "autonomy" and "home rule" are phrases to conjure with, certain social changes favor centralization in spite of its bad name. Thanks to the mental contacts brought about by improved facilities for communication, the growth of national consciousness has been so quickened that it outruns and overtakes local consciousness. Since the people in all sections think and feel more in common, they more often desire the same laws and are more willing to act together. Again, this sharper national consciousness is uneasy if certain parts of the country are sadly behind the rest in respect to some essential such as law observance, school opportunities, or child protection. This brings into favor centralizing policies by means of which a national government may bring backward parts abreast of the main body. It should be noted, furthermore, that mere technical advance causes functions once local to be passed up to the central government. Thus, as transportation, communication, production and commerce, from being local come to be national, or even international, in character, the function of regulating them must develop in the same direction.

THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

No Hard-and-fast Rule as to the Proper Functions of the State

It is idle to attempt to lay down definitively the proper functions of the State, because its scope should depend upon such variables as the trend of social relationships, the development of the social mind, the advance of technique, the talent available for government, etc. Consider, for example, how the electric telegraph, aviation, irrigation, plant pathology, child study, genetics and the doctrine of the influence of forests on rainfall and erosion have affected our conception of the duties of the state. No doubt other surprises just as great are in store for us. Successfully to foretell the functions of the coming state would require one to anticipate discoveries and inventions which have not yet been made.

Why the Scope of State Activity is Enlarged

Nevertheless, we can recognize the chief factors upon which changes in the functions of the state depend. In our time we have witnessed the rise of telegraphs, telephones, tramways, pipe

lines, gas supply and electric lighting, which, being monopolistic in their nature, must be either operated or regulated by some public agency. Then continually new ways are discovered of bettering general conditions by means of collective action. The tracing of malaria to a certain species of mosquito puts upon the community the burden of destroying the breeding places of *anopheles*. Hundreds of millions are spent by public health bodies which would not be so spent but for the discovery of the germ origin of disease. The advance of agricultural science poses problems of great practical moment which can be solved only in the government experiment stations. In the same way, determination of the laws of heredity may one day call into being state institutions for the custodial care of all defectives.

Growth of New Collective Wants

Sometimes a new task is put upon government because the public has become aware of a social need hitherto unrecognized. This accounts for the provision of playgrounds in our cities, the establishment of social centers, the creation of public employment offices, the organization of forms of cooperation among farmers, the vocational guidance of youth, university extension and the determination of standards. The growing sensitiveness of society to bad conditions in any of its parts prompts it to sanction the use of government authority and money in order to level up districts or social classes which are at a grave disadvantage owing to preventable ill-health, bad housing, poor education, or lack of capital.

The People Feel More Confidence in the State

Finally, in the degree that it is brought immediately under popular control the state loses its traditional harshness and arbitrariness. Its imperious tone departs, its old arrogance is forgotten, and it becomes suave and humane. As the people mark the change of temper in the state they cease to view it with their ingrained suspicion and jealousy and are more willing to avail themselves of its services.

Where the State Yields Ground

Altho year by year the state undertakes new duties, it has retired from certain fields which once it occupied. The state has found it best to withdraw entirely from the support of religion and to treat religion as a private matter. It is agreed, too, that the state should abstain from the propagation of every form of controverted opinion, leaving propaganda wholly to individuals and private associations. As the state multiplies its activities it is plain that, if the people are really to control this huge machine,

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they should be left undisturbed to make up their minds as to the worth of each of its services. It is therefore bad policy to use public money in praising, recommending or vindicating any public organ or service. The state may properly disseminate fact but should have no part in the formation of opinion about itself.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

Shall the State be Built on New Foundations?

Not only are the functions of the state in constant flux, but its fundamental structure is open to question. It is a mooted point whether the executive should be constituted from the majority element in the legislature, as the parliamentary system requires, or independently chosen by the people, as the presidential system implies. Again, the principle upon which the citizens shall be grouped for political representation is by no means settled. When most electors are farmers the natural grouping is the neighborhood and delegates are chosen by districts. But the specialization required by modern machine industry brings it about that those of the same trade or craft have more interests in common than those living within a given area. Hence, it is contended that for representation citizens should be grouped by occupation or economic interest rather than by wards or districts. This is the principle of the *sovyet,* and its merits should be fairly considered without reference to its accidental association with Bolshevism.

State Socialism Versus Guild Socialism

In the last quarter of a century there has been a marked trend toward the regulation and even management of industry by the state, i.e., state socialism. This, however, leaves the citizen so remote from that which most vitally concerns him, viz., the regulation of the industry in which he works, that his yearly vote may be a mere fribble and he little better than a state serf. It is urged that those in each branch of industry should organize themselves democratically and regulate its conditions and relations — guild socialism — leaving the state to regulate its relations to other organized industries and to the consuming public. This would be like the decentralization which took place in the autocratic state after the people gained control of it, save that in this case it is *industries* which claim autonomy rather than *provinces* and *localities.*

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The Service side of the State Grows while the Coercive Side Wanes

WILL SOCIALIZATION CONTINUE?

A generation ago Lester F. Ward declared, "We are in the stone age of politics." The development since he uttered this *mot* proves how profoundly true it was. The *coercive* side of the state has not grown, but there has been an amazing expansion on the side of *service*. The symbols of force are vanishing from state occasions and public buildings. The typical agents of the state are coming to be not soldier and policeman, but teacher, health inspector, coast guard and forest ranger. Ruthlessness is dying out of government, so that our great stone prisons and their steel cages may some day be looked on as curiously as we look on the "witch towers" of the Middle Ages in which demoniacs were tortured. The ideals, methods and manners of the state have changed immensely in the democratic era and are bound to undergo many other changes.

PART V

SOCIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

CHAPTER LIV

THE PRINCIPLE OF ANTICIPATION

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SOCIOLOGISTS have held that the essential difference between the *popular* and the *scientific* view of a proposed law or policy is that the one takes in only *proximate* effects, while the other embraces *ultimate* effects as well. The shortsighted perceive the first order of effects, but not the train of consequences to which these effects give rise.

Now, this notion, borrowed from physiology and medicine, does not fit well in sociology. It is another of the lame analogies which have cluttered up our field. The fact is that the contrast between shallowness and depth in social thinking does not hinge chiefly on the distinction between *near* consequences and *remote* consequences, but upon a distinction of a different character.

The shallow see the actions, good or bad, of persons and governments as so many isolated facts. For them the individual case of lying, extortion, pardon, subsidy, or charitable relief stands by itself. The thinker, however, perceives that mankind is always using action as a clue to future conduct, interpreting it as an indication of policy. And once people who are subject to the action of others discover, or imagine they discover, a policy behind it, they accommodate themselves as best they can to this policy.

Anticipation

Hence, action which leads those affected by it to anticipate like action in the future modifies their conduct, sometimes in ways unintended and undesired. The social scientist ought to *anticipate these anticipations* and thereby arrive at a judgment as to how particular policies will work "in the long run." In matters social, then, what distinguishes sage from tyro is that, while the latter considers only the direct effects of a mooted policy, the former takes into account how the policy will react upon people through their anticipating its operation and endeavoring to adjust themselves to it.

Anticipations should be Anticipated

The principle of anticipation may be stated at follows: *Any*

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Formula of the Principle

established and known policy, whether of government, of a corporate body, or of an individual, which affects people favorably or unfavorably according to their present conduct, will come to be anticipated and will result in modifying behavior. Favorable action will call forth more of the conduct, condition, or type of character favored, while adverse action will tend to repress it.

Let us examine now the more striking manifestations of this principle in the various provinces of social life.

ANTICIPATION IN THE TREATMENT OF CRIME

Authorities object to paying a reward for the return of an abducted person, "no questions asked," because such a policy lays a financial foundation for the following of abduction as a business. There is a plain conflict of interest between the wealthy parent, concerned only to recover his child, and society, intent on discouraging the practice of kidnaping. The practice of "compounding a felony" illustrates a like conflict of interest and is justifiably frowned on by the law.

The Would-be Law-breaker Should Anticipate Relentless Pursuit

The authorities very properly go to great expense in order to pursue, ferret out, or extradite the individual lawbreaker for the reason that, if it is apparent that frequently the lawbreaker comes off scatheless, the dread of the law will be weakened in the hearts of the evil-disposed and crime will increase. On the other hand, a show of resolution and relentlessness, a demonstration that the law will never give up and that in the end justice will always get its due, fills the hearts of bad men with a deterring dread.

Making the punishment for mere robbery as severe as for robbery with murder has the effect of causing the greater crime to be preferred to the lesser in case it happens to be more lucrative or safer to commit. "One might as well be hung for a sheep as for a lamb."

The policy of suppressing prostitution by prosecuting the harlot fails because often she is not a responsible person and, moreover, she is not a resident with property or reputation to lose. But the "abatement of nuisance" policy of prosecuting the owner of property used for immoral purposes strikes the Achilles' heel of commercialized prostitution because it attacks the resident property-owner, the one person in the vile partnership who has most to lose in the way of money and repute.

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Corporation Money in Politics Invites Rascals to get to Work

The resort to the use of money by a railroad or public utility company in order to control a legislature acts in the end as a boomerang. The word runs through the political underworld that there is "easy money going" and grafters strive desperately to get themselves elected to the legislature. The quality of the legislators declines, "strike" bills multiply, the need of using money in order to protect the legitimate interests of the company grows, so that in the end the company is harder hit than if from the first it had taken its chances with the uncorrupted representatives of the people.

The policy of compensation for accidents may be a challenge to the ingenuity of impostors. In 1866 "dream neurosis" was first recognized in Germany as a form of nervous hysteria due to railroad accidents. Later it was accepted as a legitimate basis for compensation in the insurance system. At one time nearly 1 per cent. of German pensioners drew money for this disorder. The fact that after lump-sum compensation the sufferer regained health with wonderful rapidity awakened suspicions. Investigation proved that the state had been the victim of skilful shamming. Compensation ceased and "dream neurosis" as a distinct malady no longer exists.

Workingmen's Compensation Laws Make Industry Safe

On the other hand, the happiest result of a workingman's compensation law is not that injured workingmen get something, but that employers, anticipating their new liability, greatly reduce the number of accidents by adopting safety measures and devices.

One of the most shortsighted policies on which an employer can embark is the hiring of spies to worm their way into the labor unions and warn him of their plans. A demand for trouble will not long remain unsatisfied. In order to prolong their employment spies take the lead in inciting to policies of outrage and thus stir up much of the mischief which their employer pays them for reporting.

Spies and "Watchmen" See to it that their Employment is Justified

Likewise for the employer to hire "watchmen" supplied by private detective agencies is to plunge into a quicksand. These agencies live off the dread of industrial violence; hence they see to it that there shall be no lack of violence. Since badly-frightened property-owners will hire more "watchmen," nothing is more profitable to the detective agencies than an epidemic of strikes, even of arson and murder. From the moment their mercenaries, recruited from the desperate and vicious elements,

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arrive on the scene a labor struggle enters upon a new and phase.

A repressive government is duped in the same way. pendence upon reptilian characters who can deceive the ployers because they work in the dark is discounted to the of their organizing anarchist groups and instigating, even ing, the deeds of violence which cause the government more upon them. Azeff, who for sixteen years was agent of the Russian police, was himself the chief organ acts of "revolutionary" terrorism. One will never kn amount of bad blood crooked *agents provocateurs* stirred tween government and people in Russia and between em and workingmen in the United States.

Why Tax-dodging is Progressive

As the practice of tax-dodging becomes known, a rese is inspired which prompts other persons to evade their This in turn becoming known creates still wider zones of ment and evasion, until finally only moral heroes declare a taxable property. The experience of several American shows that in from five to eight years a stiffening of t laws designed to bring to light more personal property through such a cycle of demoralization ending in a state of as bad as ever.

When Will Pardon be "Anticipated" and Hence Encourage Wrongdoing?

The pardoning of convicted persons is much more likely discounted and to lead to crime than the forgiveness of in If the wronged person forgives the offender after having his power — heaps "coals of fire" upon his head — the sense of fair play is powerfully appealed to and he is not to discount such forgiveness by a wanton repetition of t fense. The state, however, cannot safely pardon unless t clear evidence of sincere repentance and a desire for amen Forgiveness not based upon such repentance may easily tute an encouragement to evildoing. This, however, is no of God's forgiveness of the wrongdoer, for God cannot ceived by empty professions of repentance. The non-rese of wrongs is more likely to lead to their repetition when are concerned than when persons are concerned. In the case there is no room for an appeal to the offender's bett ture. A neutral's neglect promptly to protest against vi of its rights by a belligerent may encourage the belligeren contemptuous disregard of its rights which in the end ma

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the neutral to the point of making war. On the other hand, the pursuance by the neutral of a policy vigilant and firm, yet without bluster, may keep the belligerent within bounds and thus prevent the growth of bad blood between the peoples.

ANTICIPATION IN THE SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT

Prohibitive Taxation

Taxes laid on voluntary actions or on the results of such actions have the same effect as fines for they modify behavior rather than yield revenue. Thus heavy taxes on windows may lead to shutting the light out of dwellings; on date trees may lead to chopping down the trees; on wine may cause the vines to be pulled up or the wine to be emptied into the river; on produce may throw land out of cultivation. Inheritance taxes may lead to gifts between the living unless these too are taxed; customs duties, to smuggling. A tax will thus deform economic society or economic life unless it is light, or is broad and general and presses uniformly.[1]

How Taxes Differ from Pillage

The substitution of taxation for arbitrary seizure has often been enforced upon despotic governments by a dim perception of the principle of anticipation. The more thoughtful perceive that where wealth is seized rapaciously without rule or right there presently no wealth is produced. If the tax-gatherer leaves nothing which the cultivator can count on for his family, he emigrates, and soon the land is empty of taxpayers. This is one reason why long before the advent of popular control the revenue system of government was rationalized so as to guarantee to the wealth-producer a fixed and fore-knowable share of what he should produce. This is why, when absolutism ends and the people through their representatives come into control of government, the difference is chiefly on the side of what the people get for their money, not on the side of their contributions. For instance, the Manchus in China were not at all outrageous in their methods of raising revenue, but they gave the people almost nothing in the way of benefit.

ANTICIPATION IN INTER-INDIVIDUAL RELATIONS

The doctrine that "the end may justify the means" has fallen into merited odium because, the moment you learn that people

[1] See Ross, "A New Canon of Taxation," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VII.

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are acting on such a principle, you know not what to expect of them. Character no longer gives a clue to conduct in particular situations. Since the veriest saint may lie, steal, cheat, forge, defraud, or forswear himself for the sake of some larger good, to you unknown, you have to be on your guard against the good man as well as the bad man. Thus the foundation of confidence of man in his fellows is destroyed. No wonder a doctrine so unsettling became infamous!

Truth-telling Pays "in the Long Run"

One important factor in the upbuilding of England's Indian empire has been adherence to the policy of truth-telling on the part of the English administrators. The result is that Indian leaders and statesmen accept official statements at par value and rely serenely upon the fulfilment of England's promises.

Why "Honesty is the Best Policy"

"Honesty is the best policy" for one conducting a business or following a profession *in one place,* because in time customers or patrons anticipate the treatment they will receive and govern themselves accordingly. The merchant who overreaches his customers in ways they finally learn of presently has no customers. It was this same perception that induced the wild American Indians not to plunder the fur-trader who ventured among them. Their leaders foresaw that if they robbed him no other fur-traders would come; so that the way to get guns and knives easily was not to take them by force, but to buy them with peltries.

The high standards of honesty in Chinese merchants and bankers seem to be due, not to conscience, but to a slowly evolved discernment of the real foundations of all continuing businesses.

A Reputation for Veracity is Capital

Lord Bacon perceived how veracity creates a fund of confidence. "The ablest men that ever were," he says, "have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity; . . . when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible."

"By Their Long Memories the Gods are Known"

A theater manager who has staged a play of high tone, finds half his patrons bored and leaving him. But if he perseveres in the presentation of clean, fine drama he is presently recompensed by the patronage of people dissatisfied with what they get in other theaters and by a growing attendance from the non-theater-going public.

The lawyer who consistently refuses every case he does not

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In Time Everything Dishonest is Discounted

believe in is likely to have a slender practice at first, but in time his reputation for championing only righteous causes gives his pleadings great weight with a jury and he will be much sought after because he has the name of winning his cases.

The writer, speaker, or expert witness who yields to the temptation to produce conviction by exaggeration and emphasis finds, unless he keeps on the move, that his influence diminishes; whereas the man who is consistently guarded and accurate in statement steadily grows in authoritativeness, provided that he is able to keep in the public eye.

The eloquent but mercenary spellbinder, after shifting twice or thrice to the side which offers him the more money, finds himself in a few years without a retainer, because the public has learned to discount his hired stump eloquence to such a degree that his services are no longer of value to a political party.

We are wary of itinerant peddlers, doctors, and promoters just because we realize that they are not subject, like the local merchant or practitioner, to the operation of the principle of anticipation.

How Children are "Spoiled"

One "spoils" children, not simply by being "easy" with them, but by being so easy with them that they *count on* favor and leniency. They observe that if they will not wash or dress themselves, somebody will do it for them; if they break or lose their toys, they are promptly replaced; if they transgress, the threatened punishment is never inflicted. The parent or schoolmaster who keeps himself unpredictable in the discipline of his children may safely forgive or overlook much.

ANTICIPATION IN THE SPHERE OF CHARITY

Social Science Began with the Discovery that Charitable Relief Will be Anticipated

Social science began with the discovery that the treatment of the case in hand reacts, through anticipation of like treatment in the future, upon human conduct and character. In the moral sphere this led to the perception that "honesty lasts longest," "honesty is the best policy," "truth is the cement of all societies." In the economic sphere it brought insight into the reaction of laws upon enterprise and the accumulation of property. Next it put charity in a new light and gave currency to the view that "charity causes half the suffering she relieves, but she cannot relieve half the suffering she has caused."

It is now more than a century since it became clear to the wise

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how paupers are created by thoughtless benevolence, how indiscriminate alms constitute a standing premium on idleness and unthrift. In its youth political economy rode this idea so hard that benevolence was put on the defensive and the hard heart supplied with reasons for doing nothing. Later it was seen that charity may be "scientific" and that there is still a broad field for the help that does not harm.

Careless Alms Invites Imposture

The workings of anticipation in the field of charity are various and startling. If the beggar's whine opens the purse, mendicancy will be followed as a trade. If the moving "hard-luck" story draws forth alms, imposture will be developed into a fine art. If the maimed and twisted capture the coin from the passer-by, artificial deformations and mutilations will be forthcoming, as if society had announced: "Produce me such and such ghastly spectacles and I will pay for them."

Some Results of Mediæval Indiscriminate Charity

In the Middle Ages the profuse and indiscriminate almsgiving of monasteries, hospitals, guilds, and magnates made it easy for the shiftless to live without work. A horde of professional beggars was created who wandered from place to place making the rounds of monastery, hospital and religious festival, and ever increasing in numbers and boldness. "Around the gates of S. Bartholomew and other great foundations," says Ashley,[2] "gathered swarms of the miserably shiftless and idle, decrepit, halt, and maimed, covered with rags and filth, like those still to be seen around the entrance to many a Continental cathedral."

Preposterous Working of the Old English Poor Law

A system of public outdoor relief is likely to be counted on until it becomes in effect a bounty on idleness and improvidence. Under the Poor Law in force in England up to 1834 the pauper was often better off than the poor laborer, who was thereby disheartened in his struggle to maintain his independence. Hence, as time went on, the proportion of paupers grew. In some parishes rents were so generally paid by the vestry that the poor made no effort to provide their rent. Landowners have been known to tear down cottages so as to keep out pauper settlers and to draw their labor from surrounding parishes which made up the deficit in wages by an allowance. When farmers were allowed to have the labor of the idle at a shilling a day, the deficit being made up by the overseers of the poor, they turned away their laborers, thus creating an idle class, in order later to hire

[2] "English Economic History," Vol. II, p. 324.

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them back at the cheap rate. Where employers were required to hire paupers rather than the self-supporting, saving was seen to be a bar to employment, so that thriftlessness was encouraged. The policy of a regular allowance for the out-of-work prompted some laborers to be as lawless and useless at work as possible, in order that they might be discharged and supported in idleness.

Policies which Pauperized

The readier relief of the married man than of the unmarried encouraged reckless marriage. One laborer when married went straight from the church to the poorhouse, having trusted to the parish to support a married man. Another demanded a house in advance, on the ground that he was about to take a wife. Not only did laborers marry earlier than was the custom before the allowance system grew up, but it was noticed that they married younger in liberal parishes than in strict parishes.

Illegitimacy Stimulated

The prospect of additional money for every child born into a pauper family removed the check which anxiety naturally places upon the size of the family. The granting of 2*s*. a week for a bastard child, but only 1*s*. 3*d*. for a legitimate child, on the ground that the former had no father to support it, probably encouraged illegitimacy. Since the mothers of such children were more comfortably kept than married women, many, we are told, considered it the best way to provide for themselves. Moreover, loose women with children were preferred as wives to modest women because of their incomes from the parish.

Workhouse Vagabonds

After 1834 the poorhouse became a workhouse; but even this was discontinued. Its practice of giving lodging to destitute wayfarers created professional vagrants. The freedom to go and come called into being a class of loafers who availed themselves of the hospitality and the mixed company of the workhouse, but, when they craved a change, left it and lived as they pleased. When deterrent regulations were adopted, vagrants found jails more comfortable, and did little to escape imprisonment for a week or two for vagrancy or petty thievery. In Manchester an enormous prison-like casual ward was built on the newest deterrent model. The number applying for lodging fell off at least half, many homeless men preferring to sleep in the streets. Philanthropic people then provided a free shelter under lax management. This emptied the ward and the lodging-houses and attracted great crowds from neighboring towns.

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Public opinion forced the closing of the shelter and again the men slept out.

A recent critic of the English workhouse writes:

"Institution" Parasites

> It was a curious experience in visiting a large number of workhouses to find, as one went from one place to another, that what one had to look for was the most spacious and prosperous-looking institution in the place, set in the best-kept grounds, surrounded with expensive walls and handsome gates. . . . "Indoor-relief" has bred a class of lazy parasites, willing to submit to any conditions so long as they are well fed and relieved from all responsibilities. They are not even precluded from injuring the outside community, inasmuch as the law permits them to go in and out at their pleasure, using the workhouse as a convenient resort and a protection to their noxious lives from the discipline of hunger and cold.[3]

Outdoor Relief is Likely to be Anticipated

The Poor Law Commission reporting in 1909 recommended that no outdoor relief be given save to persons leading respectable lives in decent houses. Slum areas should be proscribed, inasmuch as the attraction of these degraded areas lies, not in low rents — they are really high,— but in the absence of restraint, and the liberty to overcrowd and to lead irregular lives which is to be found under the slum landlord.

Endowed Outdoor Relief Advertises "Count on Us"

Nothing so lends itself to anticipation as *endowed* outdoor relief, which is sure to become widely known and which works blindly, in good years as in bad years. Not only has it been found that in English cathedral towns with endowments for the poor pauperism is far greater than in other towns, but fixed doles always attract to a place more than enough paupers to absorb them all. No doubt many a down-and-out has drifted to New York because of the publicity the Sunday newspapers have given to the midnight "bread line" maintained by the endowment of the baker who started it.

The experts opposed even a relief fund for the charity organization society lest it betray them into the giving of indiscriminate relief. Such a fund at once saps the energy and ingenuity of agents. On the other hand, being obliged to find relief case by case as the need arises, they have to justify their decisions and methods in order to secure the necessary approval and cooperation.

It is suggested that the overcrowding and low wages resulting

[3] Helen Bosanquet, "The Poor Law Report of 1909," p. 186.

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Aid to Immigrants Tends to Stimulate Immigration

from immigration to the United States might be effectually diminished if only benevolent societies or government would take care of the immigrants, get them out upon vacant land sold to them on easy terms, and aid them until they had reached the point of self-support. This policy might give excellent results provided that immigration were restricted. Otherwise such a policy could not but encourage immigration, so that presently we should have two or three hundred thousand more every year, and the more we did for immigrants the more immigrants we should have to do for. Such a stimulated influx might in the end cause more overcrowding and depression than the colonization method could prevent.

In unexpected ways anticipation spoils the effect of the best-intentioned acts. The tender-hearted public which habitually turns aside to buy the wares of the smallest newsboy or peddler is unwittingly drawing children out of school and into industry. An enlightened kindness deals quite otherwise with the children in the street trades.

The giving of tips to waiters, after it has become general and customary, is of no benefit to them. The starvation wage received by porters in "standard" sleeping-cars in comparison with those of "tourist" sleeping-cars proves that the generosity of the traveling public has been anticipated and capitalized by their employer, the sleeping-car company.

Public Subsidies to Private Charities Dry up the Springs of Private Benevolence

The granting of a subsidy of public money to a private charity is often the beginning of a process of shifting the entire burden of supporting the institution upon the taxpayers without giving their representatives any control. "Those institutions that have received public aid the longest most commonly receive least from private contributors." Such aid "tends to dry up the springs of private benevolence."

Subsidies which vary with the number of dependents constitute "a standing premium to the institution to keep the inmates longer than is necessary and to develop the work in magnitude." Thus there is a "strong tendency on the part of subsidies to increase the problem with which the subsidized institutions have to deal."

In the beginning the payment of state subsidies is always urged on the ground of economy. With a given number of dependents in sight it is cheaper to hire an existing institution to care for

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them than to maintain them in a public institution. What the legislator overlooks is that, as soon as subsidy-granting has become an established policy of the state with respect to private institutions doing a particular kind of work (e.g., caring for dependent children), the number of qualified subsidy-claiming institutions begins to multiply, and ere long the charge upon the public is vastly greater than any one had foreseen. Who anticipated that the subsidy-earning institutions in Pennsylvania would grow from 8 in 1880 to 176 in 1905? In 1875 a speaker before the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, referring to the union of public and private benefactions in the charities of New York, predicted that most of the aided institutions would eventually become entirely self-supporting, thus relieving the public treasury. But he failed to take into account the effect of subsidy anticipation in drying up private benefactions and in increasing dependency. In 1870 New York City gave a third of a million dollars, i.e., a fifth of its appropriations for prisons and paupers, to private institutions. In 1898 it gave three and one-seventh millions, or 57 per cent. At first the state is looked upon as coming to the aid of private charity. Eventually, private charity is looked upon as coming to the aid of the state.

Public Subsidy is Counted On

When subsidies are granted to institutions caring for dependent children there is a vast increase in the number of such children. In New York City the number grew from 14,773 in 1875 to 33,406 in 1895. The annual subsidy to orphan asylums in the state of California grew from $58,000 in 1800 to $410,000 in 1898. "It has almost killed any efforts to place the children in family homes, has in a large measure demoralized many families whose children are thus supported, and has reacted unfavorably upon the spirit and motive of many of the charitable societies themselves."

ANTICIPATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

H. G. Wells points out that the early endeavor to stimulate popular education in England by the government making grants in accordance with results obtained in examination gave rise to "grant-earning," which was by no means the same as education.

> The task of examination was intrusted to eminent scientific men for the most part quite unaccustomed to teaching. . . . Year after

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How "Grant-earning" Differs from Education

year these eminent persons set questions and employed subordinates to read and mark the increasing thousands of answers that ensued, and, having no doubt the national idea of fairness well developed in their minds, they were careful each year to reread the preceding papers before composing the current one, in order to see what it was usual to ask. As a result of this, in the course of a few years the recurrence and permutation of these questions became almost calculable, and since the practical object of the teaching was to teach people, not science, but how to write answers to these questions, the industry of grant-earning assumed a form easily distinguished from any kind of genuine education whatsoever. [Competing firms] set themselves to produce textbooks that should supply exactly the quantity and quality of knowledge necessary for every stage of each of the five and twenty subjects into which desirable science was divided, and copies and models and instructions that should give precisely the method and gestures esteemed as proficiency in art. Every section of each book was written in the idiom found to be most satisfactory to the examiners, and test questions extracted from papers set in former years were appended to every chapter. By means of these last the teacher was able to train his class to the very highest level of grant-earning efficiency, and very naturally he cast all other methods of exposition aside. First he posed his pupils with questions and then dictated model replies.[4]

It is also to be noted that the system of "payment by results" leads to teachers putting undue pressure on dull and weak children, often to their great injury.

Persecution of Radical Professors Destroys the Influence of Conservative professors

The policy of intimidating university professors uttering economic opinions distasteful to the men of wealth who constitute the governing board is in its outworkings one of the most mischievous that could be devised. Once it were understood that a professor is subject to supervision as to his utterances on questions of public interest, and liable to dismissal when these do not please the governing powers, men of virile character and independent mind would avoid the calling. In the end the quality and standing of the universities would be lowered. Again, unless radical professors are safe, conservative professors lose the confidence of the public. The one thing that makes it worth while to cite the judgment of university professors in opposition to wild and crude proposals is the freedom with which, in our universities generally, opinions of a different tendency can be expressed.

[4] "The New Machiavelli," p. 22.

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Let it be understood that the conservative professor *has* to teach and talk as he does, or lose his living, and his influence with the public is at an end.

Free theological education with support no doubt enables some strong men to enter the Christian ministry, but it also tempts into it some youths without a "call" or a message, who are looking for the easiest route into some profession. The instituting of graduate fellowships no doubt recruits the ranks of scholars, but it is likely that the existence of such aids shunts into college teaching many of no great vigor of intellect or character, but of excellent capacity for assimilation, who allow the line of least momentary resistance to determine their life-work.

ANTICIPATION IN THE REALM OF LAW

Nothing is More Resented than Capricious and Uncertain Justice

In the history of courts of justice one is struck by the fierce insistence that judges apply *law* and not their own notions of right and wrong. In the absence of statute judges are to apply *customary* or *common* law and, wanting even this guidance, they are to follow the trend of earlier decisions. This seems to have been prompted, not so much by mistrust of the individual judge, as by the need of knowing in advance the rules of conduct in order that one might discriminate the licit from the forbidden. So hotly has uncertainty been resented that at times the people have sprung to arms because judges did the will of their royal master, or administered strange law instead of the ancient well-known laws of the realm. "Political" courts have justly become infamous, and the burghers of a German city become deeply agitated when the Kaiser writes in their municipal album *voluntas regis suprema lex*.

Even Despots Must Give Justice According to their Laws

The primitive ruler, to be sure, sat at the city gate or in his judgment hall, heard such suitors as appeared, and gave judgment according to the promptings of his conscience or the state of his digestion; but no modern autocrat dares regulate the conduct of his subjects in this way. Be he Tsar or even Sultan, his people insist upon being regulated not by his whim, but by settled customs or published laws, so that they may know in advance what is permitted and what is not permitted.

It is just because a censor does not bind himself to decide according to explicit rules that censorship has such a paralyzing effect upon literary production. Thus Tolstoi once wrote:

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Blighting Effect of a Censorship

> You would not believe how, from the very commencement of my activity, that horrible censor question has tormented me. I wanted to write what I felt, but at the same time it occurred to me that what I wrote would not be permitted, and involuntarily I had to abandon the work. I abandoned, and went on abandoning, and meanwhile the years passed away.

So blighting is censorship that our unlicensed press is considered a "free" press, although it is certainly subject to legal prosecution for defamatory or seditious utterances. The national motion-film board of censors has been subjected to great pressure to formulate the principles of its discriminations, so that manufacturers may know in advance of production which films are likely to find favor.

Protection of Insolvent Debtors Does Not Wrong Creditors Because it is Discounted

It is owing to the principle of anticipation that law may often be adjusted to social needs without damage to private rights. Some strongly denounce a bankruptcy law, not perceiving that its action will be anticipated by creditors, who will protect themselves by including in the selling price of their goods an insurance premium for the risk they run. In like manner, a homestead-exemption act need not wrong creditors, for they will reckon on it when they lend.

In the ancient world the law's recognition of the right of the borrower to pledge himself as security for the repayment of his loan wrought terrible evil by reducing great numbers to servitude. The prohibition of slavery for debt caused little loss to creditors, for they discounted their weaker legal situation by exercising greater care in lending.

In tropical South America I have heard peonage justified on the ground that the peons are so destitute that they need the right to pledge their labor after a bad season in order to procure from the planter the food necessary to keep them from starving. The true policy is to abolish the contract of peonage and let the laborer develop the capacity to look out for his future himself. Anticipating his plight without a master to fall back on, the laborer will be stimulated to save and to make himself a reputation for reliability. Thus he will rise in the moral scale.

Laws are Potent in Affecting Accumulation and Investment

Thanks to the principle of anticipation wise laws may be very potent in influencing economic life. Let the law provide adequate protection for some kind of property that does not exist — say artificial oyster beds on the bottom of Chesapeake Bay —

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and if the state of the oyster market justifies it capital will be invested. Since capitalists are likely to have both foresight and far-sight, nothing is so shrewdly discounted as laws and conditions affecting invested capital. A general attack upon the institution of property or random condemnation of the rich without discrimination will discourage saving or investment. On the other hand, a discriminating agitation to curb a certain kind of property or to convert it to public uses need not check accumulation or investment. This is why, after a reform movement affecting some species of property has been worked up by radicals, it will succeed better if carried out by a conservative statesman who is not suspected of having other anti-property reforms "up his sleeve."

The Doctrine of "Vested Rights" Gave Capitalists and Speculators a Powerful Interest in Corrupting the Legislature

It is not well always to give property the benefit of the doubt. The historic decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Fletcher vs. Peck,* validating a huge grant of public land so fraudulent that every member but one of the legislative majority which voted it was interested and a party to the transaction, was a great encouragement to capitalists to engage in the corruption of legislatures. The decision made every grant of special privilege, every act bestowing property or creating new property, even if obtained by grossest bribery, a vested right which no subsequent legislative act could rescind. The Dartmouth College decision declaring all corporate charters and franchises irrepealable contracts was a standing invitation to commercial companies to bend every effort to control the law-making body long enough to obtain a franchise after its own heart.

ANTICIPATION IN THE SPHERE OF RELIGION

Endowment Does Not Promote True Religion

Nothing seems more likely than that the endowment of a religious order will promote the cause of true religion. At a given moment the monks are observed to be devoting their spare time to the propagation of religion. If they were free from the burden of self-support and there were more of them, surely the cause of religion would be advanced. It is fallacious, however, to assume that after the order controls rich endowments the quality and spirit of the brethren will be the same as it now is. The present members joined themselves to poverty and are spiritual men. But after an order is known to control wealth a different type crowds in, the prevailing tone changes, the spirit of

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enjoyment and ease spreads, and the ideal of service fades out. In time society wakes up to the fact that instead of a brotherhood of apostles it is harboring a nest of dissolute parasites.[6]

Heresy-Hunting Tends to an Emasculated Clergy

Heresy-hunting seems defensible until one looks ahead and notes how the practice will affect the composition of the clergy. No matter how fixed in the doctrines of his church a man may feel himself to be at the time of his entering the ministry, he should allow for the possibility of growth and change. The greater his intellectual vigor and the more independent his mind, the more this possibility becomes a probability. Hence, the prospect of being unfrocked for heresy after one is committed to one's calling and well on in life will repel from the ministry virile young men likely to make the pulpit a power; but it will not deter those weaker in intellect or character. The church that is jealous for the dignity and leadership of its clergy will satisfy itself as to the orthodoxy of those whom it ordains, but, save in extreme cases, it will not pursue with a heresy trial the clergyman who has come into disagreement with its creeds. It will leave the question of his continuance in its pulpit to his conscience and sense of propriety.

DEDUCTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The Emotionalist is Blind to the Principle of Anticipation

It is recognition of the workings of this principle that makes the chief difference between the attitude of the intellectual and that of the emotionalist in matters of policy. The emotionalist says: "This couple are unhappy together. Why not let them go their separate ways?" The intellectual replies: "Make divorce too much a matter of course and instead of having fewer unhappy marriages you will have more. For people will form risky and unstable unions because they know they can obtain a divorce if the union does not turn out well. Lessen the amount of caution and seriousness in marriage and the number of unions calling for divorce surgery will grow." The emotionalist says: "What is the good of hanging this murderer and orphaning his children? Have pity and let him go." The intellectual replies: "A too-free use of the pardoning power encourages the evil-disposed to yield to their criminal impulses, and thereby augments the amount of suffering among the innocent." The emo-

[6] See the confidential report of Ulloa and Juan to the King of Spain regarding the state of missions and religious houses in Ecuador and Peru about 1740. "Secret History," pp. 142–145.

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tionalist urges: "How cruel to ostracize this girl for giving herself outside the marriage relation!" The intellectual queries: "Is there any other way to keep girls from yielding to their tempters?" A few seasons back an emotionalist in the United States Post-Office Department directed postmasters to turn over "Santa Claus" letters to local philanthropic societies. It was not long before the number of moving and apparently naïve petitions to Santa Claus from artful children for sleds, skates, and other objects of juvenile desire greatly multiplied, and the local societies came to realize that they were being "worked." The order had to be rescinded.

The Emotionalist Defeats His Purpose

The emotionalist set up a revolving cradle in front of the foundling asylum so that foundlings might be deposited secretly. The theory was that this facility of disposal would do away with the murder of undesired infants. It certainly resulted in an alarming growth of illegitimacy and an irresponsible dumping of children upon the foundling asylums. A perfect case of short-sighted emotionalism is that of the late Empress Dowager of China, who, when she felt a tender impulse, would buy caged birds in the market and release them in the open. Aside from the fact that the courtiers just over Coal Hill snared these same birds and returned them to the dealers, it is obvious that the greater the demand for these birds in Pekin the more active would be the bird-catchers in the provinces; so that the Empress releasing birds on Coal Hill was unconsciously setting the snarers to work in Shantung. Had she freed the caged birds in the market instead of buying them her action would have been more to the purpose. The tearing of aigret feathers out of ladies' hats by our customs inspectors, although ruthless, has been effective for the end in view.

Calamitous Distress May be Relieved Freely

The principle of anticipation does not tell against the relieving of distress which has not been brought about, nor could have been averted, by any act of the sufferer. Widowhood, orphanhood, loss of health, and distress arising from such unforeseeable calamities as fire, flood, war, earthquake, or epidemic may be relieved without fear of pauperizing the unfortunates.

Again, if only the lesser part of a particular kind of distress can be relieved, the prospect of relief will not tend to augment the volume of such distress. Thus well-guarded accident or sickness insurance need not increase the number of cases of accident or

sickness. Free medical clinics or hospitals or dispensaries will not weaken the health of a people, although they may slacken the endeavor to lay by sums to provide medical attendance. By the policy of "matching dollars" our multi-millionaire givers have avoided drying up the natural support of the institutions or causes they wish to aid.

Discrimination Prevents Charity and Mercy Being Abused

The more the relief of the destitute and the pardon of the wrongdoer are discriminating and based on a knowledge of merit in the individual case, the less will such action be presumed on by the unworthy. Carried away by their discovery that help and mercy, by being reckoned on encourage idleness and crime, the early social scientists seemed to bring under suspicion all charity and pity beyond one's own circle. We now deem it safe to give rein to these nobler impulses provided that their action waits on thorough investigation. Wise relief or leniency implies not only discrimination, but discrimination based on a sound principle. This principle is that *anti-social types of conduct and character should not be encouraged*. It is not enough that help be withheld when it will foster laziness. No such consideration enters into the question of relieving the aged poor; yet in the administration of an old-age pension system the problem must be faced whether pensions shall be granted to habitual drinkers and persons who have gained their livelihood by vice, such as gamblers, tipsters, liquor dealers, panderers, and streetwalkers.

What it is that Pauperizes

It is now clear that good things made gratuitous do not pauperize. Getting something for nothing does not pauperize. Only those gifts pauperize which, being anticipated, encourage undesirable types of behavior and character. Thirty years ago Herbert Spencer declared that public libraries and reading-rooms pauperize, overlooking the fact that the pursuit of knowledge makes men better, not worse. The sneer of "free soup for the mind" is quite pointless. Free schools and universities, free lectures and libraries, free museums and art galleries, free social centers and churches, free entertainments and band concerts, free playgrounds, athletic fields, swimming-pools, and baths do not pauperize, seeing that they make people stronger and better and wiser, not more lazy, self-indulgent, or vicious.

The pioneers in social science also went too far in condemning mercy. A discriminating treatment of offenders is justifiable. The probation of first offenders holds no cheer for the professional

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criminal. The parole of convicts who have "made good" is not likely to encourage lawbreaking. Substituting reformatory for penal institution does not lower the hedge against crime; for if there is one thing the evil-disposed regard with horror it is reformation, especially after they learn of the regimen by which reformation is brought about. The policy of deterring the ill-intentioned by the relentless punishment of all caught lawbreakers assumes that foresight is universal. We now know that there exist born criminals too strong of impulse or too weak in self-control or foresight to be deterred from crime by even the smart of punishment, let alone the example of it. To set aside such offenders for cure rather than punishment is not to embolden the evil-disposed.

Matters which should Shun Publicity

Publicity feeds anticipation; hence we should shun publicity for things we do not wish people to anticipate. Pardon, save of those exonerated, should be kept quiet, mercy should work under cover, charity should be furtive. "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." The secret help that passes between kinsfolk, friends, comrades, neighbors, fellow-workers, and fellow-members of the same church or lodge or union does little harm. At the other extreme are endowments or fixed funds or special taxes set aside for the relief of the poor. Because they become well known they are sure to be reckoned on. Such provision, therefore, is more likely to breed poverty than the fluctuating relief flowing from the current contributions of the charitable.

Matters which should Court Publicity

On the other hand, we should court publicity for things we wish people to anticipate — rewards or benefits held forth for desirable kinds of conduct or character. There cannot well be too much publicity for conditions of security of life and property, protection of contracts, low taxes, bounties, tax exemptions, military or civil pensions, thrift agencies, government aid to industry, honorary titles, scholarships, hero medals, and monuments, or honors to public men.

Recurrence breeds anticipation. "In seizing a state," says Machiavelli in *The Prince,* "the usurper ought to examine closely into all those injuries which it is necessary for him to inflict, and to do them all at one stroke so as not to have to repeat them daily; and thus by not unsettling men he will be able to reassure them, and win them to himself by benefits." The sage quite

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misses, however, the principle of anticipation underlying his sound counsel and offers the fanciful reason: "For injuries ought to be done all at one time, so that being tasted less, they offend less; benefits ought to be given little by litle, so that the flavor of them may last longer."

Charity May Damp Energy

It is in the contrasted effects it produces in consequence of being anticipated that *social reform* is so much superior to *charity* in dealing with widespread or chronic misery. Think of the competition which determines the distribution of income in society as a race in which all who run receive, according to their speed and endurance, prizes varying in value from a trifle to a fortune. *Charity* now comes in to relieve the distress of those who from lameness, or having stumbled, or being tripped, are unable to win even the trifle. But since running is not easy and the petty prizes for the slowest runners leave them worse off than those succored by charity, many resort to the trick of stumbling or giving up when they are really able to run. And the more *charity* does, the more malingerers there are.

Whereas Social Reform Stimulates

Altogether different are the methods of *social reform*. It removes from the course the stones and pitfalls by which runners are thrown down. It punishes tricky runners who trip up or "spike" those who are just ahead of them and in their way. By a little forethought it greatly lessens the number of halt and ailing who cannot even enter the race. By providing all with a little instruction and training in the art of breathing, running, taking hurdles, etc., the number of those who can manage their feet well is greatly increased. Then, since there is much that is arbitrary in the relative magnitude of the prizes for swiftness, *social reform* aims to cut down the big prizes and add to the size of the prizes for ordinary running. Since it notices among the great throng of competitors some who without exertion are able to capture fine prizes in motorcycles or automobiles won in some previous race or left them by their fathers, it endeavors to handicap these contestants in the interest of those who rely on their legs.

To be sure, this image is faulty in that the running does not create the prize, while in the real world there would be no prizes were there no running. But for the purpose of contrasting the methods of *charity* and *social reform* the image is fair enough. *Charity* in caring for the crippled or unlucky unwittingly tempts

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others to drop out of the race. *Social reform* fits more persons to run, shows them how to develop their speed, clears their course, encourages the slow with bigger prizes, and altogether incites a much larger proportion to get into the race and do their best.

Only Slowly does Anticipation Produce its Characteristic Results

Only slowly do habits, standards, and social customs change in response to a changed outlook. Not only does it take time for a policy or practice to become sufficiently well known and understood for people habitually to reckon on it, but a process like pauperization is a gradual one. Very slow likewise is the substitution of the ease-loving for the spiritual type in a religious order which has become wealthy. The same is true of the processes of regeneration. With a population like certain subject peoples in the Turkish empire, whose bad economic habits are due to the long-continued influence of arbitrary and rapacious government, the introduction of justice and security does not at once make the people industrious, thrifty, and enterprising. It may be that the adults will never form better habits and that a new generation must appear upon the scene before the expected fruits appear.

Early Lawgivers, in order to take Advantage of Anticipation, Sacrificed the Principle of Individual Responsibility

The sage lawgivers of antiquity understood very well the principle of anticipation, although they did not formulate it. In their eagerness to take advantage of it they often drifted too far from the principle of individual responsibility. Bills of attainder, punishing the blood kin of the law-breaker, branding with ignominy the child of illegitimate amours, letting the child of the unworthy suffer with its parents — all these harsh policies shock our sense of justice and have been renounced, although there is no doubt that they aided in repressing undesirable conduct. In the same way hereditary offices and hereditary titles and privileges rewarding signal public service are no longer granted, while society is more and more inclined to restrict the inheritance of large wealth, despite the consideration that the privilege of transmission to one's heirs undoubtedly supplies a motive to accumulation

CHAPTER LV

THE PRINCIPLE OF SIMULATION

Acquisitive Mimicry

THE "tricks of the trade," business "shrewdness," lying by advertisement, newspaper prevarication, the wiles of the bar and the ruses of diplomacy are serious enough in their way, but they do not greatly hamper the honest functional people who are striving to render genuine service. What most hurts them is the tendency of the unworthy to simulate every type or trait which has won social approval, in order to steal prestige from it. This taking on the popular hue is like that coloration and mimicry one finds among the lower forms of life, save that it is acquisitive rather than protective. The simulator usually aims to traffic on the prestige he filches from the simulated.

The Religious Hypocrite

In the Middle Ages piety was the best cloak for self-seekers to assume. Satirizing the prelates, Erasmus writes:

> To work miracles is old and antiquated and not in fashion now; to instruct the people, troublesome; to interpret the Scripture, Pedantick; to pray, a sign one has little to do; to shed tears, silly and womanish; to be poor, base; to be vanquisht, dishonourable . . . and lastly to dye, uncouth; and to be stretcht on a Cross, infamous.

The Courtier

With the rise of the centralized monarchy bloomed a new type, the courtier. Thanks to Richelieu's work, Louis XIV could have proud feudal nobles as pliant ornaments of his court. La Bruyère says:

> Whoever considers that the king's countenance is the courtier's supreme felicity, that he passes his life looking on it and within sight of it, will comprehend to some extent how to see God constitutes the glory and happiness of the saints.

Taine cites a letter from a duke to Madame de Maintenon:

> "Pardon me, Madame, the great liberty I take in presuming to send you the letter which I have written to the king, begging him on my knees that he will occasionally allow me to pay my court to him at Ruel, *for I would rather die than pass two months without seeing him.*"

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How a monarch who had become "the fountain of honor" was able to trade upon the passion of his ambitious subjects to share in the prestige of the feudal nobility is indicated in one of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes:*

> The King of France is the most powerful prince in Europe. He has no gold mines, like his neighbour the King of Spain — but he has greater riches than he, because he draws them from the vanity of his subjects, more inexhaustible than any mine. He has undertaken and maintained great wars, having no other funds than titles of honour for sale, and by a prodigy of human vanity and pride, his troops are paid, his places filled, and his fleets equipped.

Deceptive Courtesy

From the courtier example there spread quickly through society a deceptive glaze of manner. In one of his sermons Bossuet declares:

> Never have people lived so much on caresses, on kisses, on words chosen to bear witness to a perfect cordiality, yet if we could pierce to the bottom of all hearts, if a divine light could disclose suddenly all that conventionality and good taste, interest and fear hold so well hidden, then what a strange spectacle!

COMMERCIAL SIMULATION

Rise of Commercial Simulation

There is no reason to suppose that modern society is so corroded with hypocrisy as was seventeenth-century France. The brushing aside of glittering parasites by the rise of the rough-and-ready, plain-dealing, functional people has brought sham into bad odor. Polite society is probably as sincere as it ever has been, while religion is now of little use as a cloak. Commercial simulation, however, waxes apace. Layer after layer of people have come to buy other people's products instead of consuming their own, so that the total purchasing power exciting the cupidity of traders is nearly equal to the entire volume of production. The possible buyers of nostrums, gold bricks, beauty recipes, "salted" mines, and town lots under water are legion. The fraud orders of our Post-Office Department in a single year bar the mails to schemes which have robbed the public of $60,000,000 annually.

Good Repute Preyed Upon

The rivalry to unearth new strata of customers and to sell new kinds of goods results in an ear-splitting overproduction of publicity and hence a resort to every trick of falsehood, sensa-

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tionalism, suggestion, and association of ideas to impress fleeting attention. Adulterations, the misbranding of goods, the counterfeiting of trademarks, the forging of testimonials from celebrities, the manufacture of stock-exchange quotations for worthless securities, the sale of diplomas by bogus medical schools, advertisement masquerading as news dispatch or editorial — these illustrate how good repute is preyed upon. Owing to the association of the Quaker name and symbols in the public mind with integrity and just dealing dealers are using them so unscrupulously for advertising purposes that the Quakers have sought legislation forbidding the use of their name as a trademark on commercial products.

THE PROFESSIONAL

The Make-believe Athletic Amateur

A more serious, because more elusive, form of simulation is the professionalizing of something which ought not to be used for making money. There is the *professional mendicant*, whose tone and tale far surpass in piteousness the appeal of the honest victim of misfortune. Sport is infested by the *professional athlete*, posing as an enthusiast for physical development while greedy of prizes and purses and bent on secretly hiring himself to amateur teams and organizations whose eagerness to win has gotten the better of their honesty. In college he passes for a student while he debases intercollegiate athletic contests with his low standards and unscrupulous methods. Nothing has so hurt real sport as the creeping in of these mercenaries among the true sportsmen.

The Professional Expert Witness

Our courts are plagued by the presence of the *professional expert witness* on handwriting, poisons, or insanity. He simulates, of course, that disinterested love of truth which is rightly presumed of the bank cashier, alienist, or chemist who for a moment steps aside from his work to clear up a doubtful point in a law suit. The fact is, however, that the expert who makes a trade of furnishing testimony becomes a parasite on his own past and on the credit of his profession. To keep fees flowing in he must give testimony in favor of the side that has engaged him, at the same time guarding himself from damaging grilling by the experts and attorneys of the other side. Hence, when he has a hard case, he hides himself in a maze of technical minutiae or a cloud of big words which can only mystify and befog the court. Experts who make a business of furnishing testimonials

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as to the merits of commercial wares follow the same downward path.

The Professional Muckraker

It is instructive to follow the rise and downfall of the *professional muckraker.* At first the exposure of the misdeeds of the high and powerful in the political, the financial, or the commercial world is dangerous, and only brave men undertake it. But in case, as sometimes happens, exposures excite interest, are eagerly read, and make money and fame for both writer and publisher, there arises the professional muckraker who aims to meet the market demand for exposure; who not only probes for a living, but who sensationalizes, spices, and misinterprets in order to dress a dish to the readers' taste. By showing only one side, twisting facts, hinting when he cannot prove, suggesting bad motives for innocent actions, and interpreting errors as crimes, he sells his wares but finally discredits the work of even the honest muckraker and brings all unauthorized exposure into doubt or contempt.

Pulpit as a Means of Getting On

A religious body that has gained resources, credit, and power is likely to become infested by worldly clerics to whom the pulpit is an opportunity for easy living or a chance to rise. The ambitious wire-puller, without a spark of religion in his heart but adept in its tones, phrases, and postures, schemes his way up to the miter, while the real saint toils unnoticed in his parish. These shrewd self-seekers are of course strong for authority, profess orthodox beliefs, and commend themselves by their zeal in smelling out and hounding down clergymen honest enough to confess to a heresy. Until some one devises a litmus paper for testing spirituality, wealthy and powerful churches will be liable to dry rot while pure religion will be found where a learned and hard-worked clergy commands no temporal power, only a modest living, and not too much social consideration.

Social Workers Without a "Call"

When charity and social work, having achieved a solid financial basis, begin to hold out the prospect of a reputable career, a change is likely to occur in the type of worker. The self-devoted still offer themselves as in the days of ill-paid and uncertain employment, but with them enter ambitious young people of greater ability and broader preparation perhaps, but lacking the spirit of service. Conscientious and efficient they may be, but they feel little sympathy and liking for the distressed people they deal with. Try as they may to imitate the approach and man-

ner of volunteer workers, the poor sense their coldness and are less confiding and less comforted than under the old system. While it is inevitable that social work should develop into a profession, the friends of the unfortunate who have relinquished their ministrations to paid workers should oversee and scrutinize these workers, to the end that only the genuine may be kept and advanced. There is need of labor on unpaid boards and in voluntary associations to hold the organized services up to the mark.

The Professional Labor Leader

Once a labor union is in smooth water with a loyal dues-paying membership willing to maintain salaried officials, the leader of its storm-and-stress period is often succeeded by the canny schemer who prefers a salary to a wage. Although willing to sell out his fellows to their political enemies — as from the Mulhall lobby investigation we know that thousands of union officials actually did — he is pat with the talk and pose of class loyalty. His first concern is by fair means or foul to keep himself in office. Thanks to his methods, labor-hall contests are sometimes worse than the politics of the lowest slum wards. While voicing roundly labor sentiments and getting what he can for his constituents, he is too shrewd to risk his job by attacking a formidable abuse or calling a hazardous strike unless he is driven to it. His counsels of narrow self-interest chill his people to the cause of labor; so that when his ilk control a labor organization "the fight is out of it." By the fiery crusaders who rouse and organize unskilled labor, such union officials are styled "labor grafters."

The Professional Agitator

The hallowness of the patrician pretense that every popular upheaval threatening privilege is the work of "irresponsible agitators" should not obscure the fact that disturbance may be followed as a trade. The man possessed of assurance, a glib tongue, a platform manner, and a taste for excitement may make a career for himself by going about stirring up discontent without in the least knowing or caring whither it will lead. Until he has met the acid test it is easy to mistake him for the unselfish champion of the wronged and the prophet of the disinherited. The workingmen dread being fooled by the windbag and are likely to withhold their full confidence from the agitator until he has proved his mettle in a time of danger and persecution.

Most insincere agitation, however, is the work of another type,

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The Professional Politician

the vote-seeking politician. Once power has passed from classes to masses, there springs up the *professional politician,* a man unembarrassed by principles, loyalty, or public spirit, whose sole and abiding concern is the gaining and keeping of office. In a way he is the modern courtier. Says Mr. Lecky:

> In the field of politics the spirit of servility and sycophancy no longer shows itself in the adulation of kings and nobles. The man who, in former ages, would have sought by Byzantine flattery to win power through the favour of an emperor or a prince, will now be found declaiming on platforms about the iniquity of privilege, extolling the matchless nobility of the masses, systematically trying to excite their passions or their jealousies, and to win them by bribes and flatteries to his side.

A thousand times the political conservatives have thus exposed him without persuading the people to return to class government. They remember that the governing class cost them quite as much as the politicians and insulted them in the bargain.

Politician and Patriot

In order to maintain himself the politician must be able to drive off the field the real leaders, the men of positive character and conviction, who have gained popular support for their ideas. This he does by impudently outbidding them at every point. His patriotism is loftier, his rhetoric more glowing, his promises more dazzling. Beside him the truth-teller who makes no mealy-mouthed professions, nor promises more than he can perform, seems halting and timid.

Politician and Group-leader

When a hitherto negligible class — the wage-earners, for example — gains the suffrage, or shows independence in voting, the politician professes suddenly a deep concern for its welfare. He takes to voicing its grievances and advocating measures in its program. Since the politician is able to bring to the workingmen prestige and a following, perhaps even a party, they are tempted to discard at this point the trusty working-class leaders, who have brought them thus far but can hold out to them no prospect of immediate gains, and swing to the support of the politician. It is needless to add that they either fail to get what was promised them, or, if they get it, it proves to be a sham.

Politician and Reformer

When by years of labor and sacrifice a reform movement has been brought within sight of victory, some "practical" politician takes up with it, professedly as a convert but really because he deems it a vote-getter. At this crisis its faithful friends, who

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nursed it through its initial unpopularity and have built it up to its present strength, are sent to the rear because they bear the taint of radicalism and the scars of defeat. Taken up by a "safe" political celebrity, the reform triumphs and goes down in history as the fruit of his statesmanship. Thus has it been with tariff reform, old-age pensions, direct democracy, and workmen's compensation. Under the two-party system scarcely any great reform is credited to those who sacrificed most for it. The glory goes to some political strategist who opposed or ignored it when it stood most in need of friends, and became an eleventh-hour convert only when it could do as much for his party as his party could do for it. Such is the way of the world.

Methods of Rescuing Politics from the Professional Politicians

In England the old party custom of encouraging only men of fortune to stand for Parliament was defended as a means of excluding the political adventurer. After the class struggle came into politics, however, the practice had to be given up, since it left the wage-earners entirely without representation from their own class. Non-payment of legislators has been justified on the ground that, if service in the legislature involves financial sacrifice, the self-seeking politicians will shun it, thus leaving the way clear for men of means and public spirit. Here again labor is put at a serious disadvantage, so that everywhere democracies have come to compensate their legislators sufficiently to cover at least their actual expenses. It is probable that the public is least plagued by political job-hunters when it allows only expenses for part-time service — like that of the legislator, the university regent and the member of an advisory board,— while for full-time service it pays well enough to attract ability.

The People's Champion has to Adopt the Politician's Manner

"It is the weaker sort of politicians," says Lord Bacon, "that are the great dissemblers." Resort to the arts of popularity is, however, no proof that a public man is a professional politician. They may be forced on him by competition with the professionals. They may be his means of withstanding money and organization. The candidate of the prosperous classes does not need the eye-beam, the handshake or the platform way of the representative of the popular cause; he has behind him the "interests" and the "machine." It is the champion of the broader public welfare or of the poor man's cause who must expose himself to the sneers of the powerful by openly paying court to his constituents.

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STEALING PRESTIGE BY SIMULATION

Counterfeiting is a Testimonial of Merit

Everything that gathers prestige will be counterfeited if it is possible to do so. This is so true that the advertisements of trashy goods give the warning, "Beware of imitators," in order that the reader may think they have prestige. Quacks hang on to the skirts of the medical profession. Shysters and "ambulance-chasers" insinuate themselves among the men at the bar. *Science* being a name to conjure with, astrologers, clairvoyants, rain-makers, magnetic healers, and "Swamis," all profess some "science." Social climbers pretend to good birth and breeding. to social experience and intimacy with the exclusive, in order to break into the charmed circle. Once a religious order has attained credit and comfort, the lazy wriggle into it in spite of all that can be done to keep them out. Like a bright river losing itself in a swamp, the Yogi movement in India lost itself among fakirs leading a life of ease by appearing more ascetic than they really are. A new departure in art or literature has scarcely won recognition ere its originators are trodden under by the rush of charlatans and notoriety-seekers who convert the thing into a caricature of itself. Dissect symbolism, cubism, or futurism in their heyday and how small the core of sincerity!

The New has the Better Chance

One reason why "the new broom sweeps clean," "what is new is always fine," is that the new, lacking prestige, suffers little from the presence of impostors. The young political party, the religious order in the flush of youth, the new religious movement, the developing branch of knowledge, the literary departure not yet recognized, the experiment in philanthropy, the new-born public service such as sanitation or forestry, is likely to be in the hands of the sincere. Therefore it may do better and reach higher than later, after its success has attracted to it sycophants and charlatans. This is why it has so often been remarked that the fervor of faith is strongest when a religion is persecuted, not after it has won official favor; that the noblest men are to be found in a service or an agitation before there is a good living in it; and that the early leaders of a cause or a party pitched the note higher and stirred hearts more than those who led it at its moment of triumph.

Groups and interests wear masks as well as individuals. Freedom being dear to man, selfish interests use it as a stalking-

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Anything with Prestige may be Used as a Stalking-horse

horse — leagues for "medical freedom," "industrial freedom," "free Canal," "freedom of the seas," etc. "Personal liberty" is a fig leaf for the liquor traffic. Rich men unite to fight socialistic measures under the name of "Liberty and Property Defense League." But their concern for *liberty* is a tittle compared with their concern for *property*. A movement for the defense of the family turns out to be a mask for brewers fighting equal suffrage. Certain nationalist societies among our foreign-born are the screen from behind which liquor dealers attack "dry" measures. A "national water power conference" may be a scheme of power companies to gain the front page for the arguments of their attorneys. Under the cloak of a "pure food" association the attorney of a baking powder company has sought legislation against rival baking powders. During the World War a number of non-neutral movements among hyphenated Americans wore the guise of a peace propaganda, or a "truth" movement.

From the foregoing we may deduce:

Maxims Respecting Simulation

1. The better the reputation the more eager is the simulation. Counterfeits cast no discredit on the genuine. In the words of La Rochefoucauld, "Hypocrisy is a sort of homage that vice pays to virtue."

2. From the humbler classes proceed impostors in quest of gain; from the higher classes impostors in quest of respectability, dignity, reputation, honors, or public office.

3. Frauds known and tolerated discredit the genuine and if they are allowed to multiply will ruin whatever they have attached themselves to.

4. The unmasking and casting out of hypocrites is a temporary embarrassment to the thing simulated, but an ultimate benefit.

5. Endowments attract parasites as honey attracts flies; so that only great precautions in the way of visitation, investigation, and publicity can prevent an endowment from becoming a nest of corruption.

6. The more that honest labor is despised the more will men seek to live by means of simulation. Making work respectable lessens the resort to acquisitive mimicry.

7. Services that, being *spiritual*, are not subject to test should be underpaid. Clergymen, missionaries, revivalists, writers of devotional literature, poets, prophets, agitators, leaders, inspirers, and public men should receive less than their ability might com-

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mand in other lines in order that these precious ministrations be not adulterated.

THE EXPOSURE OF SIMULATORS

Fraud-detectors Should be Provided

The showing up of the fringe of simulators that attach themselves to every reputable thing is one of those necessary but distasteful and thankless services which remind us that it is not kindness so much as militant honesty that keeps the linchpins of society from falling out. Nearly everything which has a good name stands in need of protection; hence, the providing of fraud-detectors is a means of accelerating social progress.

Impostors Should be Hunted out and Exposed Without Mercy

It is not enough that the state has tardily come to lay an arresting hand on the venders of impure foods, drugs, seeds, and fertilizers; to scrutinize the securities offered to the public; to fix tests for admission to certain professions; and to disbar tricky lawyers. More, much more, is needed. In every worthy calling the sheep ought to find means of isolating and branding the goats. Every profession ought to be alert to keep itself free from tares. Even now associated physicians issue an annual exposure volume about quacks and nostrums. Bureaus are forming for the interchange of the information about impostors which accumulates in the hands of charity agents. Boards of conference study to weed out the professionals from intercollegiate athletics. Although the idea of a "people's lobby" to apprise the citizens as to the voting record of their representatives was never realized, such features as the "Roll Call" and "Comment on Congress" help us to compare performance with promises. "Municipal voters'" leagues and "legislative voters'" leagues hunt the hypocrite out of politics by printing a relentless analysis of his record. In one state a single fearless writer, publishing after every legislative session a faithful history of that session, has made himself a terror to the "whited sepulchres" of politics.

The Owners of Good Repute Should Unite to Protect their Property

The campaign against the stealers of good repute ought to be far more general and vigorous. Since tainted news is destroying the confidence of the public in the press, the honest journals ought to band together to pillory the lying newspapers. Since fearless art critics and literary critics are needed to part the real from the spurious, such critics ought to stand together against advertisers' efforts to intimidate them. The scandal of the professional expert witness might be ended by having technical

testimony sought by the court — not the litigants — from some member of a panel of reputable experts recommended by their profession.

THE TIMELY RECOGNITION OF ACHIEVERS

For the Guidance of the Public Merit Should be Certified

The timely recognition of merit may be as serviceable to society as the prompt elimination of the fraud. A university or a scientific institution ought to function as a testing laboratory, its degrees and appointments as certificates of purity of scholarship. To waive aside diplomas and degrees as "toys for the babyhood of science" is to overlook their value in protecting the public against mountebanks possessing the phrases and trappings of learning but not its substance. A learned society with its honors and medals and programs may render a like service.

Dives Ought not to Command the Prestige of the "Philanthropist," the "Explorer," or the "Reformer"

The public should be enabled to discriminate sharply between those who *do*, and those who by lavish and skilful expenditure *simulate* achievement without having in fact achieved. By a shrewd outlay of money and attention a mere rich man may capture for himself the name of "philanthropist" which ought to be reserved for those who, like Oberlin and Father Damien, give themselves. By hiring able helpers and by drawing upon ample resources he may with little risk or hardship to himself gain the honors of the geographical explorer. By financing the good cause which is on the point of issuing from obscurity he may reap the reputation of reformer. By well-timed gifts and attentions to religion he may deodorize his past and acquire the aroma of sanctity.

Such stealing of plumes will not discourage those who love achievement for its own sake, but it damps the ardor of such as are fired to high emprise by the prospect of appreciation and recognition. If society allows Dives to capture the honors which ought scrupulously to be reserved for real achievers, *just because they can hope for no material reward*, it will be served less and exploited more. Consequently we ought to hail as deserving public servants the implacable critics and stern exposers who foil the schemes of the unmeriting to take the credit which belongs only to genuine achievement.

We Americans have been slow in waking up to the possibilities of formal recognition as a means of encouraging signal social service. In our eyes all honors and titles have been suspect

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Social Recognition of Merit is not undemocratic

because they are associated in our minds with privilege hereditary transmission, neither of them essential to social r nition. But a democracy like Australia or Canada sees no in the knighting of citizens who have nobly served their fe Royalty has stimulated *its* servants by holding out decora Why should not the people inspire *their* servants with the pect of recognition?

Make the Real Readily Distinguishable From the Sham

Our neglect of public *ante-mortem* recognition has oblige man of high desert to vociferate his claims or else remain i scurity with no other reward than the consciousness of duty formed. If in every walk of life notable achievement promptly singled out and formally recognized, our ear would not ache as now with the self-recommendation o postors. We need more responsible agencies with the rig seek out and set a hallmark on sterling merit. It is not too for society through governor, mayor, state university, li trustees, school board, or other representative to give an and a right direction to public esteem. Let a certificate, dip medal, label, portrait, or commemorative naming of stre park or public building, set the man of extraordinary merit a *while he is still alive*, from the pursuing horde of impudent tenders.

CHAPTER LVI

THE PRINCIPLE OF INDIVIDUALIZATION

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Spread of the Practice of Lumping

S little societies coalesce into a big society; as tribal and local
ı cultures vanish before the spread of a general culture; as
ı are drawn into organizations and more departments of hu-
ı life are regulated, less play is given to individuality. All of
same group or class are lumped together, the differences among
n being ignored. Industry, manners, morals, laws, policies
fitted not to the individual, but to the average. Since most
ı vary appreciably from the average, most men experience a
ain discomfort under the social régime. It is as if all had
vear clothes of the same size and cut.

The Factory Lockstep the Workers

ompare individual labor with collective labor. In handicraft
ıstry the artisan works with his own tools in his own shop at
own pace, beginning and ending the day to suit himself.
en he feels like it, he can knock off a bit to stretch himself
ımoke a pipe. To-day he may be up with the lark in order
ıuit early; to-morrow he may sleep late and make up for it
working into the night. Factory industry, however, subjects
workers to an impersonal régime. The speed of the ma-
ıe regulates the pace of work. Length of the working day,
: of beginning and ending, rests, holidays — all are accommo-
:d to the average workman or else to the stronger. Aside
n the companionship, labor under such circumstances will be
e irksome than an equal amount of go-as-you-please labor.
:e this is so and since machine production is here to stay, the
:hine tender's workday should be short in order that he may
vidualize along cultural lines.

The Machine Product Made Not for the Individual but for the Public

ıpersonal, too, is the product of the machine. In olden days
carpenter made a chest for the silversmith one day, the silver-
th a cup for the carpenter on another and they wrought in
ıpathy. The knowledge of human necessities and the con-
usness of human good will entered into their work and thus
ı were linked together. But to-day the factory operative

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makes only a bit of a thing and has no thoughts about t who will use the thing he helps make; while this thing made for any particular person but for "the public." are suited by some one of the types turned out by the m well and good; if not, it is almost impossible to obtain t of thing you really want. Artists agree that machine pro for the market is without the interest excited by hand pro for an individual and the products are neither signific beautiful.

Machine-Made Drama

Nor is impersonalization confined to the satisfaction lower wants. When the art economy was dominant the acted their own "mystery" plays in the churches. Each chose its "mystery," the parts were assigned to the best in the parish, and the representation was the result of th tive personal effort of the community. Oberammergau lo bored a survival of this drama. Nowadays, when the m economy is dominant, a motion-picture syndicate decide shall be filmed. Each film must be suited to the average au for it will be shown all over the country. The local m has no option as to the films he shall present in his theatre films are dispatched from one town to another in their stri and an exception made for one town would derange the centralized distribution. Hence the photo-plays fall into marked types — the Far West play, the ante-bellum Old play, the detective play, the drama of the big-city under the historical pageant type, the play with the child-woman h etc. Who can detect in these productions the personality maker? Yet that personality gives the stamp of true ar wonder they all die a natural death in a few months!

Before the day of the motion film the theater bade fair in this same direction. But the organization for makin presenting plays was never so tight and close that gleams o sonality could not show through, while there were always independent actor-managers who fitted into no centralize chine economy.

The Army Machine

The military régime takes little account of personal *differ* Since in warfare joint action triumphs over individual the tyranny of the average is well-nigh absolute. Little sideration is given to the exceptional man, or to the flow ebb of energy and feeling in the individual. Barracks and

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are the places of sacrifice of myriads of innocent personal desires. Compare the pleasure from a beautiful stroll with that from marching with a platoon over the same route. The chief points in the soldier's day are fixed, the chief processes standardized. His golden moments are when "on leave" he can lay off this irksome harness and indulge in an orgy of self-prompted actions.

The Governmental Machine

Imperial governments, being without check from the governed, over-ride national, local and individual differences. The later Roman Empire became a cumbrous mechanism which bore cruelly upon the hearts and lives of men. In the words of Cooley: "A centralized bureaucratic structure left the individual and the local group no sphere of self-reliant development. Public spirit and political leadership were suppressed, and the habit of organized self-expression died out, leaving the people without group vitality and as helpless as children." [1]

The present government of India, although conscientious and well-intentioned, is felt by the more sensitive natives to be something alien and soulless. Eloquently the Indian poet Tagore characterizes it as "untouched by human hand" and likens it to "a hydraulic press whose pressure is impersonal and on that account effective." It is "a mere abstract force in which the whole population of a distant country has lost its human personality." The subjects feel themselves bound by "iron chains of organization which are the most relentless and unbreakable that have ever been manufactured in the whole history of man." The perfection of its espionage and intelligence service appalls one. Its "tireless vigilance being the vigilance of a machine has not the human power to overlook or to discriminate. At the least pressing of its button the monster organization becomes all eyes whose ugly stare of inquisitiveness cannot be avoided by a single person among the immense multitude of the ruled. At the least turn of its screw, by the fraction of an inch, the grip is tightened to the point of suffocation around every man, woman and child of a vast population."

The Ecclesiastical Machine

The religious bigot eager to make one form of religion prevail and to suppress by force all variants is victim of the lumping fallacy. Individuals differ in the demands their natures make upon religion. They will be happier if they may choose freely

[1] Social Organization, p. 114.

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among several types with unlike emphasis upon dogma and rite, upon thought and emotion.

How personal one's religion ought to be is brought out by William James:

> You will probably make your own ventures severally. If radically tough, the hurly-burly of the sensible facts of nature will be enough for you, and you will need no religion at all. If radically tender, you will take up with the more monistic form of religion; the pluralistic form with its reliance on possibilities that are not necessities will not seem to afford you security enough.
>
> But if you are neither tough nor tender in an extreme and radical sense, but mixed as most of us are, it may seem to you that the type of pluralistic and moralistic religion that I have offered is as good a religious synthesis as you are likely to find. Between the two extremes of crude naturalism on the one hand and transcendental absolutism on the other, you may find that what I take the liberty of calling the pragmatic or melioristic type of theism is exactly what you require.

A like liberation comes from looking upon truth as a personal relation so that truth for you is not necessarily truth for me. As William James puts it, "Ideas (which themselves are but parts of our experience) become true just in so far as they help us get into satisfactory relations with other parts of our experience." Such a doctrine simultaneously justifies an immense variety of different beliefs in different people.

The Educational Machine

The educator has been an arch-sinner against human diversity. One would suppose that from the beginning teachers would adapt mental pabulum to immature minds. Yet for thousands of years the content of children's education has been the religious and literary classics. The idea of starting the child with simple matter adapted to its comprehension is scarcely three centuries old. In religious instruction the idea of graded material has hardly even yet won the day. The rigid curriculum of study has been a Moloch to which personal tastes and needs have been ruthlessly sacrificed. Another insatiate idol is the examination system. Some intellects above the normal cannot "stand and deliver" under this system. In excusing his daughter William James remarked, "No James ever could pass an examination." To rate ability and proficiency by the answers made to given questions in a given time is something that would occur only to un-

imaginative minds; yet in England it is said to be a common practice to give a man a university position on his performance in the examination room.

In the little ungraded school the child progresses according to its capacity. Then a system grows up which impounds the child with thirty-nine others in a class the pace of which is adapted to the powers of the average member. All forty move in lockstep. The bright children are bored and demoralized; the dull learn next to nothing. No one would insist that they should all wear clothes of the same size; yet we lace them in an educational strait-jacket, because we cannot see the grotesque misfits which result.

The Machine of Charitable Relief

In dealing with the poor the besetting vice is lumping them together. One social philosopher looks upon them simply as the unfit. Another regards them as the unadapted. To a third they are by-products of our industrial system. To a fourth they are victims of social injustice. Thrift, temperance, godliness, hygiene, education, single tax on land values, socialism and communism — each has been offered as a sure cure for poverty. A hundred schemes have been broached for relieving the poor by wholesale treatment. But close acquaintance with the dependent discloses a great variety of characters and causes. No social worker expects poverty to disappear save by the co-operation of many agencies and policies. The only method followed in modern charity is the "case" method. Just as nostrums have been discredited and no physician thinks of treating disease save after study and diagnosis of the individual patient, so the social worker insists on full knowledge of the case and adapts his form of help to that particular family.

The Machine of Criminal Justice

There is a stage at which impersonal treatment of the wrongdoer seems very splendid. We expect officials to depersonalize their relations to the public, to act "without fear or favor." We praise the editor who is impersonal in printing the news, who publishes impartially the disgrace of his best friend and the triumph of his worst enemy. We call for a clergyman who shall be "no respecter of persons." He must denounce the misconduct of his trustee or "pillar" as he denounces that of his humblest parishioner. The bandage over the eyes of Justice symbolizes that Justice knows not whether the suitor is lord or hind.

Out of this horror of partiality comes, however, the classical

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school of criminology which will have offenders dealt with impersonally.

Humanizing the Courts of Justice

The eighteenth century reformers assumed that each lawbreaker is morally responsible. It follows, then, that all who have committed the same offense are equally guilty and should receive like treatment. Punishment is to be meted out not according to the nature of the offender but according to the nature of his offense. Hence the legislator attaches a fitting penalty to each type of crime and the sole duty of the court is to ascertain whether or not the accused has broken the laws. This system does away, to be sure, with the old-time arbitrary judge, harsh or lenient according to the social importance of the culprit before him. But in order to rid justice of this offensive personal element, there is created a machine which grinds up alike the young and the hardened, the simple and the cunning, the well-intentioned and the wicked, the chance offender and the professional.

Little by little the administration of Justice has been humanized by admitting exceptions and discriminations. Is the offender of sound mind? Was he in full possession of his faculties? Were there extenuating circumstances? Was there great provocation? Is it his first offense or is he a repeater? Finally the idea that what is being punished is not a *deed* but a *man* triumphs and we have the modern school of criminology, which likens sentencing an offender to prison for a fixed term to prescribing so many weeks in the hospital for a sick man. The patient is let out when he is well and the criminal should be let out when he is fit to be at large.

The Cost of Lumping Together the Unlike

On the exceptional lumping imposes the pain of misfit. Too much of it produces a chronic distress like that of wearing clothes that "bind," sleeping on a slope, walking on soles of differing thickness or rowing with oars of unequal lengths. In those who are brought up under the lumping system, e.g., the inmates of the old-fashioned orphan asylum, personality is stunted and they go through life less eager and reactive than they should be. Under the later Roman Empire the unfortunate Graeco-Latins, prisoners of a contracting system, felt themselves emasculate, incapable of the grand emotions and initiatives of their fore-fathers in the old free heroic days.

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INDIVIDUALIZING EDUCATION

Necessity of Recognizing and Allowing for Individual Differences

If we are not to become automatons as more of life is standardized and we come under the stricter discipline large organization imposes, we must take more account of individual differences and make proper discriminations. When possible school children of each year should be grouped according to mentality and the class for teaching should comprise those of about the same mental gait. Or class work may be individualized by encouraging the child on each topic the class takes up to do an amount of work corresponding to its powers. Promotion, instead of being confined to certain times, should occur whenever the child is ready for it. Mere passive absorption by the pupils should content no teacher; they should be stimulated to react. In the high school no single text should be swallowed whole. The pupil should do collateral reading and compare viewpoints. In college the rigid curriculum should give place to the free choice of studies under advice while the lecture should be relegated to a subordinate place in teaching.

INDIVIDUAL SOCIAL WORK

Individualization in the Relief of the Poor

In the care of dependents, the orphanage should make way for the placing-out system. The doling out of supplies to needy people should be anathema. The maxim "not alms but a friend" strikes the true note. Almsgiving which is promiscuous should be thought of not as God-pleasing but as God-offending. Each poor family should be held to present a problem by itself. For certain kinds of dependents guarded outdoor relief is more individualizing and humane than institutional care. By sorting out from it the children, the sick, the feeble-minded, the insane and the vagrant, the almshouse from being a dumping ground for the refuse of humanity becomes a home for the aged and respectable poor.

In the Treatment of Delinquents

In the treatment of wrongdoers, lumping survives in the unhesitating and sweeping condemnation of the "scarlet woman," in the "jail bird" stigma which bars the discharged prisoner from honest employment, in the confusion of "political" with "common" offenders, in the treatment of "conscientious objectors" as if they were vulgar recalcitrants, in uniform treatment of types so distinct as the born criminal, the habitual crim-

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inal, and the occasional criminal. Individualization calls f recognition of nervous disorders, passion, suggestion, and sion as limiting responsibility in the sane; for the applica the suspended sentence with probation and the indetermina tence; for the establishment of the juvenile court and the tion home for juvenile offenders; for the differentiation o house from jail and prison, for the restricted use of the stripe and for the treatment of convicts as so many huma viduals.

INDIVIDUALIZING GOVERNMENT

Not all Discriminations by Government Are Blameworthy

Government passes from arbitrary discriminations ba birth, sex, income, creed, nationality or race through a of flat democratic treatment to fresh discriminations base logic. "One man one vote" looks good until it is discover 2½ per cent. of our draft registrants are weak-minded. were held unfit to be soldiers and they are equally unfi voters. After Negro domination has done its worst Neg frage is qualified by a literacy requirement. After the door" has filled this country with people who look upon polyglot boarding house we apply the reading test to immi We cease to lump children with adults. We remove them the factory and send them to school. Discrimination is between the sexes, working women being given a protection does not extend to men workers. If a class is not able t tect itself against another class and there is a public inter volved, the courts deem a law on its behalf not "class legis but "reasonable classification." By this means that stiff "freedom of contract," has been bent in a dozen places.

"Reasonable Classification"

Instead of multiplying laws the detailed regulation of in is effected by means of the easily-modified orders of a state trial commission. Exemptions are granted that a statute never allow and special orders issue to take care of peculiar Marriage, once an indefeasible right of the unwedded ad denied certain classes of defectives. Instead of the old assumption that any citizen is fit for any post, the law cre board provides that the members shall be engineers, phys psychiatrists, economists, social workers, accountants, emp merchants, practical farmers, etc., according to the work done.

INDIVIDUALIZING INDUSTRY

Individualizing the Employee

The wiser employers are not lumping their workfolk as employers used to do. The individual workman is studied in order to land him in the job he is best fitted for. Physical examination at hiring helps to a more intelligent dealing with the employee. A watchful nurse and a doctor look after the ailing. A well-handled "suggestion box" draws out of the force a surprising number of valuable ideas. The prompt and fitting recognition of unusual individual service or merit improves morale. A brass plate bearing the engine-driver's name is affixed to the locomotive. The highway commission puts up a sign on each stretch of state road showing who patrols it. In a business house the name of the man at the wicket is shown by a bronze marker. In some establishments each man's performance is studied and if it falls off unaccountably investigation is set afoot to locate the source of the trouble. Employees are not poisoned trying to digest their grievances, for there is a bureau which will look into every man's complaint and see that he gets justice. Instead of "firing" a workman at the instance of a single foreman, he is tried out in different departments until he fits in or proves hopeless. The making of these discriminations costs time and money, but science is providing precise means of making them and the results in greater efficiency, good will and happiness prove that they are worth all they cost.

Most Lumping can be Dispensed With

There will, of course, be a certain amount of lumping when, as in warfare or class strife, effective mass action is called for. Aside from such dictated instances, lumping is due either to heartlessness or to ignorance and stupidity. In centralized military empires there is tenderness for the interests and feelings of the individual members of the privileged class but ruthless iron uniformity for the despised masses. In green democracies flat treatment prevails, not from heartlessness but because the past has made every form of discrimination hateful. But in time it is seen that equal treatment of unequals is crying injustice. As the odious old classifications of people are forgotten men dare to make new classifications based on need, service or social value. The finer these classifications, the less is the sacrifice to the average. In the end every normal man can be well cared for just as every normal man can be fitted with a ready-made suit of clothes, provided that suits are made in a sufficient number of shapes and sizes.

CHAPTER LVII

THE PRINCIPLE OF BALANCE

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Every Element in Society Wants to Dominate or Lead

EACH of the elements in society intellectually qualified to lead has not only its special interest — which it may try to advance at the expense of other interests — but it has also its special views, which it always strives to make prevail. It may be above greed, it may be above the lust for power, but it will never be above the craving for influence. Each element, then, pushes its influence as far as it can and is checked only by the spirit of independence or by the influence of some other element.

Each class or profession which attracts to itself many of the talented of each generation is quite sure that, if only society would submit to its guidance, all would be well. Yet the truth is that no one element is wise enough to be followed blindly in all matters. The reason is not lack of ability, but the bias to which it is subject by reason of its *esprit de corps* or its distinctive work and manner of life. In spite of itself its judgment becomes warped by its special psychology. When, however, the leadership of society is shared among the various important elements, their special habits of thought neutralize one another, and the resultant is, on the whole, reasonable.

But No Element is Free from Bias

One demonstrates the existence in each element of a bias which unfits it for unqualified leadership by showing what has actually happened when some element has gained such ascendancy that it has been able to mold society, as it were, to its heart's desire. Of course no element has ever ruled without check from any quarter, but there are instances which reveal clearly enough the tendencies which lurk in each of the groups that has, one time or another, set its stamp upon the social mind.

THE RULE OF THE DEAD

The *dead* count as a social element, for their recorded experience and transmitted institutions may be stalwart factors in the life of their descendants. When the living acknowledge an ini-

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The Living Capitulate to the Judgment of the Dead

tial presumption in favor of whatever has survived from the past, yet preserve toward it a scrutinizing critical attitude, the generations are in proper balance. But when present reason is held weaker than that of some golden or classical age so that the living are powerless to free themselves from the yoke of the past, we have *the rule of the dead.*

Ancestor-worship Leads to the Rule of the Dead

One fetter of such enslavement is fear of offending the spirits of the departed; hence, blind conservatism is especially strong wherever, as in the Far East, ancestor worship prevails. Another gyve is overvaluation of whatever is classic. For example, the premium the old state-examination system of China put upon the writings of certain thinkers who lived long before our era tended to shackle the original minds of each generation. The embryo Pasteur or Edison was so intimidated by the universal opinion that wisdom died with the sages that he could bring forth nothing. Thus the social atmosphere lost the stimulating ozone it had in the old inspiring days when the Chinese invented gunpowder, block-printing, banknotes, porcelain, the compass, the compartment boat and the taxicab.

The Superstition of the Holiness of Some Remote Place or Time

Again, the living are paralyzed by the notion that some period or product of the Past is holy, that of yore the gods were nigher to men, that then they revealed their will through channels which have since become choked. Nearly every people reveres some ancient scripture, or institution of such transcendent prestige that the living dare not probe or criticize it. No Arab to-day stands on a footing with the writer of the Koran; no Jew with the giver of the Mosaic Law; no Celestial with Confucius; no Parsee with Zoroaster. As for inherited institutions, we see two hundred millions of Hindus divided into three thousand hereditary castes, between which there is no marriage and very little social intercourse, and from which no man can escape. In taking over this terrible burden without inquiring into its authority or worth, the living become thralls to certain ideas and decisions of their remote ancestors.

The only remedies for this bondage are to dispel the golden haze that hangs about the origins of religions and codes, to test myths and legends in the crucible of scientific scholarship, to strip the remote past of its purple and to reveal it in everyday garb, to gain a true perspective of the development of civilization and human society, and to teach men that the Here is as sacred, the

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Now as inspired, as some spot in Western Asia twenty or thir centuries ago.

The Rule of the Dead To-day

The slavish following of musty precedents by courts of justi is another form of the rule of the dead; so is the allowing donors to fix for all time the use to which their endowments sh be put. A written constitution, made so hard to amend as deny to later generations the creative freedom enjoyed the makers of the instrument, is also a yoke upon the livir Even if the best minds of to-day are not the peers of t "Fathers" of the Federal Constitution, it is certain that men to-day can legislate for our needs better than the men of 17 could suit *their* work to our needs.

No Generation Knows Enough to Prescribe for Posterity

The subjection of the living to the dead flouts the law that l *is correspondence to environment.* Hence, the stiffening of t ditions and institutions is a kind of *rigor mortis.* The idea th sages should mark a groove for society for all time trips on t fact that society ceaselessly changes. Finding itself in a plig unforeseen by its ancestors, a people casts about for an adju ment. Conservatives, who brand this quest as folly or sacrile deny society the sacred right of self-determination.

The rule of the old delays needful adaptation, although to a l degree than the rule of the dead. Generally a man has a rath full set of convictions by the age of thirty, so that to allow developments occurring thereafter calls for a mental effort whi few are willing to make. Hence, when the old monopolize pla and influence, readjustment lags at least a generation behind ne Then, too, timidity is likely to grow with age, so that the old l the courage to start changes which they know are necessary.

MASCULINISM

Militarized Politics

While women, owing to their being largely occupied with bea ing and rearing children, have developed fewer specialists th men, they ought to be conceded a large social influence in ord to counteract certain bad masculine tendencies. The fightin instinct of the male sex seriously unfits it to take sole charge society. Many wars have no other cause, and if the policies states obeyed the wills of *men and women* rather than of m only, the world would enjoy more peace. Male pugnacity co ceives government as mere keeper of the lists rather than machinery for serving certain common needs. The gradual tran

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formation of government from coercion into service reflects in part the growing influence of women. Those with rank male proclivities, the ultra-he-men, scoff at votes for women on the ground that the essence of government is force and women citizens have little of that to contribute. To such men soldier and policeman appear as fit symbols of the state, whereas the teacher, the school nurse, the factory inspector, the health officer, the rural organizer and the agricultural adviser are but bastard and ambiguous representatives of the state's purposes.

Militarized Business

By "business" a rational being understands the social system of making and distributing economic goods. That the claims of business should take precedence over life and limb, over health and family, is monstrous. Yet the fighting instinct leads thoughtless men generally to look upon it as a prize ring, with the implication, of course, that somebody is bound to get hurt. This is why good men long justified child labor, the wrecking of the health of working girls, the night work of women, preventable work accidents. Even yet many disinterested men feel that stopping the sale of diseased meat or "doctored" canned goods is unfair interference, like depriving prize fighters of their best blows and ruses. Women, on the contrary, insist, in their simplicity of mind, that the palming off of putridity and poison, under the guise of food, upon mothers buying nourishment for the children they have risked their lives to bring into the world is not in any sense *business*, but *villainy*.

Sex Contrast In Attitude Toward Risk

Male irrationality comes out again in the needless taking of chances. Human reason labors continually to eliminate hazard, and all insurance rests on the reasonable desire to substitute certainty for risk. Yet men who sweat for their money will gamble away their week's wage in an evening. No one, however, has ever seen working women regularly risk their wages on a card. Women have an instinct for security and strive to lessen risk, while men fatuously create it. In gold-mining camps recklessness is habitual, and to save himself a little trouble in handling explosives and timbering shafts the miner endangers the life he is toiling to enrich. After the arrival of wives men gain a rational view and learn to shun needless dangers.

Men nearly monopolize the consumption of alcohol and narcotics, even though many are well aware of the harm these do.

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Weakness of the Male Sex in Withstanding Temptation

Women, on the other hand, shrink from self-poisoning. In the slums the spread of heavy drinking among women is a sure sign of demoralization born of despair. In China the women never generally took to opium smoking till the district was hopeless. Doubtless woman's gain in social influence will make for a firmer dealing with race poisons. Again, women, with their better psychological insight, would hardly have been guilty of the follies men have committed in the penal field. One cannot imagine them treating juvenile offenders as if they were adult, expecting to make bad men good by solitary confinement, shutting up people who cannot pay their debts, imprisoning persons without any provision for feeding them, or settling cases by judicial combat. Only men are foolish enough to persist in applying pain to offenders without self-control, who manifestly can never be improved by punishment.

Women Superior to Men in Common sense

Masculine Ascendancy Among the Chinese

The state of women under masculine ascendancy may be seen in China. Man-made throughout, Chinese culture is full of male contempt for women. Thus, double the ideograph for "woman" and you have "to wrangle"; triple it and the meaning is "intrigue"! In Chinese thought the world is divided between good and evil, Yang and Yin. Darkness is "Yin," cold is "Yin," earth spirits are "Yin," *and woman is "Yin."* Although necessary, she is inferior and should be held under a firm control. The ancient sages stressed the danger of letting women become educated and go about freely, for thus might they gain the upper hand and wreck society.

The Social Customs Run in Favor of the Male

A girl who remains for life unwed, her betrothed having died before their marriage, is deemed worthy of a memorial portal *pailow;* but no *pailow* is raised to the youth who remains true to the memory of his lost sweetheart, for such constancy would be ridiculed. From the male point of view it is fitting that woman be sacrificed to the man, but not that man, the superior being, be sacrificed to the woman. This is why some centuries ago the Chinese held that a widow ought to kill herself at her husband's funeral, whereas the notion that a widower ought to do the same at his wife's funeral never entered the Celestial mind. The unfaithful wife is stoned or drowned; but the worst that can happen to the unfaithful husband is a tongue lashing, which he is expected to bear patiently.

Disabilities of the Female Sex

The boy's upbringing is not shaped to please the other sex, but everything in the upbringing of the girl — her foot binding, "tottering lily" gait, hairdressing, skill in embroidery, innocence, ignorance, obedience — is obviously a catering to the male. Again, the women of the classes for the most part pass their lives within four walls, away from the stimulus of street and public resort, and rarely go out save in a closed cart or a covered chair. They have few acquaintances save relatives, and take no part in picnics, excursions, and feasts. Social diversion is organized for men, not for women. Toilet, opium smoking, gossiping with the servants, visits from a few friends — no wonder the doctors find their worst cases of nervous exhaustion among these repressed creatures!

Female Infanticide

How does the female sex fare under this masculine tutelage? Since the married daughter belongs completely to her husband's family and cannot be looked to by her parents in their old age, it is female infants that are done away with as superfluous, never male infants. The estimate of Chinese observers in 1910 was that from 5 to 10 per cent. of girl babies were exposed.

Footbinding

Foot binding was a disability imposed by men, for until recently it was a rare father who would marry his son to a girl with natural feet. Mothers subjected their little daughters to the torturing bandages because, without the "golden lilies," they stood no chance whatever of marriage.

Poor Health of Chinese Ladies

Chinese ladies are excessively small and frail in comparison with their men folk, owing no doubt to the foot binding and the confinement imposed by male opinion. They suffer much from neurasthenia and heart lesion, owing to the strain of their lot, and their faces are stamped with pain, patience, and gentle resignation rather than with happiness.

Tendency of Wives to Suicide

In the West suicide is from three to five times as frequent among men as among women, whereas among the Chinese the women kill themselves from five to ten times as often as men. The slavery to mother-in-law, which drives many brides to suicide, and the ideas of wifely propriety that impel young widows to make away with themselves originated with men and have never been molded in the least by the sex they affect. Thus has masculinism conserved the happiness of women!

Moreover, the whole people are held back because men have dwarfed women to suit their own tastes and prejudices. Lack-

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Mothers Spiritually Dwarfed

ing psychology the Chinese thinkers never recognized the r
the mother in shaping the character of her sons. China's
need is men of high integrity, and she cannot grow them s
as the impressible boyhood years are passed in the compa
an unlettered, narrow-minded, neglected, and despised w
Not one great man have the Chinese brought forth sinc
took to binding the feet and neglecting the education of
daughters.

CLERICALISM

The Best Clergy is Not Good Enough to Dominate Society

The undue ascendancy of the religious profession gives
what may be termed "clericalism." A well-recruited
keyed up by exacting moral and intellectual standards, m
valuable services if it commands public confidence in a su
degree to exercise a qualified leadership in matters of fai
conduct. Always, however, the clergy should be balanc
other intellectual groups lest they torment the people with
austerities which regularly develop in an unchecked clerical
It is not a question here of an unspiritual and self-seeking
hood exploiting a credulous people. Our problem is, Wh
happen when an able, conscientious, resolute, and well-org
clergy gains such an ascendancy that they are able to have
way with a people? The materials for answering this qu
are abundant. In seventeenth-century Spain, Scotland, and
sachusetts, in the Mexico, Peru, and Colombia of two gener
ago, in the Russia of yesterday, and in the Ireland and Que
to-day may be read the tendencies that lurk in clerical con

Clericalism Hampers Normal Economic Development

In case the religion encourages self-dedication, the influe
the clergy causes a larger number of persons to turn their
on natural "worldly" aims and give themselves to the re
life. Coupled with the growth of endowments for religiou
poses, this results in cramping the economic development
people. Three centuries ago in Spain there existed upwa
nine thousand monasteries, besides nunneries. One hu
clergy cared for the services in the Cathedral of Seville.
diocese of Seville there were fourteen thousand chaplai
Calabarra, eighteen thousand!

Growth in the number and richness of sanctuaries is a sur
of the prevalence of the clerical view that such sacrifice
God-pleasing. In certain settlements of the foreign born i

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The Clergy Make Religion a Burden Rather Than a Joy

country one comes upon a superb stone parish church in the open country, ten miles from town, while for miles around the farmhouses are poorer, meaner, and barer than those of the neighboring Americans. There is also a tendency to "enrich" the religious services and to multiply sacraments, thereby exalting the importance of the priests. When, as in seventeenth-century Scotland, worship is not free to develop toward sacerdotalism, sermons become so long and so frequent as to absorb all leisure. At that time ministers would relieve one another in the pulpit. The same congregation would remain sometimes for ten hours together, and in a single Edinburgh church not less than thirty sermons were delivered every week.[1]

They Absorb too Much of the Layman's Time for Sacred Purposes

Where the clergy are unopposed, religion lays a heavy tax on the people's time. In Mexico there are, counting Sundays, one hundred and thirty-one religious holidays in the year, and more than half the people observe them all. In Greece the holy days eat up nearly a third of the year, and in Russia not over two hundred and fifty days in the year are left for work. In Abyssinia religion once claimed about half the time. The Protestant Reformation did away with most of the saints' days, but in atonement it developed a burdensome observance of Sunday, so that "Scotch Sabbath" and "Puritan Sabbath" have become bywords for iron repression of the most innocent pastimes.

They do Not See the World as a Realm of Law

An enlightened clergy may banish many folk superstitions, yet foster certain ones which serve its aims. Even after priests and pastors cease to teach that the course of Nature and of affairs is governed by a series of miracles known as "special Providences," and that health, security, and prosperity can be gained by prayers, fastings and offerings, they encourage an unwholesome solicitude for one's soul, leading to a morbid introspection and devo-

[1] Robert Baillie, Scotch Commissioner in London, wrote in a letter of May 17, 1694:

"This day was the best that I have seen since I came to England. . . . After D. Twisse had begun with a brief prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large two hours, most divinely, confessing the sins of the members of the assembly, in a wonderful, pathetic, and prudent way. After, Mr. Arrowsmith preached an hour, then a psalm; thereafter, Mr. Vines prayed near two hours, and Mr. Seaman prayed near two hours, then a psalm; after, Mr. Henderson brought them to a sweet conference of the heat confessed in the assembly, and other seen faults to be remedied, and the conveniency to preach against all sects, especially Anabaptists and Antinomians. Dr. Twisse closed with a short prayer and blessing."

See Brooks Adams, "The Emancipation of Massachusetts," pp. 5–6.

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tionalism. The belief in a fixed natural order and the reign of law has come up in the last two hundred years, not by favor of the clergy, but in spite of them.

They See Conduct in a Wrong Perspective

Great as are the services of higher religion in upholding conscience against impulse and self-interest, an ascendent spiritual class inevitably presents conduct in a false perspective. The traits which make for individual or community well-being — sobriety, truthfulness, fair dealing, helpfulness — are thrown into the shade by the religious qualities — devoutness, strict observance, church attendance and support. The offenses which grate most upon the theologians, such as heresy, blasphemy, scoffing, and neglect of "religious duties," are painted so black that lying, dishonesty, and violence look gray by comparison. Hence in the end you get a people austere and devout, but not truthful, loyal, and kindly.[2]

Unresisted, theologians invariably impose the ascetic yoke. The sacrifice of natural inclinations appeals strongly to those who have outgrown the burnt-offering notion of religion. Asia and mediaeval Europe bear the palm for self-inflicted bodily suffering to please God, but the ascetic poison took little hold of their laity. For an instance of a whole people blighted by misconceived religion one must look to the Scotch of the seventeenth century.

Self-Aggrandizement of the Clergy

Every profession strives to exalt itself, and the clergy are no exception. In the absence of lawyers, scholars, and other educated groups to puncture their overweening pretensions, ministers will insist that they are ambassadors of God, that their commands from the pulpit are binding, that sudden mysterious calamities will fall upon scoffers, that Providence continually sets aside the laws of Nature on their behalf, that prodigies and portents attend the death of the man of God. They teach that it is dangerous to speak disrespectfully of a clergyman, to fail to salute him in passing, to cross him, or to sue him at law. The lives of eminent preachers written by their professional brethren abound in edifying stories designed to the end that clergymen be regarded with fear and awe.

Since the sacerdotal order rules by ideas, they try to control

[2] "It would be a great gain to this country," wrote the saintly Keble eighty years ago, "were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be."

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The Clergy Tries to Keep the People in Leading Strings

the whole intellectual life of society in order to uphold their influence. Under penalty of fine or imprisonment they force church attendance upon all. In order that the people might remain "pure," the Spanish clergy brought about the crushing of the Protestants and the expulsion of the Moors, while the Massachusetts theocracy persecuted Antinomians, Baptists, and Quakers. If they dare go so far, the clergy censor the reading of their flock, curb the press, bar out "disturbing" foreign books, and maintain a regular "index" of condemned writings. Moreover, they are jealous of any education not under their own control. Intent on keeping their people dependent on them, they never push popular education themselves and put every obstacle in the way of its being provided by the state. When they create schools of their own to compete with the public schools, the religious part of the curriculum quite overshadows the secular. While friendly to that higher learning which they can control and use, their suspicious fear of the increase of natural knowledge prompts them to denounce free inquiry and the liberty of teaching.

The Priest's Despotism is the Least Wicked but the Most Hopeless

In short, of all despotisms that of the priest is worst — and the better man he is, the worse his despotism. Dictating to men in the name of God, he reduces both God and society to the measure of priestly conceptions. Whatever he proclaims as God's will is entitled to unquestioning obedience. Out of their mundane experience or common sense his flock can draw nothing to oppose to his obscurantism or fanaticism. His is the one despotism without check or limit.

MILITARISM

How Military Officers Gain Ascendancy

The undue ascendancy of the military profession gives rise to *militarism*. Such ascendancy is likely to occur when army and navy officers are drawn chiefly from a hereditary upper order, so that their *professional* prestige is reinforced by *class* prestige. This affinity between the nobility and the army may be an inheritance from feudalism, or it may be the result of deliberately petting, pampering, and privileging the officer military in order to draw into it those able to contribute most to its spirit and prestige. The militarist bias in society is, of course, financed and promoted by concessionaires, battleship builders, and armament makers.

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Social Philosophy of the Military Caste

When the fighting caste gives public opinion its key, suits of the soldier are esteemed nobler than those of th He is regarded, not as a killer, but as a hero ready to blood for king and country. Proficiency in war is de be-all and end-all of national organization and effort. men are looked upon as potential soldiers; all sound w potential mothers of soldiers; national resources and power, as possible sinews of war. The health of the conserved, not out of concern for their welfare, but t their military fitness. The idea rules that the people ex live out their lives, but to win wars. A little folk wit cheering hope is despised as cumberer of the earth. fleet are not watchdogs to protect the people in their pea suits, but the means of imposing the national will on lo of "organizing" backward peoples, or of fulfilling missions" to unwilling neighbors.

War is deemed, not a horror, but "a biological Peace *within* the nation is priceless, but *between* natio dream and not even a beautiful dream." The resort t tional violence is identified with the evolutionary "st existence," and the losers of a war are branded as "unf ing peace militarists demand ever heavier armament a training, heedless of the fact that other militarists are p their peoples to do the same, so that after the utmost the relative position of the rivals may be unchanged. more and more of its treasure upon the altar of the yet is no whit safer than before.

Its Political Philosophy

In militarist philosophy the state is not for the indiv the individual is for the state. The aims of the state a happiness of its citizens nor the advancement of man mystic goals, vaguely related to civilization, the super- tiny, or God. National self-conceit is sedulously foste pseudo-ethnology, a falsified history, and a systematic b of the character of rival peoples.

Political Results of Militarism

Militarism strangles liberal political development and ens imperialistic tendencies. It is fond of dynasties a democracy. The relation of the officer to his men gives tern for the relation of a government to its citizenry. tary chafe under civil authority, while they sneer at p tary debate as "mere talk." Since it is illogical to re

conscript to kill those whom he regards as defending their country, while not requiring of stay-at-homes the lesser sacrifice of keeping silent when they disapprove state policy, militarism calls for censorship of newspapers, suppression of public meetings, control of university professors and religious teachers, and the suppression of writers and speakers who criticize the war policy or take "the enemy point of view." In the name of patriotism it insists that the citizen-soldier relinquish every civil right and submit to cruel and degrading punishments without trial by jury for his smallest assertion of self-respect, not against discipline only, but even against insolence and class domination.

COMMERCIALISM

Why Business Men are Followed

When traders, manufacturers, capitalists, and bankers wield the bâton, *commerciclism* reigns. The recent extraordinary infatuation of Americans with this class suggest that such a tendency is natural when the big economic tasks which press upon a young and growing country have lent extra importance to the business man, when business has attracted an overlarge share of national ability, and when the commercial spirit is held in check neither by aristocratic traditions nor by strongly organized liberal professions. Since the small business men take their cue from the great merchants, financiers, and heads of big enterprises, in an era of commercialism these, their spokesmen, become the leaders and tone-givers of society.

The Bias of the Business Mind

The tone they give reflects, of course, their characteristic habits of thought so far as these have not been qualified or neutralized by non-business influences. Now, one who is a business man and nothing else slips easily into the fallacy of ignoring non-economic goods and of rating well-being by dollar income. What he desiderates is *prosperity* rather than *welfare*. The only wealth that is real to him is bankable wealth. Values that are not pecuniary values, such as *public health, race vigor, natural beauty, scientific progress, moral tone,* and *ideals of life,* he will sacrifice when they interfere with national or personal gain. His ideal is high wages, big salaries, and fat dividends, so that whatever stands in the way of maximizing these "hurts business" and is anathema. He cannot see that there are business profits which cost some of us ten times their worth in salubrity, or quiet, or peace of mind. Such a man is tender with poisonous smelter fumes, grade crossings,

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factory smoke, and noisy advertising, because he can real
money cost of suppressing them, but not the harm which t

Insistence on Business Virtues in Non-business Fields

So long as business men of this limited vision lay thei
upon the public mind, "success" means the same as "b
success"— that is, making money. A candidate's trump
the promise of a "business" administration. The highes
pliment that can be paid a philanthropic, religious, or educ
scheme is to pronounce it "business-like"; whereas a
insulted if you call his business "philanthropic," or "rel
or "educational"! A school board must be a "business"
scholars should be picked and officered by a business
university president, and the ultimate control of church
leges, and charities is left to the solid men of business
money makes these possible.

Measuring all Success in Terms of Commercial Success

A business man's success in his undertakings may be
gauged by the money he has been able to make under the a
codes, but the success of the divine, jurist, officer, sta
scholar, thinker, artist, or poet is not properly measured
gain. Nevertheless, under commercialism the money y
will be naïvely applied to each and every kind of achie
with the result that alongside successful business men th
men in every line of intellectual or idealistic endeavor w
like dwarfs. As the public comes to feel this, cupidity
sharpened and corruption will invade every type of struc
society.

Since in the eyes of a commercial-minded people mo
come is the only income, it idolizes those who line its p
Employers who pay the wages and salaries that keep man
ilies are hailed as the chief public benefactors and are
whatever they ask. On the other hand, the surgeon who
lishes a new operation, the experimenter who finds the a
for a deadly disease, the breeder whose discoveries in h
open vistas of race improvement, the missionary who civi
savage folk, the projector of a new education, the founde
great social settlement — these are not "men who do th
For they give blessings, mere blessings, but not money inco

Blindness to Everything but Profit

The idea that you must not disturb persons making mone
as you must not disturb bees secreting wax, causes the
good to be sacrificed out of a superstitious reverence for
ness. Nature's stores of wealth are not conserved for pu

lest opportunities for immediate profit be curtailed. The nation allows itself to become a polyglot boarding house, because mill-owners, mine operators, contractors, and railroad companies insist on an unlimited flow of cheap alien labor. Property is put above human life, and lawmakers stay their hand when business men predict ruin if they are required to make their work places safe and sanitary.

Commercialism's View of Government

Government is looked upon, not as guardian of every great public interest, but as bulwark of property rights and maintainer of conditions favorable to making money. Its master-aim is business prosperity, on the theory "Make employers content and they will make the people content." Such government services as public health, conservation, education, recreation, and charities are starved in order to keep taxes low or to subsidize private enterprises for profit; or else the prisons are run to make money for prison contractors, the parks, to enrich street-car companies, the schools, to provide employers with cheap youth, skilled at the public expense, the public-utilities commission, to make a market for issues of corporation securities.

Commercialism Tolerates Anti-Social Conduct

The commercial fallacy befuddles society to the point of being no longer able to know its bad from its good. Things plainly anti-social, such as the liquor-traffic, race-track gambling, and commercialized prostitution, are spared on the ground that they are "businesses." Then, too, the open vice shop "brings people to town." A movement to clean up a rotten city government is deprecated as "hurting business." Chicane is all right if it is merely "the tricks of the trade." A crime committed without malice and merely in the way of business is condoned. The people are taught that speculation is not gambling, that tax dodging is not larceny, that railroad rebating is not treachery, that free transportation passes are not bribery, that deleterious adulteration is not murder. The large-scale malefactor of high finance goes unpunished because he is a "Napoleon," a "superman," "asserting the higher law which great enterprises have the right to command."

The Reaction from Commercialism

No people that is intelligent and free can long endure the unqualified ascendancy of the commercial element. Able and useful as business men are, their influence needs to be balanced by that of other groups. During the period 1890–1905 American opinion more and more followed commercial minds, and the re-

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sults are writ large in the alarming growth of mater corruption through this period. Thanks to a sudde light on the ways of big business in the years 1901–19 as the "literature of exposure") other groups — the the social workers, the economists, the geologists, and cians — have in recent years won the confidence of while a much better type has replaced the specializ scrupulous business men who spoke for the America cial class at the opening of the century.

LEGALISM

No society has ever been dominated by the legal pro at times in certain American communities lawyers ha cendent to such an extent as to reveal their bias. The tribution of this profession is their appreciation of t portance of definite, known, and enforcible rights in th development of society. When lawyers dominate th the community there is a tendency, however, to look as *ends* rather than as *means*. If the legal rights *look* the lawyer is not apt to concern himself greatly with work out in practice. He also reveres the forms of law pathizes with the sacrifice of substantial justice in ord serve inviolate the form. He overlooks that law and any other social agency, must meet the test of practical

LEISURE CLASS ASCENDANCY

The Leisure Class May be a Valuable Counterpoise to Other Elements

As corrective of unwholesome social tendencies the of those who do not have to work for a living may be tary. This class may temper male ascendancy by diff idealization of woman which grew up with mediaeval and gave birth to "lady" worship. Its love of plea serve to counteract the morbid asceticism and "othe ness" which sometimes radiates from the clergy. T enjoyer's point of view rather than the trader's, this check commercialism by insisting on valuing a thing or ity by what it can add to life and not by what it will fe

But when the leisure class has the last word on every influence may be very noxious. Exempt itself from makes leisure the cardinal index to superiority and meet would enter its charmed circle with the challenge, Do

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But its Ascendancy is Destructive of the Economic Virtues

for a living? Out among the plain people, who, like Atlas, support the world on their shoulders, runs like devil grass the fantastic idea that work is disgraceful, until millions who have nothing to look forward to but the common lot are set at odds with their bread and butter. This is well-nigh as bad as if evil djinns should persuade us to be ashamed of breathing or eating or any other necessary function. Not only do sensitive and aspiring workers come to hate their work, but, in order to avoid the ignominious thing, the shrewd crowd into shady occupations and invent numberless ways of "living by one's wits." At the threshold of the leisure class forms a corrupt half-world of *demi-mondaines*, procurers, on-hangers, gamblers, touts, charlatans, swindlers, bravos, "gentlemen of fortune," and other higher parasites, which, like an abscess, continually pours out moral infection. This is the chief cause of the rottenness which characterizes the later stages of an aristocratic society.

Its Respect for Leisure Paralyzes

It is the custom of leisure-class families to keep about them numerous servants, ostensibly to render their masters personal service but really to perform "vicarious leisure," to use Veblen's happy phrase. So there grows up among them a sense of the shamefulness of waiting on yourself, which spreads out from the leisure class and prompts people who can ill afford it to pay some menial to do for them things they could easily do for themselves. It is felt demeaning to clean your clothes, black your boots, carry your luggage, roll your baby carriage, answer your doorbell, wait on your table, groom your horses, or wash your car. In order to hire these things done for them, the middle class scrimp on necessaries and have few children, while living is made dearer for all because too many workers abandon production in order to render superfluous services.

Its Admiration for Prodigality Corrupts

The prestige of a leisure class rests on *conspicuous waste* as well as on *conspicuous leisure*. At the social summit, to be sure, are some so sure of their place that they are free to lead a "simple" life, but in general the leisured develop a prodigal manner of life, which most of the useful people accept as the *only* proper way of living. They feel that nothing adorns like precious stones; nothing is beautiful unless made of costly materials; no raiment is fine but silk and broadcloth. There is nothing for furniture like rosewood and mahogany; for the palate, like champagne and truffles; for pleasure, like a theater party or a meet

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with the hounds. There is no society but the joint e of the expensive, no marriage save a church wedding save at a watering-place hotel. Thus foppish standard ten of spenders' rivalry, leach out through society and sound homebred notions of what is fit, or decent, or wo People come to scorn the joys at their elbow and pine uries out of their reach. Ungratified worldliness gnaw heart of multitudes, while greed is whetted till even de turn to monopoly, extortion, chicane, and acquisitive cri

It Puts Barriers between People

When the new-rich force their way into high socie torrent of expenditure no social barriers can withstand, on public morals is yet more disastrous. The spectacl baronial estates, princely houses, liveried lackeys, and luxury contaminates even hard-headed persons with we ship. People fall apart into as many exclusive social there are styles of living and forget how to meet the men on the level. You are snob to those below and toad above you, so that the higher are cankered with pride, with envy. If the working millions accept these va cease to respect themselves and will in the end let them governed by the wealthy.

Leisure-class Follies and Futilities

The influence of the leisure class fortifies the cultura in the schools against the demand for vocational studies a letters hold their place in the curriculum against the press science. In adult recreation it belittles play in favor o involving skill. It is responsible for the feeling that c tism is dignified, while radicalism is "vulgar" and "bad

As we saw from the example of the English in Flanders. to war being conducted by amateurs as a sport instead of fessionals as a lethal industry. While in earlier stages o development the leisure class contributed many valuable e to the culture of the people, it now performs no useful fu which cannot be better rendered by paid public servan tithe of the cost. In view of the sapping effect of its st and examples upon the basic virtues of the self-support ganized society would be justified in so taxing great inco to make a hereditary leisure class impossible.

Other divisions of the influential — such as the write artists, the physicians, the educators, the newspaper m technical men — are more or less subject to some speci

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but since in no case has the social mind been dominated by any one of these groups, we are not called upon to set forth here the nature of such bias.

LEADERS AND LED

Have the Plain People Anything to do but Follow?

Not only should leaders of one bias be balanced by leaders of another bias, but a just balance should be preserved between *leaders* and *led*. Let us designate as "intellectuals" those from whom leadership would naturally be expected, while the to-be-led may be called "the plain people." Now, it will be bad for society if at every fork in the road the intellectuals stride ahead along what they think is the right road, while the plain people follow them with a childlike trust. The matter is by no means so simple. The intellectuals should be willing to give reasons, while the plain people should keep their eyes open and use their common sense.

Truths the Intellectuals Grasp First

In American experience we find certain matters in which the intellectuals saw the truth before the plain people, and the latter learned to see through their eyes. Such are the upholding of the public credit, the conservation of natural resources, the promotion of scientific research, civil service reform, appreciation of the expert in the public service, efficiency in government, the isolation of contagious diseases, public-health protection, compulsory vaccination, scientific charity, and eugenics. Vision in such matters calls for a fuller knowledge or a wider range of observation than the average uneducated person possesses.

Matters in which the Plain People do Not Need to be Led

There is another group of matters on which the plain people take a stand without needing the initiative of intellectuals. Such are what are termed "moral questions," i.e., questions which are answered out of one's moral perceptions rather than out of special knowledge. Of this type are the abolition of slavery and peonage, the suppression of prostitution and the liquor traffic, the humanization of punishments, the suppression of Mormon polygamy, the protection of the home, religious toleration, and international peace. Here the rôle of leaders has been to direct attention rather than to persuade.

Truths which the Plain People See First

In certain other matters the plain people took a stand long before the intellectuals were heard from. Thus the government regulation of railroads was an article of faith among farmers in the seventies of the last century, while it received the late and

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grudging acquiescence of professional and business men not earlier than the nineties. The prevention of industrial accidents, the prohibition of child labor, and the protection of working women were in the program of the American labor unions for twenty years before it became respectable to support them. So has it been with homestead laws, rural credit, postal savings banks, the graduated income tax, the fight on the "Pinkerton" plague. The reason is that on these questions the farmers or the wage-earners drew upon an experience which the intellectuals utterly lacked. They knew where the shoe pinched, for they had to wear it. Moreover, the economic self-interest of the intellectuals, or of the classes they affiliate with, has in some cases been squarely against reform. If, then, the plain people had waited for the intellectuals to take notice of their grievances and to guide them to redress, they would have waited till the crack of doom.

Cases in which the Intellectuals were in Error

There are even cases in which intellectuals and plain people disagreed and the event proved the plain people to be right. The English working-class sympathy with the cause of the North during the American Civil War, in spite of the pro-Southern spirit of the aristocracy, is now recognized by the English themselves as political sagacity. The opposition of the plain people of the Pacific Slope to Chinese coolie immigration, although our men of light and leading almost unanimously condemned such opposition, has since been justified by sociology. In these instances the instincts of the masses proved a more trustworthy guide than the half-baked cosmopolitanism of the intellectuals.

The balance to be struck between the educated and the people depends on a number of things: on the nature of the questions that come up, on the plane of popular intelligence, on the familiarity of the people with methods of public discussion and debate, on their experience in following argument, on their skill in detecting the demagogue, on the fulness of the control they exercise over their government, on the complexity of society, and on the nature of the education, the intellectual habits, and the disinterestedness of the elements that would lead the people.

CONCLUSION

In the piloting of society no valuable element should have either too little influence or too much influence. When a ganglion of gray matter is not left free to do well its proper work

or when it cannot get a fair hearing for its good ideas and hence is not making to the intelligent guidance of the whole that contribution which it is capable of making, it has too little influence. When, on the other hand, it is so ascendent as to make all the rest the victim of its special psychology, it has too much influence. Thus we arrive at *the principle of balance*, which may be formulated as follows: *In the guidance of society each social element should share according to the intelligence and public spirit of its members* AND NONE SHOULD DOMINATE.

THE END

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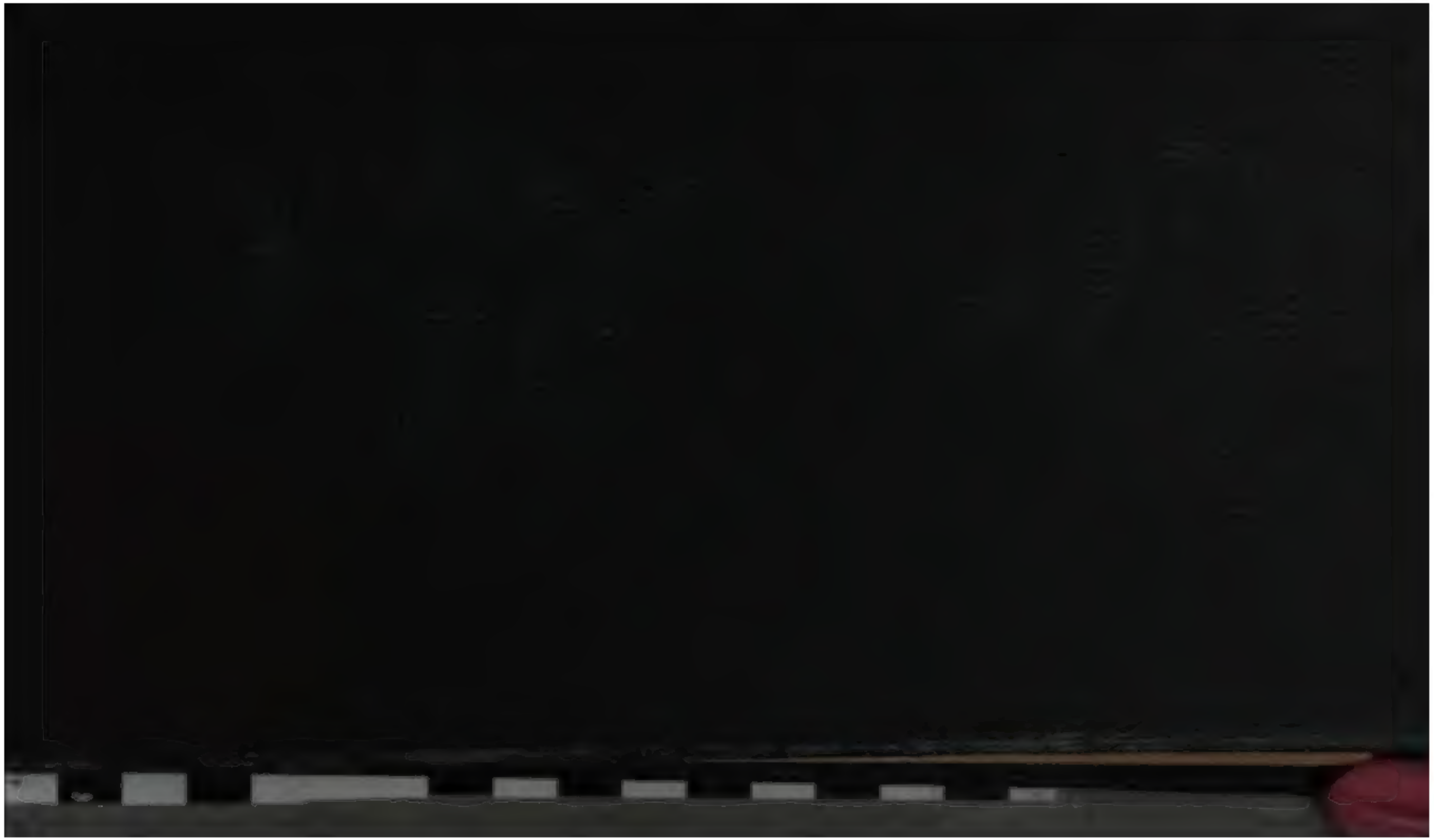
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